MARIE R.

WILLIAM and MARY, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defenders of the Faith, *&c.* To all Our loving Subjects, of what Degree, Condition and Quality ſoever, within Our Kingdoms and Dominions, Greeting. Whereas Our Truſty and Well-beloved, *John Dunton*, Citizen and Stationer of *London*, hath repreſented unto Us, That he is Printing an Engliſh Tranſlation out of *French*, of the *Edict of Nantes*, in Four Volumes; and that, in regard of the great Coſts and Charges it hath already been and will be to him, he hath humbly beſought Us to grant him Our **Royal Licenſe** for the ſole Printing and Publiſhing thereof; We are graciouſly pleaſed to gratifie him therein, and accordingly We do therefore hereby grant unto him the ſaid, *John Dunton*, Our **Royal Licenſe** for the ſole Printing and Publiſhing of the ſaid Book for the Term of Fourteen Years from the Date hereof; ſtrictly charging, prohibiting and forbidding all Our Subjects to Reprint the ſaid Book in whole or in part, or to imprint, buy, vend, utter or diſtribute any Copies or Exemplaries of the ſame, or any part thereof, Reprinted beyond the Seas, within the ſaid Term, without the Conſent and Approbation of him the ſaid *John Dunton* his Executors, Adminiſtrators or Aſſignes firſt had and obtained, as they and every of them offending herein will anſwer the contrary at their Peril; whereof the Maſter, Wardens and Company of Stationers of Our City of *London*, the Commiſſioners, and Officers of Our Cuſtoms, and all other Our Officers and Miniſters whom it may concern, are to take notice, that due Obedience may be given to Our Pleaſure herein ſignified.

Given at Our Court at White-Hall, *the* 30th. *day of* June 1693. *in the Fifth Year of Our Reign.*

By Her MAJESTIES Command.

J. TRENCHARD.

MARIE R.

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THE HISTORY

Of the Famous

Edict of Nantes:

CONTAINING AN

ACCOUNT

OF ALL THE

PERSECUTIONS,

That have been in

FRANCE

From its First Publication to this Present Time.

Faithfully Extracted from all the Publick and Private Memoirs, that could possibly be procured.

VOL. I.

Printed first in *French*, by the Authority of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friezland*. And now Translated into English.

With Her Majesties Royal Privilege.

LONDON,
Printed for JOHN DUNTON, at the *Raven* in the *Poultry*. MDCXCIV.

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TO THE

QUEENS

Most Excellent Majesty.

MADAM,

OUR Majesties Eminent Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and the tender Compassion and Charity you have shewn to multitudes of French Refugiez, *of all Ranks and Degrees, who have been forced to fly hither for your Glorious Protection and Relief, encourages me to*

A *hope,*

hope, that your Majeſty will be pleaſed to pardon me this preſumption, of humbly laying at your Royal *Feet an account of their deplorable Afflictions, by permitting me to dedicate to your Illuſtrious Name, this Tranſlation of their Hiſtory of the* Edict of NANTES.

Your Majeſty may ſee in it with what an aſtoniſhing Barbarity the formerly Flouriſhing Churches of France *have been ruined and deſtroyed; with what Rage, Fury and Cruelty their* Perſecutors *have treated them, and how many thouſand Dangers thoſe miſerable Innocents have run, to find Sanctuary in your Kingdoms.*

The Reading of this Hiſtory, how afflicting ſoever it may be in it, ſelf will, I am confident, Madam, notwithſtanding afford your Majeſty ſome conſiderable ſatisfaction; for tho' the Ruin of theſe Churches cannot but very deeply afflict your moſt tender and Chriſtian Breaſt, yet your Extream Piety will however receive no ſmall meaſure of Joy and Comfort, to find, that this corrupt and Infi-

del

del Age, *wherein Open wickedness hath reigned with Reputation, hath yet produced* Martyrs *and* Confessors, *whose Courage and Constancy have scarce been inferiour to those of the* Primitive *Church, tho' they have suffered almost beyond Expression for the sake of their Religion, and for their Holy Faith have undergone a* Persecution, *which, taken in all its dismal Circumstances, is far beyond the Blackest of any that can be met with, in all the Records and Monuments of* Pagan Antiquity.

Nor, may it please your Majesty, will this History be unprofitable to your Subjects; for it will teach them what Dutiful Respect, Obedience and Acknowledgements they owe to your most Excellent Majesties, by informing them what a Horrid Persecution *Popery was preparing for them too, and the unexpressible Calamities into which they must inevitably have fallen, if God had not wrought a* Wonderful Salvation *for us, by making use of your Majesties Piety and Zeal, to effect this Great and Happy Deliverance.*

The Epiſtle Dedicatory.

That ſignal Favour Heaven *was pleaſed to ſhew to* England, *at a time, when both Church and State were over-run with Popery and Arbitrary Power, and brought to the point of Deſtruction, gives thoſe miſerable* Refugiez *ſtrong hopes, that they ſhall one day be re-eſtabliſhed; as it doth your Subjects a mighty Expectation, of ſeeing a Noble Change of the whole Face of Affairs, with reſpect to the Peace and Liberty of* EUROPE.

Your Refugiez *have no other Recourſe, next to Almighty God, than to your Majeſties, who are engaged to labour their Re-eſtabliſhment, not only by that Tenderneſs and Compaſſion, ſo natural to all generous Souls, and which is ſo peculiarly Bright in your Majeſty to the Afflicted and the Miſerable; but by the endearing Obligations which one and the ſame Communion lays upon you, by all the Chriſtian and Honourable ways, to procure it for them.*

And

And here, MADAM, *I have a fair occaſion to ſpeak of the Royal Vertues which adorn your Majeſties; to acquaint the world with that profound Reverence you have for the* Proteſtant *Religion, and with that Great Zeal you ſhew in the Defence of it: with what a diſintereſſed Vertue the* KING *oppoſes the unjuſt Uſurpations of* France, *with what firmneſs of Courage He hath expoſed his Royal Perſon to the moſt imminent Dangers of War; with what Prudence and Policy He hath united ſo many Princes of* Europe *of different Religions, and* confederated *them all in a ſteady Reſolution, to put an end to thoſe unparalelled Violences which have ſo long raged in a Neighbouring Kingdom, under the name of a* Moſt Chriſtian Monarch, *who notwithſtanding makes it his Glory to be* Inſenſible *of thoſe almoſt Inſupportable Calamities, which his own Subjects ſuffer and groan under by his means, and is the Inhumane Raviſher of the Publick Liberties of* Chriſtendom.

I could enlarge upon these, and many other of your Great and Illustrious Vertues, which are the Supream Ornaments of Crowns and Scepters; but where your Majesty commands my Silence, I have nothing to do but to submit, and to pay a most profound Obedience.

But I humbly beseech your permission to let me speak this Truth, that your Majesties have both testified, that an Universal Good hath been the end of all your Royal Cares, that you have preferred, the Raising of the Honour of the Nation, to your own Glory.

How often hath that precious, that Invaluable Life been hazarded abroad in the publick Cause of the Rights and Liberties of almost all Europe; *whilst You,* MADAM, *here at home, have governed with so Careful, so Just, so Wise an Administration, that You have rendered your Name no less Illustrious for your Prudence, and the rest of your shining Vertues, than the Greatest King in the World, I mean,* WILLIAM III. *hath made His Glorious, by His Valour, Conduct, and the Infinite other great Qualities of his Mind: and both*

both your Sovereign Majeſties are become the Delight of your Honeſt and Loyal Subjects, the Admiration of Foreign Princes, and the great Dread and Terrour of your Enemies.

May you Both live long, that your People may be happy long, and rejoyce long in you; and that your Majeſties may be long happy in your People, having the Hearts, the Eſteem, and Veneration of ALL your Subjects to be the Felicity and Glory of your Reign.

So Wiſhes, ſo Prays, with all imaginable Earneſtneſs and Devotion,

May it pleaſe your Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

Your Majeſties moſt Humble, moſt Faithful,

and moſt Obediently Loyal Subject.

——COOKE.

To My Lords

The Lords Deputy Counſellors

OF THE

States of Holland

AND

WEST-FRIEZLAND.

Moſt Noble and Puiſſant Lords,

IF I do not follow here the example of thoſe Writers, who place a ſtudy'd Panegyrick upon thoſe of whom they have made choice for their Protectors, at the beginning of their Works, 'twas neither fear of ill ſucceſs that hinder'd me, had I had any ſuch deſign, nor of expoſing my ſelf to the Diſtaſte that has been long ſince taken againſt ſuch kind of undertakings. I muſt confeſs I have no great reaſon to build much upon my Eloquence, but I might find in the abounding Treaſure of the Subject, wherewith to ſupply the defect of my Skill and Parts:

and I might hope withall to pleaſe the Reader, ſince I ſhould have an opportunity to tell him thoſe things which he rarely ſees in writings of the like Nature. 'Tis a difficult thing at this day to force into ſuch an Eulogy thoſe bold ſtroakes of Wit or Rhetorick, that might adorn it with any Graces of Novelty: more eſpecially moſt people believe that Truth very ſeldom appears in ſuch Applauſes. But it would be an eaſie thing for me to do ſomething more then uſual upon the Subject which I ſhould have in hand; in regard that tho my Praiſes were never ſo tranſcendent, they would never be look'd upon as ſuſpected or exceſſive. There would need no more for me then to conſider YOUR NOBLE PUISSANCES, as an Auguſt Body, to which all the Merit of the Illuſtrious Members that compoſe it, is due. It would be eaſie for me by this means to adorn my Diſcourſe with a thouſand Ornaments not common to the World: neither would any Perſon preſume to ſuſpect me of rearing the Glory of All together too High: ſeeing that if we ſhould take aſunder every one of thoſe who rae call d to thoſe Eminent Dignities, we ſhould find in his Name, in his Endowments, in his Employments and his Services, as many ſeveral Subjects for a juſt and lawful Panegyrick. But I know well, MOST NOBLE and PUISSANT LORDS, that ſolid Virtue is not ambitious of theſe vain Oblations. Only

vulgar

vulgar Souls are intoxicated with ſuch perfumes. They who have a Soul truly Great, chooſe rather to be profitable to the Publick by their noble Actions, then to hear either their Perſons or their Conduct extoll'd. I make no queſtion, but your NOBLE PUISSANCES, deem it far more worthy of your ſelves to engrave your Elogies in the Hearts and Memory of the People by your Sage and Prudent Government, then to read 'em in an Epiſtle Dedicatory. Therefore not to engage my ſelf in a labour that would be no way grateful to YOUR MOST NOBLE PUISSANCES, I will only give you an accompt of the reaſons which embolden'd me to preſent you this Piece, which I have now tranſmitted to publick View. I have not ſo good an Opinion of my ſelf, MOST NOBLE and PUISSANT LORDS, to imagine that the Fruits of my Labours are Offerings that merit your Acceptance. But the Nature of the Subject which I handle in this Hiſtory, dedicated to Your *Lordſhips*, may ſerve to excuſe the liberty which I take to lay it under the Protection of YOUR MOST NOBLE PUISSANCES: and after a full Examination, it may be eaſily acknowledg'd, that in reaſon and juſtice it could have been no other where addreſs'd. It contains a Recital of the misfortunes which in *France* have befallen thoſe, who for theſe fourſcore and ten

Years have liv'd in that Kingdom under the Faith of the moſt ſolemn Edict that ever was publiſh'd. It repreſents what they ſuffer'd, till the Revocation of that Law, which had been ſo long the Buckler of their Religion, and the Bulwark of their Liberty. It ſhews ſeveral thouſands of Families by Violence and Injuſtice reduc'd to abandon the Advantages and Delights of their Native Country; and to ſeek, on every ſide, a Sanctuary for their Perſons, and Repoſe for their Conſciences. 'Tis true that in all parts of *Europe*, whereever theſe Perſecuted Profeſſors of the true Chriſtian Faith have been led by Providence, they have receiv'd great marks of the compaſſion and good will of Foreigners: but in no State or Kingdom were they receiv'd with more tenderneſs, nor cheriſh'd with more affection than in this. The Charity of our Thrice Potent Soveraigns made haſt to meet their Petitions. Upon their arrival, they found all manner of ſuccour ready at hand. They ſhar'd, as I may ſay, the Conveniencies and Riches of the Country with the Inhabitants, by the free and liberal participation which they met with. They no ſooner breath'd the Air of theſe Countries, but they taſted the Abundance of it. They alſo whom the common Tempeſt had caſt on other Shores, were ſenſible of this Heroick Beneficence: not only becauſe it was a leading example to others, but becauſe the effects of it were not enclos'd within

within the limits of theſe Provinces. If the firſt Honour of this extreme Bounty be due to our Soveraigns, whoſe Zeal and Piety became ſo ſignal by ſuch a Glorious Teſtimonial; it cannot be deny'd, at leaſt, MOST NOBLE and PUISSANT, LORDS, but that the ſecond belongs to your ſelves. You found, you diſtributed the Funds whence theſe Immenſe Profuſions of Charity were drawn. Twas by the hands of YOUR MOST NOBLE PUISSANCES, that ſo many Profeſſors of the Chriſtian Faith, ſo many perſons of Great Quality, ſo many Paſtors and Teachers, ſo many ruin'd Families, ſo many people of both Sexes, which the Perſecution had reduc'd to utmoſt Exigency, have hitherto receiv'd, and ſtill receive all neceſſary Succour and Relief. In the midſt of ſuch Prodigious Expences, occaſion'd by a hideous War, The care which you take for the Publick does not ſlack'n your Diligence for the Conſolation of ſo many afflicted Innocents: and your inexhauſtible Charity does the ſame in procuring them an eaſie and comfortable Life, which your Indefatigable Vigilance performs in ſuffering nothing to be wanting to the Commonwealth in her lawful deſignes. After all this, there is no queſtion to be made, moſt NOBLE and PUISSANT LORDS, that it is no more than juſtice to Dedicate to your ſelves the Hiſtory of thoſe whoſe miſeries you ſo generouſly aſſwage and ſoften. As it will make

an

an Apology for their Innocency, ſo it will alſo magnifie your Bounty: and while it makes it appear that neither Seditions nor Conſpiracies, nor Civil Wars drew upon the Reformed theſe dreadful Misfortunes, ſo will it alſo publiſh to the World, that your Favours are ſo much the more worthy of Immortal Applauſe, by how much it was impoſſible to place 'em better; that a compaſſion truly Chriſtian produc'd 'em; and that you did not relieve thoſe diſconſolate Families, but becauſe you compaſſionated an Affliction which they had no way deſerv'd. I may likewiſe farther add, MOST NOBLE and POTENT LORDS, that in preſenting this Hiſtory to your Lordſhips, I do not take ſo much upon me a liberty which has need of an Excuſe, as an Opportunity to acquit my ſelf of a neceſſary Homage. 'Tis a mark of acknowledgement, which all the *Refugees* in ſome meaſure offer to your Lordſhips by my Hands, as it were to make the Returns of ſucceeding Ages to YOUR MOST NOBLE PUISSANCES, of thoſe Thanks and Teſtimonies of their Gratitude, which are due to your Lordſhips. And I dare preſume to ſay, that they make uſe of my Pen to make this Proteſtation to your Lordſhips, that it is not ſo much their deſign to preſerve to Poſterity the remembrance of thoſe Sufferings, as the Memory of that relief and thoſe conſolations which your Lordſhips afforded 'em. Nor do I hazard any thing

thing in taking upon me to be answerable for their Intentions and their Thoughts; in regard the conformity of our common condition ought to inspire into us all an equal sence of Gratitude for the Bounty of our Generous Protectors, whose Succour and Assistance was so seasonable and so comfortable to us. Besides, it is no difficult thing for me to reach the Sentiments of other peoples hearts on this particular occasion. They loudly enough express themselves, and every where declare, that they are beholding for their Lives and their Repose, solely to your Lordships Bounty. As for my own part, MOST NOBLE and PUISSANT LORDS, I wish to see this Work of mine may be kindly receiv'd in Publick, not so much for my own, as for the Interest of YOUR MOST NOBLE PUISSANCES. And it would be less a pleasure to me, to see my own Name consecrated to Eternity, if my Writings may acquire the priviledge of pretending to it, then to Immortalize your Glory, by informing future Ages, what share you had in the relief of so great a number of unfortunate Sufferers. But if my endeavours cannot soar to such a height, it will suffice me, MOST NOBLE and PUISSANT LORDS, to obtain at least one thing which I aspire to, as the Lawful Recompence of my labour; That in pursuance of that extraordinary Favour and good Will, of which YOUR NOBLE PUISSANCES give such Proofs to all the World,

you

you would be pleas'd to accept this Hiſtory which I preſent your Lordſhips, with as a Teſtimony of my Profound Reſpects, and as an engagement to be all the days of my Life, with as much Zeal, Submiſſion, and Sincerity as the Heart of Man is capable to expreſs,

Noble and Puiſſant Lords,

Your Noble Puiſſance's

Moſt humble, moſt Obedient

April 10. 1693.

and moſt faithful Servant,

B. M. A. D.

THE General Preface.

IF *History be Properly conſecrated to preſerve to Poſterity the remembrance of things the moſt remarkable that fall out in the World, it cannot be deny'd, but that the deplorable end of the liberty which the Reformed enjoy'd ſo long a time in* France, *is one of the moſt memorable Accidents that merits to be taken in hand for the information of ſucceeding Ages. There is not any thing in that Revolution, which does not deſerve particular Reflexions. Upon whatever circumſtance of that Horrid Deſolation a man fixes his mind, he ſhall find enough to exerciſe his Wit, either in wondering at the Malice and Wickedneſs of thoſe that were the Authors of it, or in admiring at the Patience, and perhaps in taxing the Puſillanimity and want of Courage of thoſe that were envelop'd in it. That a Clergy compos'd in truth of great Perſonages, but of perſons more intoxicated with the Grandeur and Maxims of the World, then ſenſible of the true Maxims of Religion, or capable indeed of underſtanding 'em, ſhould make it ſo entire-*

ly their buſineſs to Extirpate *poor* People *that were no longer in a condition to diſpute their* Poſſeſſions *and* Privileges *with 'em, and who had no further occaſion of difference with 'em, then what concern'd the* Right *of* Believing *and* Preaching, *in certain places, what ſeem'd to them to be moſt agreeable to the* Truth. *This is enough to aſtoniſh thoſe who underſtand, that Men muſt have ſome ſpecious pretence at leaſt to excuſe their proceedings to* Extremities *of* Injuſtice, *and* Cruelty. *That a King, who might have paſs'd for one of the moſt Potent of thoſe that ever wore the ſame Crown before him, and might have been the moſt Glorious of all his Predeceſſors, had he given his Subjects as much reaſon to admire his Equity, and the Fidelity of his word, as he had given Strangers an occaſion to dread his Proſperity, and his Conqueſts ſhould ſo far extend his complacency to a Confeſſor, and two or three other Eccleſiaſticks, as without any apparent cauſe to revoke one of the moſt ſolemn Edicts, and moſt worthy to have been inviolably obſerv'd, had it been for nothing elſe but only in reſpect to the Author: That this ſame Prince ſhould deal more* Rigorouſly *then he would have done with Rebels, with an Innocent, Peaceable and well-affected People, far from Plotting and Sedition; who for above theſe five and fifty Years have never been known to have appeared in Arms, but for the Service of the State: And who when they had taken Arms in a Conjuncture of high importance, perform'd Atchievements as much to the advantage of the Grandchild of* Henry *the* Great, *as their Anceſtors had done near a hun-*

dred

dred years before, to ſupport the Rights of that ſame Prince, of Happy and Triumphant memory. Theſe are things, I ſay, would hardly be believ'd, had we not before our Eyes a thouſand Teſtimonies that convince us of it. That a Counſel ſo profoundly and refin'dly Politick, and which to all the Enterprizes it undertakes confers an Air of Grandeur, which may ſeem to exceed the bounds of human Condition, nevertheleſs ſhould carry on this particular deſign after a manner ſo little proportionable to the ordinary Maxims it profeſs'd, that for the Oppreſſion of People, not in a capacity to defend themſelves, it ſhould not ſpare to make uſe of Acts of Violence and Injuſtice, of Litigions and Impertinent wrangling, the moſt mean and moſt malicious imaginable, ſo as to forget ſome certain forms of Decency and Decorum, which are never to be neglected in things that are acted under the Kings Name, is that which Poſterity would never be convinc'd of, were it not confirm'd to future Ages, by Authentick Proofs. That a People alſo, who were able to raiſe a hunder'd thouſand Men, able to bear Arms; who in many places ſurpaſs'd the Catholicks in Number, Wealth and Reputation; who were in no want of ſtout experienc'd Officers, full of zeal for their Religion, who often met with favourable opportunities for the reſettlement of their Affairs: That ſuch a People, I ſay, for thirty Years together ſhould undergo Oppreſſion ſo unjuſt, a hundred times more difficult to be endur'd by men of Courage, then the worſt of injuries: That they ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be expos'd on all hands; to be reduc'd to ſuch cruel Extremities, by a

thouſand ſhameful Artifices, ſo as to behold nothing but Snares and Precipices on every ſide; to be ſo cow'd as not only not to dare to make the leaſt Complaint, and ſhew the leaſt Reſentment of their Sufferings, but alſo not to dare believe what they felt; that they ſhould labour under a Perſecution for a long ſeries of Years, ſpun out by the Malice of their Enemies; as if it were not ſo much the purpoſe of their Oppreſſors to extirpate, as to weary 'em out, and put 'em beſides all their Patience: That in the midſt of theſe Calamities and Afflictions, theſe People thus overwhelm'd, ſhould ſit ſtill with ſuch a Conſcientious and preciſe Submiſſion, without ſeeking any other Conſolation then that of Sighs and Tears, without oppoſing the Deſigns of their Oppreſſors any otherwiſe then by repeated Petitions, by humble, reſpectful, moving Remonſtrances, enough to have mollifi'd the hearts of all that had any remainders of humanity left; that they ſhould literally practiſe the Chriſtian Precept of praying for their Perſecutors; that they ſhould all along continue to the end in doing them Service, that erected before their eyes the preparations for their ruin; That they ſhould make it a point of Duty to be faithful to thoſe that always broke their words with them; This is that which Ages to come will very hardly be perſwaded to believe. Neither do I know whether the Teſtimony of Hiſtory will be ſufficient to convince a Reader, never ſo little difficult of belief, of the Truth of an Event attended with ſo many extraordinary Circumſtances.

Nor

Now in regard there are ſome things very falſe which often cover themſelves with ſuch appearance of Truth, that the moſt Prudent and Circumſpect may be deceiv'd; ſo there are ſome Truths, that have ſomething rare and unheard of that makes 'em taken for Improbabilities. And this, in my opinion, may be rightly apply'd to the Perſecution which I have undertaken to give the Publick an accompt of. And it may well fall out one day that ſome doubt may be made of the moſt ſignal Actions that refer to this Hiſtory; ſince they who have been Eye-witneſſes of them, they who have experimentally felt 'em to their ſorrow, have much ado to believe 'em; and cannot comprehend that the fruit of a long fidelity, of ſeveral important ſervices, of an Innocency beyond all reproach, of a try'd Submiſſion, and chiefly of an invincible Patience, ſhould be forc'd by neceſſity to renounce the ſweets and conveniencies of a delightful Country: to abandon their temporal Eſtates and Advantages; to loſe the more precious and natural part of Liberty, which is that of ſerving God according to the Rule which we are perſwaded he has ſet down himſelf. And laſtly, to ſeek for that, under another Dominion, and in a Foreign Air, which is denyed 'em by the Commands of their natural Prince, and by thoſe with whom they had breath'd the ſame Air from their Birth. It happens ſometimes that men may take a plauſible pretence for the commiting ſo many Cruelties, from the Politick Factions and Enterprizes of them againſt whom they are exercis'd: and in regard the ſervice of God has often ſerv'd for a Cloak to the Ambitions, to cover the Deſign of their Quarrelſome Claims,

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'tis no wonder that ſometimes they make uſe of the ſame pretence againſt thoſe whoſe Religion they ſeek to deſtroy, tho in reality they had no Intent to diſturb the publick Peace. But there was nothing of this that could give the leaſt Colour for the laſt Oppreſſion of the Reformed. They had neither Protector nor Arms, nor Cities, neither were they in Confederacy; and the fear of giving an opportunity to thoſe who had ſought ſo long after one to perſecute 'em, oblig'd 'em to carry themſelves with the moſt exact Obedience imaginable. The Faith of the Kings Promiſes, and the good will of their Soveraign had been ſo long preach'd up among 'em as a better ſecurity for them then all the ſtrong Holds in the Kingdom, that they avoided, to the utmoſt of their power, all occaſions of rendring themſelves unworthy of his Favours. They were depriv'd of the means to ſignalize themſelves in publick Employments, becauſe they had by degrees excluded 'em from almoſt all Offices of State: but in all Employments from which they could not debar 'em, in the Exchequer Employments, where their Exactneſs and their Fidelity maintain'd them a long while; in Employments of Trade, the greateſt part of which their Underſtanding and Reputation had drawn into their own hands, in warlike Employments, to which they ran as often as the Kings ſervice call'd 'em: In a word, in all things elſe wherein they were permitted to diſtinguiſh themſelves, there was not any of the French Nation that ſhew'd more Zeal than they for the glory of their Prince, or who have more honour'd their Country by their noble Actions.

I could here ſet down a very conſiderable Catalogue of thoſe who ſince the taking of Rochel, *as well by their merits as their ſervices have remov'd all the obſtacles which their Religion lay'd in their way to Preferment, and attain'd to the higheſt Employments both Civil and Military. 'Tis known that the moſt noble Atchievements of* Turenne, *and which were of greateſt advantage to the Crown, preceded the change of his Religion. But I cannot forbear ſaying this farther, that at the very ſame time that the Act of* Nantes *was revok'd, the two greateſt Captains in the Service were Both of the Reformed Religion. Mareſchal* Schomberg *has ſpread the Reputation of his Maſters Arms as far as well it could fly; and after the death of* Turenne, France *thought her ſelf happy in ſuch a perſon as he, to ſupport the Kings Honour, after it had receiv'd ſo great a loſs. The deceaſed Prince of* Conde, *who was one that well could judge of a Souldiers Capacity, made no ſcruple to compare 'em both together, and to diſcover in M.* Schomberg, *ſomething I know not what more ſprightly, quick and ready, when he was to reſolve upon an unexpected Accident. The Marquis of* Queſne, *who commanded the* French *Fleet, had no body after the death of Admiral* Ruyter *that would diſpute with him for priority in that Profeſſion. So that Merit has rais'd two of the Reformed, notwithſtanding the malice born to their Religion, to the Higheſt Dignities in the Military Art, as well by Sea as Land.*

What likelyhood was there that at a time when ſo many noble Actions ſpoke in favour of the Reformed, they ſhould not only endeavour, but accompliſh their ruin? That they ſhould take a time to deſtroy 'em, when they could neither accuſe 'em of Rebellion, *nor look upon 'em as uſeleſs to the Kingdom? Certainly no man would have imagin'd a hundred years ago, that* France *would have expos'd her ſelf in our Time, by ſuch a piece of Injuſtice as this, to the reproach of all* Europe. *At leaſt people would ſuppoſe there might be ſome private reaſon to treat with ſo much inhumanity a number of poor Chriſtians, who by their quiet diſpoſitions, not to ſpeak of their Services, ſeem'd to merit quite the contrary. 'Tis not eaſily to be ſuſpected that one man ſhould exerciſe the fury of his hatred againſt another, without having at leaſt ſome ſpecious pretence for it. How then is it poſſible to believe, that in* France *men ſhould be tranſported to the extremities of rigour againſt a Million of innocent Perſons, for no other reaſon, but meerly out of an ill grounded hatred? Nevertheleſs this is all that can be ſaid of the motives of the laſt Perſecution. Not only hatred, but hatred without a cauſe, without pretence, without excuſe, inflam'd againſt a People without defence, who ſought to vanquiſh the averſion of their Enemies, by their Patience, and by their Services. Doubtleſs therefore it is but juſtice truly and faithfully to inform Poſterity, that they be enabl'd to give a right Judgment, upon an Event ſo little known; and do the ſame Juſtice to the Authors of theſe Cruelties, as we now do*

to thoſe who have giv'n us a Model of what was formerly committed in the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity, as alſo under the Bloody Reign of Charles IX.

But beſides the general Reaſon of preſerving the remembrance of this Perſecution, there are two others which deſerve to be conſidered. The one is, becauſe that they who adviſed it have endeavour'd to anticipate Poſterity upon this Subject, by divers Artifices. I know not how many Writers hir'd on purpoſe to diſguiſe Affairs, and to deprive Truth of her natural Weight and Matter, have fill'd all Europe *with their Pamphlets fitted out to make the World believe that they who ſuffer'd all the effects of Violence and Injuſtice, ſhould be one day lookt upon as Criminals, to whom there was a great deal of Mercy ſhewn. On the one ſide they ſet 'em out in moſt black and dreadful Colours. They aggravate with an envenomed Eloquence what ever can be laid hold on for a pretence to accuſe 'em; and finding nothing in their Actions that may ſerve as a foundation to their Invectives, they ſearch for reaſons in their Thoughts, in their Deſires, in their Inclinations, which they deſcribe after a very deteſtable manner. They attribute to 'em a troubleſome, turbulent, unquiet ſpirit, Commonwealth-Maxims, an averſion to Monarchy; a Hereſie incompatible to the repoſe of Kingdoms, and which infuſes an ambitious, daring Genius, always in Action, if it be not ſuppreſs'd by a greater Force. But certainly this accuſation has been loudly contradicted by the long Peace*

wherein the Reformed have liv'd. And it would be a difficult thing for these Calumniators to tell us, what became of this Seditious Spirit for five and fifty years together; how it came to lose the opportunity of a Minority, and a Civil War, without laying hold of the advantages of so convenient a Season; how it happend not to burst forth in a doleful Oppression of thirty years together. There seems to be a great deal of rashness in an accusation of such Importance, when there are no proofs of matter of Fact to make it out; and that it is only supported by the Impudence of the Authors of it. But this will not put a stop to those Writers, who are sufficiently pai'd for venting their Impostures, and can easily qualifie the Affront of a Lye publickly given 'em, with the hopes of finding Credulous Readers, who without putting themselves to the trouble of examining matters, will pin their Belief upon the Sleeves of such extravagant Authors. On the other side they extenuate the occasions of complaint, which have been given to the Reformed for so many years together. They talk of nothing but the soft and charitable means that have been us'd to reclaim 'em from their Errors; of their Paternal cares, and Spiritual Exhortations. There is not the least Pamphlet that peeps abroad, wherein the Author is not very double diligent to slip in a word, and tell us, how there could be nothing more Charitable or more Evangelick, than the Expedients made use of for the Conversion of Hereticks. This Falsehood is become one essential part of their Epistles Dedicatory.

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It would look as if ſomething were wanting, if they did not croud in by head and ſhoulders ſome Elogy or other of that new ſort of Tenderneſs *and* good Will, *which never make themſelves known but by Condemnations, Impriſonments, Confiſcations, Baniſhments, the Galleys, Gibbets, the Wheel, and ſuch like merciful Acts of Clemency and Mildneſs. But in regard they dare not promiſe to themſelves that all men will take theſe extraordinary Violences for marks of Charity, they have bethought themſelves of another courſe to ſatisfie thoſe nice and difficult People, who call* Cruelty *Cruelty, and* Injuſtice *Injuſtice. There are ſome Writers who have the knack of it, to deny matters of Fact, that are known all over* Europe, *and to cry 'em down for Impoſture, tho they that carry'd upon their Bodies the marks of their ſufferings, made loud complaints in foreign Countries. Thoſe People have the Confidence to give the lye to the Eyes and Teſtimonies of all thoſe that have ſeen and felt what has paſt. As if there were not only a Million of People who are living proofs of it, but an infinite number of publick Acts which all confirm what has fallen out. Laſtly, that they may not omit any thing that lies in their power to diſguiſe the Truth of things, there are ſome Authors who have endeavour'd to make it out, that all thoſe Acts of Injuſtice, Violence and Fraud, which have been committed againſt the Reformed, were the effects of an exemplary Juſtice. If they have taken from*

'em their publick Places of Exerciſe, 'twas done, ſay they, becauſe thoſe places were uſurp'd: if they have tormented 'em with a thouſand vexatious Ordinances, 'twas only, ſay they, to retrench 'em of thoſe priviledges which they took, notwithſtanding there was nothing in thoſe Edicts which authoriz'd their enjoyment of 'em. If they did inhumanely delude 'em by confirmations of the Edict and Promiſes to obſerve it, which they violated in the moſt Eſſential Conceſſions, 'twas, ſay they, by interpretations of the true Sence, which had been miſunderſtood. If they tortur'd 'em, by a thouſand perſonal Proceſſes and Suits, by quartering of Soldiers upon 'em with Licence to live at Rack and Manger; by divers Outrages and Puniſhments; 'twas, ſay they, becauſe they had deſerv'd it, by doing thoſe things that were forbid 'em by the laſt Declarations. In ſhort, Declarations were expreſly given out, to make thoſe things Criminal, which were either moſt Innocent or moſt Indiſpenſable, to the end they might be always ſecure of a Pretence to abuſe and evil-intreat 'em, becauſe of their having done ſomething which they could not avoid the doing, or which in Conſcience they were oblig'd to do ſo for their own ſafety and the welfare of their Families. Thus it was that they were condemn'd to the Galleys, when they ſought to depart the Kingdom, or to ſend away their Wives and Children into Places of more ſecurity; that they ruin'd 'em by their Gariſons, dragg'd 'em from Dungeons to Dungeons,

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and ſent 'em to the newfound World becauſe they refus'd to go to Maſs. They were forbid the one, the other they were commanded. All the miſchief therefore which they ſuffer'd for having diſobey'd, was no more, ſay they, but a juſt puniſhment of their diſobedience. As if it had been a reall Crime to abſtain from things unjuſtly forbidden; or not to do thoſe things that were unjuſtly commanded. All theſe Artifices, and others of the ſame nature, may ſo alter the outward Face of things, that it would be impoſſible that ever Poſterity ſhould be rightly inform'd, if men did not take the pains to repreſent 'em in their natural Condition, and with their legitimate Circumſtances.

The ſecond Reaſon for writing the Hiſtory of theſe Tranſactions, is, becauſe we do not meet with any thing, ſince the death of Henry *the* Great, *which gives us an exact accompt of the Affairs of Religion, in reference to the Churches of* France. *Before that time we find Memoirs ſufficient, Writings in abundance, wherein Affairs of that Nature are laid down. And in regard the* Catholicks *have compos'd great Volumes to throw the blame of all upon the* Reformed: *They on the other ſide have not ſate mute, nor have they fail'd to make good defences for themſelves. There have been paſſionate Writers of both Parties, who have diſcours'd the general Affairs with heat and Violence, and who have run themſelves too far into Complaints and Invectives. But there have been others more moderate, who have treated of the ſame*

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things, with extraordinary Modeſty and impartial Equity. The Preſident James Auguſtus Thuanus, *and the Hiſtorian* Mezeray, *are of the number of thoſe who have handl'd this Subject with moſt mildneſs and reſerv'dneſs. And tho by the Style of their Writing they may well be diſcern'd to be Catholicks, and prejudic'd in favour of their Religion; yet there is a certain ſplendor of Truth that ſhines forth, and which gives ſatisfaction to an impartial Reader. A man may eaſily, in reading theſe Hiſtorians, diſintangle that which is infus'd by zeal for Religion, from that which is the pure and naked Truth. And the matter of Fact being genuinely recited, the Writer's judgment does no way deprive the Reader of his liberty to be of a contrary opinion. But ſince the death of that Prince we meet no longer with any faithful Hiſtoriographers. Several Catholicks have written that which paſs'd under the Reign of* Lewis XIII. *But they have interlarded their Writings with ſo much Violence and Fury, that there is no peruſing them with Patience. They who deſire to make tryal of this, need no more than only to caſt their Eyes upon the* Hiſtory of the Rebellion, *or upon that which was compiled by the unfaithful* Du Pleix. *They alſo who have not ſuffer'd themſelves to be tranſported to the ſame exceſſes which thoſe Authors of Lower Rank have been guilty of, nevertheleſs have not obſerv'd ſufficient meaſures to procure 'em the name of juſt and Equitable; as having ſtuft their Writings with ſo ma-*

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ny venomous Expreſſions, ſo many malignant Reflections, ſo many Teſtimonials of their Paſſion and Hatred, that that ſame perpetual Character of Bitterneſs and Partiality renders 'em ſuſpected in what ever they ſay, and is the reaſon that we dare not believe 'em when they ſpeak Truth. Nor have the Reformed been ſo careful to oppoſe better Hiſtories of their Affairs to theſe injurious Relations: So that they ſeem by their ſilence to have authoriz'd the Invectives of their Oppreſſors, as if they had nothing ſolid to return 'em in anſwer. 'Tis true, that there have been ſome perſons, who either by the Command or Approbation of National Synods, have attempted to Collect the Memoirs of ſuch important events in reference to Religion. But the one have written with more zeal than knowledge; others have been conſtrain'd to abandon the Enterprize, becauſe the Times would not permit 'em to deliver their Sentiments with freedom. The Deſigns that were laid before the beginning of the Civil Wars under Lewis XIII. could no longer be put in execution with ſecurity, after the proſperous ſucceſs of that Prince had brought down the ſtrength and courage of the Reformed. 'Twas then a Crime of State to ſay, that the Court had broken their word. To excuſe the Actions of thoſe who had taken up Arms, or to ſet forth the Juſtice of the Complaints upon ſo many Breaches of the Edict, which the Court would never make good, was enough to expoſe a Man to all the Puniſhments of the moſt infamous Rebels. After that

the King began to be troubleſome to the Miniſters, upon pretence that they had committed or ſpoken ſomething prejudicial to his ſervice; and the leaſt words that they could lay hold of to mi conſtruction, drew upon 'em Prohibitions not to meet at Synods; Commands to ſtay till new Orders in certain places that were aſſign'd 'em for Priſons; Injunctions not to act in their Functions within the Kingdom; Menaces of more ſevere uſage if occaſion offer'd: there was nobody that dard take upon him to inform the Publick of theſe Truths, ſo ill receiv'd by thoſe who thought themſelves offended by ſo doing, and ſo fatal to thoſe that had the boldneſs to utter 'em. 'Tis no time for a Man to make his Apology, when he is reduc'd for his own preſervation to ſubmit in all things, and to take it as a favour at his Enemies hands for granting life to the Innocent, upon condition they will confeſs themſelves guilty. However, ſuch was the Condition of the Reformed, *after they were once depriv'd of all their Places of Security. Diſarm'd, Diſunited, Vanquiſh'd, that they were conſtrain'd to talk of their own Conduct as the Victors diſcours'd; to condemn, with them, whatever was paſt, as if they never had had any juſt cauſe of Fear, or any good reaſons for their Complaints. And to thank 'em as for a moſt endearing favour, that after they had taken from their Churches all Support and Maintenance, they did not altogether quite exterminate their perſons. 'Tis not therefore to be thought a wonder, that at a time when*

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it was ſo dangerous to ſpeak Truth, and ſo neceſſary to keep ſilence, there ſhould be no Hiſtory of the Reformed written, which would have certainly coſt the Author inevitable ruin. But in regard that many times Truth grows leſs odious the older it is, Time affords us more ſecurity to tell it, and gives us liberty to reſcue it from that darkneſs where the Terror of Puniſhment had oblig'd us to conceal it.

Theſe ſeveral Conſiderations have made me for a long time wiſh, that ſome perſon capable of ſo great a undertaking, would give himſelf the Trouble to compile ſo neceſſary a Hiſtory, and to oppoſe againſt the Invectives with which the Conduct of the Reform'd have been blackn'd for ſeventy Years together, either a genuine and ſincere Recital of what has befallen 'em, or an Apology for their Actions, which have given the greateſt advantages to their Detracters. I never queſtion'd but that it was greatly to their diſadvantage to ſuffer thoſe to talk alone upon this Subject, whoſe intereſt it was to delude the World; and that, one day, the Reform'd perſecuted with ſo much violence, Injuſtice, Breach of Faith, would be expos'd to the ſiniſter Judgments of Poſterity, if ſucceeding Ages were not rightly otherwiſe inform'd of the miſeries they have ſuffer'd, than by the Relations of their Adverſaries. Poſterity then would meet with nothing but outragious Panegyricks, Hyperbolical Elogies, and Studi'd Compariſons, exalting this continu'd inveteracy, and this inſulting Oppreſſion above the Nobleſt Actions of the

Greateſt Heroe's; and well might our Off-ſpring be excus'd for not diſcerning through theſe diſguiſes the Innocence of the Unfortunate, of which no Body had been ſo careful as to preſerve good Teſtimonials. 'Tis true, the Regiſters of the Council, of the Parliaments, of all the Juriſdictions both Soveraign and Inferiour are full of Acts, the very reading of which alone might ſerve to prove the Innocence of thoſe againſt whom they were iſſu'd forth; and that the greateſt part of 'em were publiſh'd with ſo little precaution, that they are rather Demonſtrations of their Accuſers breach of word, and the ignominious compliance of the Judges, than any proofs of the Crime imputed to the Parties accus'd. But in the firſt place, 'tis impoſſible, conſidering the preſent poſture of Affairs, that any one ſhould undertake to make a Collection of thoſe Acts, the very ſearch after which would render the perſon ſuſpected: and 'tis yet more unlikely that there will be any body, a hundred years hence, that will think himſelf ſo deeply oblig'd in juſtification of the Innocent, as to take upon him an inquiſition which can never prove ſucceſsful without a great deal of Care, Time, Labour and Expence. Moreover, all the World is well acquainted with the Policy of the Roman Church. She knows how to ſuppreſs what ever may redound to her prejudice. There are now an infinite number of Acts not to be found in the Regiſters, which being uſeful to her at the time when they were made, ſhe was afterwards aſham'd to have ſeen. By this means ſhe has

has conceal'd the ſource of a great many of her Uſurpations. She has reduc'd thoſe that fain would dive into the Original of that Corruption, which ſhe has introduc'd into all the parts of Religion, to a neceſſity of romaging all the Libraries of Europe, *in ſearch of ſome Monument that might diſcover the occaſions and progreſs of her Enterprizes. And ſhe has had ſuch good luck in ſeveral matters of great importance, that ſhe has render'd many Certainties almoſt doubtful and problematical, tho ſhe could not ſucceed ſo far, as altogether to deprive 'em of the Character of Probability and Likelihood: which in things that cauſe the Perſons to bluſh, who are upbraided to have committed 'em, makes us lawfully ſuſpect that they ſuppreſt the moſt convincing Proofs. And thus perhaps it was, that ſhe gave her Writers the priviledge to call in queſtion the famous Hiſtory of that Woman, who, as they ſay, ſate in St.* Peters *Chair at* Rome *for ſeveral years under the name of* John VIII. *I ſhould have a greater eſteem for ſome Hiſtorical Obſervations that ſeem to deſtroy what is averr'd concerning this matter, but that I know that Prudence in ſuppreſſing the Monuments of ſhameful Acts, and puzzling the circumſtances of odious deeds, either by falſifying the Date, or the alteration of ſome deciſive word, is no new ſort of Prudence. But when I add to this conſideration ſo many proofs more than probable, which ſerve as a foundation to this Hiſtory, I muſt acknowledge my ſelf almoſt convinc'd of the truth of it. In things of this nature*

the juſt ſuſpicion which men have of the bad Credit of the accus'd, when they have already been frequently convinc'd of having aboliſh'd ſuch Monuments by which the truth of things was preſerv'd, is doubtleſs an imperfect proof againſt 'em. But when the matter of Fact is farther ſuported by a multitude of preſſing inſtances and ſtrong preſumptions, it cannot be deny'd but that imperfect proof may become equivalent to a good Demonſtration.

But not to engage my ſelf in an unprofitable digreſſion, I ſhall only add, That the Author who wrote the History of the Reformation of England *had more than once ſufficient experience of the great care which the Catholicks took to deface the memory of things, which they were unwilling Poſterity ſhould know, that the publick Regiſters of his Country which ought to have been inviolable, were not lookt upon to be ſo ſacred by thoſe who met with any Acts which were not to their advantage. I conclude from all this, that perhaps a hundred year hence the Jeſuits will have taken the ſame precautions to aboliſh the memory of thoſe Acts of injuſtice, which they have either committed or adviſed, and that they will leave nothing in the publick Regiſters to give us any knowledge of what paſt in our days, in* France, *as to matters of Religion. So that I cannot but think it neceſſary to prevent the Effect of their Artifices, and to publiſh, at leaſt by way of Apology, certain proofs of the Innocence of the Reformed, and the violated Faith of their Adverſaries; to the*

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end Poſterity may be able to give a more equitable judgment of the matter of Fact that is not be deny'd by either ſide, upon the Invectives of the Accuſers and the Defences of the Parties accus'd. I had ſome reaſon to hope, ſome years ſince, that I ſhould ſee my deſires accompliſh'd, when I underſtood that a perſon whoſe name is famous all over Europe, *and whoſe Writings have enforc'd his very Adverſaries to admire his piercing Wit, his Exactneſs, his Sincerity and Solidity, was about to have undertaken this great Work. But having chang'd his mind for ſome reaſons, I have been conſtrain'd to ſupply his place, and to expoſe my ſelf to ill ſucceſs, in an enterprize ſo much above my ability, ſince it would have been ſo proper for ſo great a Perſon. I ſhall not go about to anticipate the minds of men in my favour, by humble excuſes for my raſhneſs; nor to incline 'em to pardon the faults I may commit in a Work ſo laborious as this, by confeſſing before hand, that I am not infallible, and by declaring that I ſubmit my ſelf to their Cenſure, provided they will be juſt in pronouncing it. I well know what has formerly been ſaid, and what may now be retorted upon thoſe, who ſtrive this way to inveagle the Reader into a good Opinion of their Works. 'Tis better to abſtain from committing Faults, where it is in our Power, than to beg pardon, on purpoſe to render 'em more tolerable. I might have let writing alone, becauſe I was not conſtrain'd to it: and if I were afraid of not pleaſing*

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all the World in a Work of this Importance, 'twas long of my ſelf that I diſpleas'd any body, who might have avoided the occaſion of committing faults, which no body perhaps will have the goodneſs to pardon; which I might have eaſily done by ſitting ſtill and not writing at all. But I muſt confeſs that the fear of ſeeing the deſign, of ſo neceſſary a Hiſtory quite given over, prevail'd with me above all theſe conſiderations which might have diverted me from it: and that I thought it more profitable for the Publick, to oblige the World with ſuch a Work as I was able to produce upon this Subject; than to leave men ill inform'd of ſo woful a Revolution as has befallen the Affairs of the Reform'd. And that which has the more confirm'd me in this reſolution, is this, that other perſons having labour'd upon the ſame Subject a little before I appli'd my ſelf to it, I found in their writings a great deal of Apology, but little Hiſtory, tho I obſerv'd ſolidity ſufficient.

Now this is that which appears to me in writing what has paſs'd both for and againſt the Reformed to be principally indiſpenſable; to give a juſt extent to the matters of Fact which concern 'em; to the end, that conſidering them on every ſide with all their circumſtances about 'em, it may be the more eaſie to judge, whether they be the Marks of a Factious, Licentious and turbulent Spirit, as their Adverſaries give out, or the effects of a neceſſary prudence, and a lawful precaution, as the Reform'd pretend. When we

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read a History in Abridgement, the matters of Fact being too naked and too bare, afford not ſcope enough to the Reader's judgment: So that before he can give his Opinion upon what the Hiſtorian has related to him, he frequently deſires to know the circumſtances which the Author's brevity has conceal'd from him. As for example. Look into the Writings of Maimbourg, Soulier, la Croix; *or any ſuch like Authors, who have only taken their Pens in their Hands to render the Reformed odious: and if any one finds there in abſtract, that the Reformed having perſever'd about eight or nine Years in the purſuite of certain Petitions, which King* Lewis *did not think fit to grant 'em, the Prince being importun'd by their ſollicitations, took Arms to reduce 'em to his Will: took from 'em their places of Hoſtage; broke their Union; deſpoil'd 'em of ſeveral of their Priviledges: here is moſt certainly real matter of Fact; but the Brevity of the Relation does not ſatisfie the Reader. Therefore that he may judge knowingly of the matter, 'tis neceſſary that he ſhould be inform'd of the nature of the things demanded by the Reformed, and the reaſons why they were demanded with ſo much perſeverance: it behov'd him to know what were the grounds of the Courts refuſals, and what was the occaſion of their taking Arms, to ſtop the courſe of thoſe demands which were made 'em with ſo much importunity. Without this, 'tis impoſſible to know whether the fears of the Reformed were juſt or no; whether their*

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complaints were lawful; whether the Courts refuſals proceeded from ill will, or from the injuſtice of the Requeſts; nor is it poſſible otherwiſe to judge whether the Reformed were duly puniſh'd as Rebels, or oppreſs'd, as unfortunate innocent perſons, by the War which the Court declar'd againſt 'em. Therefore the matter of Fact is to be unfolded and laid open before the Reader's Eyes. It muſt be made clear to him, why the Reformed complain'd: how they came to be under new fears and apprehenſions every day. Why the Court accus'd 'em of Diſaffection, and ſought all manner of ways to ſurprize and deſtroy 'em. Thus the Reader having underſtood the ſtate of the Queſtion, is at liberty to judge whether the fears of the Reformed were Vain, and whether the Court had reaſon to overwhelm 'em as they did. If he be not equitable in his ſentence, that's no fault of the Hiſtorian, becauſe he has given the Reader light ſufficient to judge with knowledge.

Now in regard that this Reflection may be appli'd to all matters of Fact that concern Religion, I thought it not enough to publiſh a Hiſtory in Epitome of the misfortunes of the Reformed Churches in France; *but that they ought to be ſet down at large, that by going back to the Original of the whole matter, and ſetting forth the Progreſs and Series of what has befallen 'em good or ill, not only the variety would render the reading of Work the more delightful, but that the diſplay of the moſt important circumſtan-*

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ces would make it likewiſe more profitable; and would ſerve for the more ſolid foundation of an Apology, for thoſe forlorn and diſconſolate Flocks at this day ſcatter'd over the Face of Europe. *To this purpoſe I propos'd to my ſelf to do that which I ſaw no body elſe preparing to undertake: and to the end I might give an occaſion of judging more ſoundly whether the revocation of the* Edict *of* Nantes, *which we have ſeen in our days, were an Act of Juſtice and Sincerity, I have endeavour'd faithfully to ſet down whatever I could learn concerning the manner how it was purſu'd, obtain'd, publiſh'd, put in execution, or violated, while there was yet ſome reſpect and reverence ſhew'd to the name and Author of it. To this purpoſe I have undertaken to write the Hiſtory of whatever paſt in* France *upon the account of Religion, from* Luther *to the Time that this Edict was ſet forth; to the end it might the better be known what right the Reformed had to demand it; what reaſons oblig'd 'em to be ſatisfi'd with it; why there happen'd ſo many Conteſts about ſome Articles which it contain'd; why the King had ſo much trouble to grant it; why the Clergy were ſo unwilling to conſent to it, and the Parliaments ſhew'd ſo much reluctancy to verifie it. To this purpoſe it is requiſite that we ſhould ſhew what figure the Reformed made in the Kingdom: what Tyes and Obligations there were between Them, and the King, when he came to the Crown; who were their Friends or their Enemies; and what were the reaſons either of*

their hopes or fears. 'Twas my opinion that in order to this design it would be sufficient to set down in few words the most remarkable and most unquestionable Events, from the Reformation till the death of Henry III. *as being enough to give at least an Idea, and a Taste of the general Affairs of that time. On the other side, I judg'd it meet to be more profuse and copious in relating the Transactions which belong to the Reign of* Hen. IV. *as having so strict a Connexion with the Affairs of the Edict; which unless they be more distinctly known, it would be a difficult thing to judge how justly, and how prudently it was resolv'd upon, and how necessary to be granted.*

This design which has caus'd me to undertake a History of above fourscore and fifteen years, not to speak of the Compendium, which comprehends above seventy more, has render'd my trouble so much the greater, and gave me an occasion to fear my inability to attempt so great a Work. I do not presume to boast the extent of an extraordinary Wit; and I am clearly convinc'd, that neither Force nor delicacy of stile are fallen to my lot. My vanity perhaps may flatter me to be worthy of being number'd among the midling sort: and if there be any who believe it does not become me to soar so high, I am willing to descend a degree lower. Moreover, I have spent the greatest part of my life in such kind of studies as no way cultivated my Genius for the writing of History. And my assiduity in another sort of employment would

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not permit me the leiſure to think upon other things. The Perſecutions of the Church for ſo many years, have all along overwhelm'd me in tedious, frequent and irkſome diſtractions, which have engag'd me to cares far different from thoſe that are proper for a perſon who deſigns to be a Hiſtorian. So that it was impoſſible on my Part, that I ſhould come furniſh'd to the Work which I have undertaken, either with the gifts of a ſurpaſſing natural inclination, or the ſagacity of a cultivated Wit, with ſo much care as neceſſity requir'd. For 'twas impoſſible for me to acquire the knowledge of ſeveral Profeſſions, of which it is requiſite to underſtand the moſt common Terms, to ſpeak after a manner proper to pleaſe and inform, when occaſion preſents it ſelf. Conſequently it was impoſſible for me to avoid falling into many errors, which perhaps more equitable Readers will paſs over; but Criticks, who are always the greater number, will never pardon. This may raiſe againſt me all thoſe that think themſelves more dextrous and witty than others, not ſo much perhaps becauſe they are able to do better, but becauſe that having ſtudi'd nothing more in Books, than the defects of other Men, they believe themſelves to have acquir'd the Art to commend, and the Priviledge to cenſure 'em. 'Tis the cuſtom of theſe people to faſten upon what is leaſt eſſential in Books, and to make a great noiſe of the faults which they find there, to the end that they whoſe conſiderations never pierce to the bottom of things, may judge

from thence, that the whole Work is of no value. The Jeſuit Palavicini, *by this Artifice has found no leſs than three hundred and ſixty faults, by tale, in the Hiſtory of the Council of* Trent, *written by* P. Paolo Sarpio. *But to fill up the number, he was forc'd to make uſe of all the ſprings and little engins of fallacy and litigious Cavils; to make an ill mark'd Date paſs for a Capital Crime, one Number miſtaken for another, Six for Five, Twenty for Twenty one, and ſuch like trivial Slipps; but more eſpecially, to tax for contradictory, matters of Fact which altogether may be true, and agree well enough one with another. Who would not think that a Book, where no leſs than 360 faults are found, and Arithmetically number'd out, ſhould be lookt upon as an ill Book? Nevertheleſs make an abatement from this number of the meer Trifles, which change not at all the nature of the matters of Fact, and the errors which appear not to be errors, only becauſe the Cenſurer, who obſerves 'em, conceals the reaſons that juſtifie 'em, you ſhall ſee perhaps three fourth parts of the faults pretended, vaniſh of a ſudden; and the fourth part that remains, will not be lookt upon as well prov'd neither, till the Character of both Hiſtorians be compar'd together; till the reaſons that ſupport the Objections, the Motives that engage either the one or the other to deceive the World, and the purity of the Springs from whence the Proofs are drawn, for what they are be rightly examin'd.*

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But I never thought that the fear of these inconveniences ought to stop me. The cause of Truth and Innocency would be too much abandon'd, if men should be afraid of defending it, for fear of drawing upon 'em the Censures of People that understand how to falsifie backwards and forwards with an equal boldness. We must ei her renounce writing for the Publick good, or harden our selves against these inevitable Rancounters. Principally when it is a matter of History, and such a History which in favour of Oppress'd Innocence, attacques the most formidable Puissances in the world, we must expect a Tempest of Injuries, Reproaches, Lyes, and wha soever else is proper to cry down the Book and Author of it, and render both obnoxious to the Indignation of the Vulgar. Now as I foresaw that this might befall me, it will never be a wonder to me if it happen. And I thought I could not better arm my self against these stroaks of interested malice, than with Sincerity, Truth and Exactness; never minding the trouble which imposture and brangling might put me to. We never ought to write but for the sake of brave and generous Souls, and those of that Character never judge of things without profound consideration gliding over faults that have nothing of Importance, or Essential. Now I hope they will never be able to surprize me in errors of the latter quality. I have endeavour'd to shun all manner of disguises; and perhaps I have spoken too plainly and openly of several things, which another would have

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envelop'd in a prudent ſilence. But when it is Impoſſible to juſtifie the Innocent but by revealing Truths, tho ſomewhat nice and delicate, of neceſſity it behoves us to lay aſide ſome certain reſpects, that cannot be obſerv'd without betraying the Cauſe which we deſire to defend. This is the only excuſe that I intend to make to thoſe who perhaps will find that I ſpeak of certain things with too much liberty. I thought it my duty ſo to do, to gain the reputation of greater credit, and more clearly and faithfully to inform the Readers of the ſources of Events, and the grounds of my particular Reflexions.

The ſame ſincerity which I profeſs in Hiſtory, obliges me to acknowledge that there may be faults in this Work of mine, which may be found to be eſſential, and which perhaps I may be willing to grant for ſuch, when they ſhall be really made out. But they will not be imputed to me for ſuch by impartial Judges, when I ſhall make it out from whence they may proceed. 'Tis certain that I had not all the aſſiſtances which were requiſite for an enterprize ſo great as that which I have undertaken. There are many things, without queſtion, which have eſcap'd me by that means, and which have enforc'd me upon ſeveral occaſions to make recitals not ſo full, nor ſo dilated, or fortifi'd with Circumſtances, as I could have wiſh'd. The Reader might have juſtly expected that I ſhould have given him clearer illuſtrations of certain matters, and that I ſhould have prevented ſeveral queſtions that will re-

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main for him to ask me, after due examination of the matter of Fact which I relate. But I could not do better: and in my opinion 'twas much more to the purpoſe to make but little ſtay upon ſome Subjects, than to ſupply the defect of Evidences and Memoirs with the boldneſs of my own conjectures. However I do not pretend thereby to leſſen my obligations to thoſe who have aſſiſted me with ſeveral important Pieces, and who by their generous imparting to me their Books and Manuſcripts, have furniſh'd me with the principal materials of my Work. I muſt acknowledge there were ſeveral perſons who ſent me whatever they had proper to ſerve me, a hundred and two hundred Leagues from hence: And as I receiv'd great aſſiſtance from thoſe remoter places, ſo have I had the help of many curious Perſons in our Neighbourhood. Publick and private Libraries, the Cabinets and Studies of the more exacter ſort, where Fugitive Pieces ſecure themſelves, and ſeveral other Springs and Sources of Hiſtory were open to me. I ſhould moſt gladly name the Perſons that gave me aid, not only in regard it is but juſt they ſhould ſhare with me in the publick acknowledgement, to whoſe inſtruction they have ſo liberally contributed; but alſo becauſe they are the Guaranties of what I publiſh to the World, and for that the very names of ſome among 'em would ſuffice to demonſtrate the verity of the Evidences, from whence I have drawn the materials of my Labour. But the greateſt

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part having desir'd not to be nam'd, because of their being related to several persons that are still subject to the general oppression, 'tis not in my power to afford 'em those Testimonies which I owe to their good will, nor to make that Advantage of their names, which I might have done, were I not oblig'd to a deference for their desires to remain unknown. I shall speak in another place of a Collection prepar'd by the deceas'd Mr. Tessereau, *a person well known to all the World for being Laborious, Exact, Curious, and capable of Collecting whatever might serve to a great Work. Nor shall I dissemble the assistance which I had from the Memoirs which he left behind, tho, at the time of his Death they were found to be in great Disorder.*

But notwithstanding all their aids, I fail'd in many others, from whence I might have had great light. When the Council of France *began to search into the Rights of Exercise, 'twas their pleasure to oblige the Churches to produce the Original Evidences which they pretended to make use of. This was a thing in the main, of which there was no great necessity. But in regard that from that very time they began to take their measures, which way to deprive Posterity of the knowledge of their causeless Cavils, they were desirous to get into their hands all the Monuments that might preserve 'em to Posterity, and only to leave the Reformed such Writings, the authority of which they might the more plausibly contest, because*

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they were not Originals. The Council detain'd the greateſt part of thoſe Writings, even after the Affairs were determin'd. There were very few Churches that could obtain reſtitution of 'em. They who had loſt their Cauſes were told, that their papers could no longer ſignifie any thing to 'em: and they who had been more favourably us'd, were pay'd off with ſome ſcurvy trick or other, on purpoſe to elude their importunities for the reſtitution of their produc'd Originals. Sometimes they were told, that the laſt Decree was worth all their Evidences, and ſo the other were abſolutely of no uſe to 'em. Alſo of late years, they bethought themſelves of conſtraining the Conſiſtories to produce all their Papers, whether Originals or Copies: and the leaſt piece conceal'd was a reaſon ſufficient for the Baniſhment of the Miniſters, and demoliſhing the Churches. So that there were very few Churches that durſt adventure to put it to the hazard, but deliver'd all they had of Inſtruments and Evidences. The pretence for this vexation was, that they were reſolv'd to diſcover whatever they had of Eſtates, after the Confiſcation of which their Perſecutors thirſted with ſo much Paſſion. But the main reaſon, tho the moſt conceal'd, was their eager deſire to deprive 'em of the means to preſerve any Memoirs, by which Poſterity might be truly inform'd of the injuſtice that was done 'em. However, to ſay Truth, notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, there remain'd ſufficient to form the Body of a Hiſtory large enough: tho it cannot be deny'd, but

that many Churches were deſpoil'd of the means to afford me thoſe aſſiſtances which I might have expected from 'em, eſpecially ſuch where the common Evidences belonging to each Province were depoſited. Moreover, it may well be imagin'd, that the Manuſcripts in the King's Library, of that in the College of four Nations, and in ſome others both publick and private, were never imparted to me: and that I could not find any body that would venture himſelf to make Extracts uſeful for my deſign. I might there have found all the Negotiations tending to the Edict, all the Inſtructions of the Commiſſioners, all the Intrigues of the Court at the time of the general Aſſemblies, the whole Project of the Wars, and Violences put in practice by the Council of Lewis XIII. *for the ruin of the* Reformed. *There is no queſtion but that I might have found in the multitude of thoſe Volumes of Manuſcripts, particular things which I could not have met with otherwhere, and to which I could never attain by my conjectures. But there are three Conſiderations to make us ſome amends for this defect.* 1. *I have collected as well as I could, out of ſuch Memoirs as came to my hands, the ſubſtance of things which might have been found in thoſe Manuſcripts more at large and clearer to the underſtanding; and I have ſuppli'd from thoſe printed Pieces, of which we met with a great number, the defect of the Manuſcripts.* 2. *In regard thoſe Libraries were eaſie of acceſs to all that wrote againſt the* Reformed, *for example,* Ber-

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nard, Maimbourg, Solier, la Croix, *and other indefatigable Perſecutors of the Churches of* France, *it may be ſaid that whatever was to their diſadvantage in thoſe Manuſcripts, was recited by their Enemies in their Works; and if they have not extracted much, 'tis a ſign they met with but little to feed their Paſſion: ſo that no body loſes but my ſelf, for want of thoſe Manuſcripts, from which I might have had ſome light toward the juſtification of thoſe whoſe defence I have undertaken. Now there is no great likelihood that they who apply'd themſelves with ſo much fury and paſſion to deſtroy us, will impute it to me for a Crime, to have forgotten ſomething that might have laid more open the Evidence of their Injuſtice and Cruelty.* 3. *If any one ſhall undertake to refute this work of mine, he muſt furniſh himſelf out of thoſe Manuſcripts with Arms to fight me. Which if he do not do ſincerely, his anſwer will put me to little trouble. But if he acquit himſelf like a perſon of Faith and Credit, he muſt produce entire the Foundations of his Reflections, and by conſequence publiſh many ſecrets, which may perhaps prove confirmations of our own Collections.*

In the main, theſe Conſiderations ought to be as equally beneficial to me, in the cauſe which I defend, as proofs in the claims of particular perſons, or ſtrong preſumptions of a Robbery, or Houſe-firing, or of any other accident not to be remedy'd, whereby they demonſtrate the loſs of their Evidences that

ſhould have juſtifi'd their claims, or the anſwers which they make to their Adverſaries. I prove that the Evidences that might be requir'd of me are detain'd, or taken away from me by a greater force; and which is of more weight, I demonſtrate, that the Authors of that Violence or that Robbery, are the ſame perſons that require me to produce the ſame proofs which they have forcibly rifled from me. That there is knavery in their exceptions againſt my proofs, becauſe they have by force deſpoil'd me of my Evidences which were my legal defence. That they had need of great and poſitive proofs to convince me, becauſe their Proſecution is ſuſpected to be fraudulent; and for that ſlight preſumptions are not ſufficient againſt me, becauſe they have unjuſtly torn from me thoſe monumental Deeds, from whence I could have drawn ſtronger proofs. But I am not altogether reduc'd to preſumptions only: for that, maugre all the Artifices of a malignant Prudence, an infinite number of authentick Monuments of the miſeries which the Reformed have ſuffer'd, have eſcap'd the Gripes of Plunder and Deſtruction.

After theſe reflections in general, it remains for me to give a particular account of the method which I have follow'd in compiling this Hiſtory. And firſt of all it behoves me to anſwer thoſe who may take it amiſs that I adhere to a ſide, ſhew too openly of what Religion I am, and declare my ſelf concern'd in the things which I recite. All people would have an Hiſtorian obſerve an exact neutrality; that he ſhould never ſuf-

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for his particular Sentiments to be seen through; that he should not anticipate his Readers with his manner of writing, and that in stopping at a description altogether of bare matter of Fact and Circumstances, he should never incur the character either of Party, Advocate or Judge. However, I have dispens'd with these severe Laws; I have argu'd the case; I have deliver'd my opinion; I have prov'd, I have refuted sometimes, as I thought, the Subject requir'd. But I could bring several reasons to justifie my conduct, were I not willing to be as short as is possible. The example of almost all those who have undertaken to write, is sufficient to make my Apology. We do not meet with any that have confin'd themselves within these narrow limits: and indeed it is a thing so impossible for a man to reduce himself to that strictness, that if they who prescribe these Laws to others, were to give an account of any Transaction themselves, they could never forbear violating the precepts of this painful exactness. I shall therefore only speak two things in my defence. The first is, that my Opinion and Ratiocinations are to be consider'd as the Opinion and Reasonings of the persons in whose behalf I speak; either because they are the extracts of Discourses, and Speeches made in favour of 'em, or proceed from the same things, and for that they represent what the Reformed would have said for themselves, had they been judicially interrogated in Court. The second is, That there was a necessity for me to give my History the character of a Defence, *because I wrote it*

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on purpoſe to ſerve for a Reply to the violent Declamations of thoſe who have perſecuted us. Therefore the mingling my Reflections ſometimes with the Rehearſal of matter of Fact, was a thing not to be avoided, to the end I might the better prove the Fraud and Injuſtice of thoſe whom I accuſe, and more clearly make out the Innocency of thoſe whom I juſtifie. Nevertheleſs you may be aſſur'd, that upon ſeveral occaſions where it ſeems to be my ſelf that ſpeaks, I have ſo narrowly watch'd my expreſſions, that there are few among the Reformed *that will preſume to diſown what I ſay. In the main, this liberty of delivering a mans own opinion is not incompatible with impartiality in an Hiſtorian. All that ſincerity exacts from him is, that he neither diſguiſe nor diſſemble things; and as to that, I have impos'd ſuch ſevere Laws upon my ſelf as, I hope, will ſatisfie the moſt rigid Cenſurers. But in regard the Readers are no way bound to ſubmit to the private Opinion of an Hiſtorian, which is rather as much ſubject to the Reader's judgment, as the recital it ſelf of the matters of Fact; therefore they ought to think themſelves rather oblig'd to the Hiſtorian for the trouble which he has taken to prepare the Proceſs, upon which they are to give their Verdict, fit for Hearing, than to complain of his Anticipating their Judgments, by the liberty he has taken to declare his Sentiments. They find the matter ready to their hands, and without toyling themſelves to reaſon upon the ſeveral matters, they have no more to do than to pronounce whether*

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the Author had a true notion of the things, and hath reflected as one that rightly underſtood 'em.

I have taken the liberty ſometimes to alter the expreſſions of the Acts which I have cited. But no body ought to be troubl'd at that; in regard it is impoſſible to do otherwiſe, when there is a deſign to Abbreviate. Moreover, in regard I am forc'd to tranſmit ſeveral of theſe Acts to publick view, People have the leſs reaſon to blame me for not reciting word for word in the Body of the Book, what I have plac'd all along in the Order of the Proofs. Beſides, that when there were any expreſſions in the Acts that were remarkable and important, I always exactly retain'd the Senſe and Subſtance of the matter. This is ſufficient to ſatisfie unbyaſs'd People. Words are not ſo much the buſineſs as Deeds; and the alteration of words is of little Importance, when the matters of Fact are repreſented with a faithful exactneſs.

I have ſet down almoſt all the Edicts and Declarations under the Date of the Day wherein they paſs'd the Seal, rather than of their verification in Parliament, tho the ſaid Acts begin to be in force, as Laws, from the day of their being regiſter'd. But I took that to be the better way, in regard the juriſdiction of France being divided under ſeveral Parliaments, it rarely happens that the ſaid Acts are regiſter'd in all Places, or upon the ſame day. So that it would have occaſion'd a kind of intricacy, and would have ren-

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der'd the matter dry and ſapleſs, which of it ſelf is not very opulent or pleaſant, had I put ſo many different Dates to every Edict. I know very well, that uſually they mind no more than the day of verification in the Parliament of Paris, *as having ſome certain priviledge which diſtinguiſhes it from others. But ſince an Edict which is therein regiſter'd has not the force of a Law in another Parliament, till the performance of the ſame Ceremony there, I thought it more to the purpoſe to keep to the Date of the Seal, which is fixt and common over all the Kingdom. Beſides, that at this day it is a Maxim of the Council of* France, *that Edicts derive not the force of a Law from their being regiſter'd, but from the King's Pleaſure only, and from the impreſſion of the Seal; and that the Parliament has no other authority than to publiſh it, and to put it in execution. So that I had reaſon to prefer the Date from whence the Acts derive their force, before that which affords 'em nothing, and only ſerves to remove from among the People all excuſes of ignorance.*

I alſo give this farther notice, in reference to the Dates, that if I have fallen under any miſtake, 'tis not I that am to be blam'd. I follow'd that which I met with in the printed Papers, which I made uſe of, and which being almoſt all of 'em ſet forth by the Catholicks, have receiv'd from them all the alterations which are there to be found. Moreover if I commit any error in the number of the Articles, ſeveral of which I divide into pieces, there is nothing to be imputed to

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me. ***For that diviſion is almoſt arbitrary:*** *and ſometimes you ſhall find it vary in different Editions of the ſame Edict and the ſame Decree, tho they be all equally Authentick.*

You will find, that in ſome places I ſuppoſe that the Reader knows certain things, without the knowledge of which it would be very difficult to underſtand the matter of Fact of which I give an account. I know that this may well be lookt upon as a fault: and I have found it bad my ſelf, when the Hiſtorian neglected to explain ſome things which he preſum'd I knew before, becauſe they were known to him. But I muſt confeſs, I thought it impoſſible to avoid this fault; becauſe that if a Hiſtorian were bound in favour of ſtrangers to explain whatever may put them to a puzzle, for want of having an exact knowledge of Cuſtomes, of Families, of the ſituation of Places, and an hundred other particulars, my Hiſtory would have been ſwallow'd up in Epiſodes, or Digreſſions, with which I muſt have been conſtrain'd to load it. So that, whether I will or no, I am conſtrain'd to refer the Reader, who is deſirous to know what I have not inform'd him, to ſuch Authors who have particularly treated upon that Subject.

I do not believe they will be offended with me for not enlarging upon Foreign Affairs, becauſe they were not proper to my Subject. Nevertheleſs, when I thought it neceſſary, I obſerv'd their Connexion with thoſe of the Reformed Churches. I have not ty'd my ſelf to

the relation of Sieges and Battles, when I ſpeak of the Civil Wars, becauſe other Hiſtorians have made long deſcriptions of thoſe matters; beſides that I ſhould run aſtray too far from my principal aim which is only to relate after what manner the Edict was obſerv'd. I have alſo taken the liberty to ſcatter ſome Sentences in my relations; wherein I have done no more then according to the practice of all Hiſtorians. If they be done with judgment, the Reader will not be offended: if they be little to the purpoſe, he will not find 'em either ſo long or ſo frequent, as to chaſtize me too ſeverely for 'em.

It may be ſaid perhaps that I tye my ſelf too much to the Hiſtories of the Great Lords, ſuch as Marſhall de Bouillon, *the Duke of* Trimouille, *the Conſtable* de Leſdiguieres *and ſeveral others. But one reflection ſhall ſerve for all, to ſhew that I could not do otherwiſe. Thoſe Lords were the occaſion of almoſt all the Good, or Miſchief that befell the Churches. They did 'em good, when they renounc'd their own intereſt to ſerve 'em; they did 'em miſchief, when they engag'd 'em in their own particular Affairs. So that you meet with 'em every where: nor can you ſpeak of the Churches, without having an occaſion to mention thoſe Eminent Perſons, who have either ſupported 'em with their Protection, or ruin'd 'em by their Quarrels and Contentions.*

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There are ſome words which perplex'd me not a little. Converſion, Hereſie, Hereticks, *and the like, have quite another ſignification from the lips of a Reformed, from what they have in the mouth of a Catholick. But I muſt have had recourſe to endleſs Circumlocutions, ſhould I have been always ſtudying to avoid the making uſe of thoſe words in the ſame ſence that the Catholicks take 'em. I thought it ſufficient to diſtinguiſh the places where the words carry a Catholick ſence, by printing them in a different character from the Text: and there is no great likelihood that the* Catholicks *will be offended at me for calling 'em Catholicks quite through the whole Book. 'Tis a name they glory in; and there are Edicts in* France *which forbid the calling 'em otherwiſe. Nor did I think it proper to give 'em any other; becauſe 'tis a long time ſince it has been made uſe of by way of Preſident, that it is no longer Synonymous with* Orthodox; *and for that in common ſpeech it ſignifies thoſe who acknowledge the Pope for Univerſal Head of the Church. 'Tis in that ſence, that I give it 'em; and I had rather comply with 'em ſo far, then give 'em any other name, that would not be ſo pleaſing to 'em. There is ſomething more in that of* Reformed, *which I give to the Proteſtants of* France. *For a* Reformed *Officer, a* Reformed *Captain, does not always ſignifie, in the French Tongue, ſuch as profeſs the Reformed Religion. But I could not meet with one more proper. 'Tis a defect, which all the exactneſs of the Academy,*

my, or the good opinion the French *have of their Language, could ever have avoided; that is to say, to have some words that proved to be equivocal: so that the Reader must gather the true meaning and sense of the word from the Subject in hand. I did not think such an inconvenience sufficient to hinder me from making use of a word, that sav'd me the labour of searching after Periphrases and Circumlocutions to express my self: and 'tis my opinion that when we write for the Publick, we are not to mind the distaste of those that take a pett at such equivocals.*

I shall not here go about to make any Apology for my sentiments touching the Authority of Kings, and the Duty of Subjects. 'Tis true that the judgment which will be made of my Book, depends in some measure upon the truth of the Maxims which I sustain. But I should unprofitably extend this Preface, by the discussion of a Subject which is at this day become the Theam of all Conversations, and of several Books. There is nothing more A-la-mode than to handle this important Argument. And perhaps a fairer opportunity was never offer'd for people to believe this difficult question decided. All Europe *has consider'd of it; and all Kingdoms having approv'd the Revolutions in Great* Britain, *have by consequence pronounced Sentence in favour of the People against the Pretences of Soveraigns. Liberty has gain'd the point, and Arbitrary Power is generally condemn'd. The Right*

of Subjects are clear'd up, and the Usurpations of Puissances are disapprov'd. 'Tis not therefore necessary for me to engage in giving reasons for my sentiments; since all Europe *has divulg'd 'em for me; besides that, I shall be oblig'd to speak more expresly upon this Subject in another place.*

There remain only Three Remarks for me to make, before I conclude this Preface. The first is, That some people may think I have done amiss, not to set down in the Margin the names of the Authors, and the place in their Works from whence I took my observations. It seems, this is come now to be thought as necessary in Histories, as in Polemick Writings. But I must confess, 'tis a custom which I did not think it my duty to submit to. In the first place, I have the example of all the Historians of any reputation on my side; chiefly those who having first of all apply'd themselves to this kind of writing, ought to be look't upon as Models and Presidents for others. Besides, that it seems as if this abuse were only introduc'd by the Captious, out of the Profundity of their refin'd Cavilling, who are secretly preparing a way to decry the most faithful Histories, under pretence of some Quotation found out as a handle for Censure to lay hold on. The Authors of the first magnitude were none of those that impos'd this Law. But your Maimbourgs *and* Souliers; *a sort of People, who, if they can but find an opportunity to trifle upon some Quotation, believe they have ruin'd at once all the*

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Reputation of their Adversary. 'Twould be a very hard case, that a man who has spent several years in reading hunderds of printed Volumes, and thousands of Manuscripts, should see the fruits of all his labours blasted by the Cavils of some captious Monk, or some skue-disposition'd Wit, that should arraign him upon the Truth or Justice of a Marginal Quotation. It would be more to the purpose for those that desire to confute my Book, to take upon 'em the trouble of reading what I have read, that so after that, they may be able to judge, whether I have faithfully reported what I found in the Authors I consulted. Nevertheless, to let 'em see that I do not avoid a fair Challenge, but only Cavil and Impudence, I have in two things, follow'd the footsteps of the best Historians. First, I have given a Catalogue of the Books from whence I borrow'd the Materials for my Work: and in the next place, I have publish'd the principal pieces which I made use of to take from thence the matters of Fact, of which I have given the relations. They are Printed at the end of every Part.

The second Remark concerns the Language. You will not find in it perhaps that extraordinary delicacy, which now adays gives all the Life and Beauty to Books. There is a great deal wherein the Reader will find me nothing at all, were but the Lineaments of the Pen, and Features of the Draught only, taken away. For my part I confess, there will be many careless neglects found in the Stile, many little Faults,

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of which Criticks will make great Monſters. I freely give 'em leave; nor will it be any wonder to me at all. Perhaps I am not really perſwaded that what they take for Beauties are really ſuch. For it may as well be true that that ſame Purity of Language, ſo much celebrated, which is only learnt in Ladies Chambers, and by converſation with perſons, who, to make a right judgment of 'em, want nothing but good Sence and Underſtanding, does more injury, then it affords luſter and honour to the Language. It would be more Opulent and Maſculine, if the rules and regulation of it were ſought for in a better Fountain. However it were, I never labour'd any farther then to make my ſelf underſtood: nor did I ever take the pains to flouriſh my Stile with certain allurements, which perhaps I might have found out as well as another: So that where it is not worth my while, I never deſire to pleaſure thoſe that inſiſt upon Trifles, becauſe they are not capable of any thing that is more elevated. Nevertheleſs, if they make judicious and impartial Remarks upon my Labours, whether they regard the matter, or whether they have a relation to the Stile and Manner, I promiſe 'em they ſhall find a Docility in me, which Authors are ſeldom guilty of; and that if ever this Hiſtory of mine be thought worthy of a Second Edition, they ſhall ſee that I have profited by their juſt Corrections.

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The third Remark concerns the manner after which I ſpeak of the Clergy of France, *and chiefly of the Jeſuites. Some will imagine, that I have ſuffer'd my ſelf to be ſomewhat too far tranſported by my Paſſion, when I have occaſion to ſay any thing concerning 'em; and that out of the bitterneſs of my Animoſity, there is a miſ-becoming tartneſs and virulency in my Expreſſions. To which I anſwer, that they are deceiv'd: for I had not ſpoken thoſe harſh things of 'em, but out of a neceſſity of ſpeaking Truth, which I impoſe upon my ſelf. Beſides, that the evil I have reported of 'em, amounts not to a hundredth part of the miſchief they have done to all the World: and my opinion is, that the Jeſuits would not have known themſelves in this Hiſtory, had I flatter'd 'em. They are ſo accuſtom'd to ſee themſelves painted out in black Colours, in all manner of Writings, that it would have been thought I had ſpoken of ſome other Order, had I given any other deſcription of 'em. They alſo know ſo well themſelves, that their Bloody and Perfidious Politicks are the cauſe of all our miſfortunes; and they pride themſelves to that degree in not obſerving any meaſures of Faith or common Humanity with* Hereticks, *any more then with all the reſt of Mankind, that it may be they will look upon all the Reproaches which I throw upon 'em as ſo many Elogies, and behold all the Stroaks and Daſhes wherewith I blackned 'em as ſo many Rayes of Glory which is due to 'em. In a word, after all the miſe-*

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ries which by their contrivances we have undergone, for ſo many years, 'tis a very ſmall revenge, that ought to bediſpleaſing to no body, to call 'em by their right names; and only to revive thoſe Reproaches againſt 'em, with which the moſt prudent Catholicks have loaded their Society from the very Infancy of their Inſtitution.

THE PREFACE TO THE First Part.

ALtho in the firſt Book, I only comprehend in ſhort what was tranſacted in *France* in reference to Religion, from the beginning of *Luther*'s Diſputes, till the death of *Hen. III.* nevertheleſs that Part has ſo ſmall a ſhare in my Work, that I may ſafely ſay, that it begins exactly from that Accident which brought *Hen.* the IV. to the Crown. So that my deſign takes in the Reign of three Kings. The firſt of which, whoſe Reign was the ſhorteſt, granted the Reformed an Edict and Securities; the Second took from 'em their Securities; and the Third cancell'd the Edict. Being therefore to give an Account of three ſuch various Events, which enforces me to relate whatever happen'd moſt memorable under every Reign; my Subject therefore naturally dvides it ſelf into

three Parts. The first contains all that preceded the Edict of *Nantes*; or that since it was granted, regards the Execution of it during the Life of him that was the Author of it. The Second recites the means that were us'd, under the Name and Authority of *Lewis* the XIII. to wrest out of the Hands of the Reformed the Cities and Assemblies that were their Security; and from whence ensu'd the declination and ruin of their Affairs. The Third relates what pass'd under the Reign of that Prince who wears the Crown at present, till the Revocation of the Edict; to which I have added the Events of some ensuing Years, which are natural consequences of the former Transactions: as the flight of so many persecuted Families; their settling in foreign Countries, and several other things of the same nature.

Now in regard our main business was to shew that the Conduct and Behaviour of the Reformed has been always far different from the Portraicture which their Enemies made of it, I thought it requisite, in every part, but chiefly in the First and Second, where they appear with their Arms in their hands, to give an accompt of those things which afford the clearest light for the display of their Intentions; to the end it may be the better discern'd, whether they were not reduc'd to make use of those extraordinary Remedies, by a necessity that admitted of no Dispensation. I shall discourse in another place of wh- -hey did after

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the death of *Hen.* IV. But I have here a deſign to ſpeak one word of what was liable to be blam'd in their Actions, during the Life of that Prince. Not that I intend to repeat what I have ſaid, in their Juſtification quite through the whole Book, but only to obſerve in few words the principal Circumſtances of Affairs, which you will find more amply laid down in the Hiſtory it ſelf.

The Reformed then are to be conſider'd in three conditions, under the Reign of this Prince. In the Firſt, they had a King of their own Religion, but who finding it would coſt him a world of trouble to ſurmount the oppoſition of the League, that under the pretence of Religion had arm'd the one half of the Kingdom againſt him, reſolv'd to change his Opinion, ſo ſoon as he could do it with ſome appearance of Advantage. In the Second, they appear'd in the Service of a Prince who after he had abandoned their Religion, ſeem'd to have alter'd his affection for them too; and to mind nothing but his own Repoſe, without much troubling himſelf what became of his moſt faithful Subjects, who had done him ſuch eminent Services. In the Third condition, you might ſee 'em living under the Authority and Protection of an Edict, which they obtained at length, after long ſolicitations; in the proſecution of which they had ſpent four years, and much longer time in the Execution of it.

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There could be nothing laid to their charge so long as they remain'd in their first condition, in regard they were fix'd to the King's Service, and bore Arms in his Defence, as long as he had any Enemies either at Home or Abroad. If it be objected, that they did not serve him then with the same Zeal and Affection as they were wont to make appear; that their performances were not such as they us'd to be; that they let fall some Murmurs and Reproaches: I answer, that if they had carried it higher, it no way became the Catholicks to find fault. You will perceive then by the History, that the Catholicks were afraid of nothing so much as to see an end of the War, before they had constrain'd the King to change his Religion; that they also held Intelligence with the Leaguers, who might well be lookt upon as Criminals, if the Reformed were Trespassers. Besides that the Reformed were oblig'd to stand upon their Guards as well against the Catholicks of the Royal Army, as against the others; and that by Consequence it was not just that they should expose all their Forces to the discretion of those, who might have ruin'd 'em all in one Night, the more easily to have ingratiated themselves with the League, and have dispos'd of the Kingdom and the King's Person, as they had thought proper themselves. 'Twas Prudence to reserve one part of their Forces against a pinch, to the end the remainder might serve to revive

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and ſupport their own and the Affairs of the Kingdom, if the other ſhould happen to receive a foil. You ſhall find moreover, from his coming to the Crown, to his Converſion, that the King diſcover'd to 'em every day more and more ſufficient marks of his lukewarmneſs and indifference for them: That, conſequently, they had reaſon to believe, that the more they enabl'd him not to want their Aſſiſtance, the more he would neglect their Eſtabliſhment and Security. Whence it would follow, That if they made uſe of all their Forces, they ſhould help to do their Enemies the Catholicks buſineſs, and be not only ne're the better, but much the worſe themſelves. But in the mean time, it will be found, that they acknowledg'd the King without condition; and that they did not make bargains with him, as the Catholicks did to ſerve him. They would have put him doubtleſs to a ſtrange plunge, had they been as nice and as ſcrupulous as others were. This ſeverity would have been the Ruin both of Him and of all the Officers of the Old Court, much more odious to the League than the pretended Hereticks; and if there were among the other Royal Catholicks ſome perſons of Honour, they muſt have had their ſhare in the vexation. It was urg'd againſt the Reformed as an expreſſion highly Criminal, that they had ſometimes given it out, that they accepted of the Edict at a time, when they might

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if they pleas'd, have divided the Kingdom with the Catholicks. I know not whether or no it be at if Crime to ſpeak Truth ; but I know very well, that the Reformed had been but cloſely united together by their own Intereſts, without medling with thoſe of the King or State ; had they kept to themſelves above three hundred ſtrong Holds, and almoſt whole Provinces; had they expended the publick Treaſure upon their own Preſervation ; been ſparing of their Veterane Soldiers and well diſciplin'd Men , to have joyn'd with that Party which had the upper hand of all the reſt, they might have pretended perhaps to ſomething more than the half of the Kingdom. Their ſeparation from the reſt of the Body would have infallibly been the utter diſmembring of it : and if ſuch a thing had happen'd, I know not how it can be deny'd, but that the beſt part would have fallen to their ſhare. But their Generoſity deliver'd the King and all his Servants out of this Perplexity. They ſacrific'd all their Policy and their Intereſts to their Duty They never hearkn'd to the wholeſome counſels of their juſt miſtruſts: and tho they were perſpicacious enough to foreſee the conſequence of their good nature, they ſaw the Market concluded with others without being concern'd ; one of the Articles of which was, to raviſh from 'em the Perſon and Affections of the King. This unſhaken careleſneſs of their own Intereſts fix'd the tottering Crown upon

upon the King's Head: and this piece of ſervice ſufficiently deſerv'd to have been never forgotten by them who long enjoy'd the Benefit of it.

In their ſecond Eſtate, after the King had quitted their Religion, more eſpecially after the Chiefs and Cities of the League had ſubmitted to him, they appear'd more fix'd to his intereſts than they had been before; their Demands were higher, their Union more ſolid, their Deſigns better concerted, their Aſſemblies more Numerous, and more ſtifly adhering to their Reſolutions. But there could be nothing more unjuſt than to charge it upon 'em as a Crime; and Hiſtory ſhews ſuch reaſons for their conduct, that no unbyaſs'd perſons can diſapprove. They ſaw the King reſigning his Obſequiouſneſs to the Pope, ſomewhat lower than became Humility; ſurrendring up his Heart and Mind to the Catholicks; and abandoning himſelf to their Politicks and their Counſels. He purchas'd the Heads of the League not only by good Governments, by large Penſions, by vaſt ſumms payd them in ready Mony; but chiefly by conceſſions to violate the Edicts, under the protection of which the Reformed were in hopes to enjoy their Lives, their Religion and their Eſtates. For four or five years together a thouſand acts of injuſtice, a thouſand violences were committed in all the Provinces of the Kingdom, to the prejudice of the Reformed, as if the King's converſion had purchas'd

the Catholicks impunity for all attempts of Oppreſſion and Wickedneſs. The King was ſo afraid of offending the Catholicks, that to pleaſure them, he held the Reformed in ſuſpence for ſeveral years together, without granting them any thing more then general Promiſes, of which they ſaw the effects delay'd from time to time, upon a thouſand diſobliging pretences: in a word, he would never liſten to the Peace which he afforded 'em, ſuch as it was, till all the Catholicks were ſatisfi'd with it. So that he was much more careful to gratifie thoſe who had by ſo many efforts endeavour'd to render his Throne inacceſſible, then to protect thoſe from Perſecution, who had aſſiſted him by ſo many ſervices to aſcend it. Beſides that, the more his Affairs were aſſur'd by his reconciliation with the Leaguers, the more uneaſie he became to the Reformed: and he was every day the more ſparing of his Favours towards 'em, by how much he ſaw himſelf in a condition not to need their aſſiſtance. Certainly that man muſt be no admirer of Juſtice, who believes, that in ſuch a poſture of the general Affairs it behov'd the Reformed blindly to abandon themſelves to the honeſty of Catholicks who hated 'em, and the ſincerity of a Council that laught at 'em: and who condemns 'em for taking ſome precautions againſt that infidelity, of which they had had ſuch frequent and fatal experiences. Upon the whole, ſeeing that after

many importunities and ſolicitations, they had obtain'd ſo little, 'tis eaſie to judge, that ſo much would never have been granted 'em, had they ſhew'd leſs Reſolution and leſs Conſtancy.

But in their third Eſtate, after they had obtain'd an Edict, and ſome Securities, one would think, that they ſhould not have had any more excuſes for the continuance of their importunities; that their eager deſire to maintain themſelves in Cities of ſafety, and to augment the number of 'em; that the Petitions of their Politick Aſſemblies, and their general Synods; that the renewing of their Union, and the Oath that faſten'd it, and other ſuch like Proceedings had had no longer any lawful pretence. The Edict verify'd in all the Parliaments of the Kingdom, was every where obſerv'd: the King moſt commonly explain'd the difficulties that aroſe upon the execution of it in favour of the Reformed; he cordially made uſe of 'em; and he was in Alliance with all the foreign Proteſtants. One would have thought after all this, that that ſame Spirit of Diſtruſt, which they ſhew'd upon a thouſand occaſions, was no longer to be endur'd, and that it might have authoriz'd the jealouſies and ſuſpicions of their turbulent and factious Humour. But Hiſtory affords us matter of Reply to this ſame plauſible Objection. There need no more then two conſiderations to ſhew, that as theſe Miſtruſts were not without a good foundation; ſo the precautions,

which they advis'd, were far from being unlawful. The first of these Considerations is drawn from the present state of Affairs, the second from future Events.

The present condition of the Reformed was not so calm or free from disturbance, but that every day presag'd an approaching declination, with which the Constitution of Affairs threaten'd 'em, if they forbore to stand upon their Guard. The alterations made in several Articles of the Edict by the King himself, and by his single authority, only out of a Prospect to please the Clergy and Parliaments, were not so slight, whatever was said, but that they were no less sufficient demonstrations that the King, in other things so jealous of his word, had suffer'd the Catholicks to have a powerful Ascendant over him. They who could perswade him to violate nine Articles of an Edict so long time under negotiation, and concluded with so much solemnity, might well one day oblige him to elude and frustrate all the rest of his Concessions. Besides, the excess of his Obsequiousness to the Pope; his Ambition to bear sway in the Conc'aves, and to procure himself Friends and Creatures in the Court of *Rome*; His Alliance with an Italian Princess, upon Conditions which the Pope had dictated; The art of terminating Controversies, and of a converter of others, in which he took a Pride; The Affront which he caus'd to be put upon *du Plessis* at *Fontain Bleau*, tho he were one of

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his moſt ancient and faithful Servants; and ſeveral other things of the ſame Nature, were ſufficient grounds of fear, that at length his Affection would be quite eſtrang'd from the Reformed; and that in ſome important Affair or other, he would not ſtick to make an entire Sacrifice of their Intereſts to the Catholick Religion. Which was the more probable, becauſe he was accus'd of inconſtancy in his Friendſhip; and becauſe among all his Heroick Qualities, he wanted that of being Grateful: and therefore, tho the remembrance of the Services which the Reformed had done him, were not utterly extinguiſh'd, yet Time might bring it to paſs. A Prince who had led a life not very regular, or rather, to ſpeak the real Truth, who had wallow'd in exceſs of Debauchery, might well be ſenſible as he grew in years, of the Pains of another World. And when theſe Pains once terrifie the Conſcience, he would be willing to reſcue himſelf from thoſe Terrors, at any price whatever. All Services and Friendſhips are forgot, when the main concern is to make enſurances againſt eternal Death: and when there needs but one Victim for a man to deliver himſelf, he never minds the value of the Sacrifice. The recalling the Jeſuits, wherein the King ſuffer'd himſelf to be led away by a ſole fear of a Stab from their Hands, contrary to the deſires of all good French men, and apparently

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againſt the intereſt of the Reformed, ſhew'd what a power fear had over him; and what he was ready to do, to preſerve himſelf from being aſſaſſinated. But the Credit, into which that Pernicious Society wound themſelves at Court, ſo ſoon as they had ſet their feet in it, the King's erroneous Complacency for *Cotton* the Jeſuit, of whom he made choice for his Confeſſor; his toleration of the Frauds, Attempts and Treacheries of that Villain, who as if he had been aſſur'd of being ſecure from puniſhment, never gave himſelf the trouble to conceal 'em: His weakneſs in entruſting the Education of the *Dauphin* to his care; and which oblig'd him to bequeath his heart to that Society, for an Ornament to the Church *de la Fleche*, ſtill augmented more and more the miſtruſts which the Reformed had of his totterring kindneſs. And indeed there were enough to oblige people whom ſo many experiments had renderd wiſe, and who had ſo often been chaſtiz'd for their credulous ſimplicity, to provide well for their ſafety; to the end they might have wherewithall to defend themſelves, ſhould their Enemies once go about to renew their Acts of Violence and Injuſtice.

But the foreſight of Future Events, more eſpecially requir'd 'em to be watchful over their own Preſervation. The King might dye: there had been frequent Conſpiracies againſt his Life; beſides, that his Health was often attack'd by dan-

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gerous ſymptomes. What tho he might live out twenty or thirty Years longer, and that in his extreme old Age he might be vigorous enough to uphold his Edicts, this was no more then a lingring of twenty or thirty years, after which he was to pay the ſame Tribute to Nature with all the reſt of mankind. But there appear'd ſuch preparations againſt that time, that people might be juſtly then afraid of ſtrange Revolutions. The Jeſuits would have had time to make themſelves Maſters of Affairs. A King of their own breeding up, and Educated in a mortal hatred of the pretended Hereticks, and in the moſt paltry practices of ſuperſtition, terrifi'd the Reformed, as a Prince who would never think himſelf bound in Conſcience to a faithful obſervation of the Edicts. An Italian Queen, by inclination a *Spaniard*, imbu'd with the Politicks of *Rome*, and fully perſwaded that the Reformed might ſhake the Fortune of her Children, by ſupporting againſt 'em the intereſts of another Prince, was a new reaſon for 'em to expect ſome unlucky Revolution. The Projecters of a double Alliance with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, to ſay truth, little liſten'd to by the King, but very agreeable to the Queen, ſupported by the Court of *Rome*, puſh'd forward by the Jeſuits, by the Leaguers, and by the *Spaniſh* Penſioners, were other motives to make 'em provide againſt future Events, and to be cautious to prevent ſurpriſes. The *Dauphin* being as

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yet in his Cradle, 'twas no wonder the King gave no ear to propositions to an Alliance so unseasonable: but he might change his mind, when his Son came to be of years ripe for Marriage. And in truth the King at his death, left a Court that thirsted after that Alliance between the two Crowns, which the Reformed could not choose but look upon as fatal to their Churches. Nor is it to be said, that these were vain fears; as the Event has too severely justified. The King's death, the Alliance with *Spain*, the profound engagement of *Lewis* XIII. in superstition, his natural hatredof the Reformed, his Obedience to the Councils of the Jesuits, whatever the Reformed had reason to be afraid of, all happen'd almost at the same time, and by degrees advanc'd the declination of that Party who had now lost their Protector.

History affords us proof of all this; that all these Events of the Life of *Hen.* IV. and the whole Conjuncture of Affairs, threaten'd the Reformed with approaching Desolation, if keeping to their Antient Maxims, of believing all things, hoping all things, and never mistrusting the sincerity of other men, nor making use of any other Buckler but that of Simplicity, Generosity and Innocence; not thinking of the Future, but with an imprudent resignation, they provided not better for themselves than before the Massacres. I conclude from hence, that the fears of the Reformed being

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but too well grounded, it was a great piece of injuſtice to blame 'em for taking meaſures to ſecure themſelves. And ſince that time has made it out, that they were not ſo provident as they ſhould have been, that which may be hence aſſerted is, that they had prudence enough to foreſee the Miſchief, but that they had not the good Fortune to prevent it.

As to what remains, I have this farther Adverſiſement to give the Reader, that it is impoſſible but that I muſt have made ſome miſtakes in the Date of the Years, in the Firſt Book of this Part. The cuſtom of beginning the Year at *Eaſter* not being laid aſide till under *Charles* IX. as I did not think my ſelf bound to count the Years according to that cuſtom, ſo neither did I ſhun it altogether. So that it may ſo fall out, that I have related under the Date of one Year, what according to the cuſtom of time ought to have been put down under the Date of the Year preceding. If I did not take that care, my reaſon, is that in ſo ſhort an Abſtract as that of my Firſt Book, the miſtake of a Date which refers to the beginning of the Year that which belongs to the end of another, can be of ſo great conſequence. I ſhould have been more exact, had I handl'd that part of the Hiſtory more at large.

The Epiſtle of the famous James Auguſtus de Thou *to* Hen. IV. *which ſerves for a Preface to his Hiſtory, having always been lookt upon as a moſt accompliſh'd Piece, and not only for one of the Four Writings of that nature which have moſt deſerv'd the Approbation of the learned, but for an anthentick Monument of the Sentiments of all the moſt worthy Men of his Religion at that time, concerning Oppreſſion and Perſecution, there were many perſons who believ'd, that Piece had ſome affinity with mine, and that I ſhould oblige the Reader if I gave him a faithful Tranſlation of it. I took it therefore for good Advice; and it is done as much word for word as could be without ſpeaking* Latin *in* Engliſh: *or if any liberty be taken, to explain ſome things which the manner of expreſſion or the length of Periods might a little incumber, it is not ſuch as can any way render ſuſpected the Fidelity of the Tranſlator.*

TO

To the Most

Christian King

OF

France and Navarr

HENRY IV.

Done from *Thuanus* himself in *Latin*.

SIR,

WHEN first I apply'd my Thoughts to write the Story of these Times, altho' I were not ignorant that this Laborious Work of mine, whatever it were, would be obnoxious to various Censures, This however was my comfort, that I know my self spurred forward, not by Ambition or vain Glory, but by the Reward attending a good Conscience: And I was in hopes, that the Public Animosities being allay'd and extinguish'd by a long series of Time, the Love of Truth would one day get the upper hand; more especially, You reigning King, who by the particular Favour of Heaven, having subdued the Monsters of Rebellion, and eradicated the Fuel of those Factions that have long laid us waste, became the Restorer of Peace to France; and with Peace have linkt two Things together thought incompatible by others, Liberty and Soveraign Power. Add to this, that we first set our Hands to this Attempt, at a time, when we could not but bewail the Causes of the Civil War inveloppd in the Private Affections and Desires of Ambitious Men, and all hopes of Peace excluded from Public Counsel

and Advice; and for that reaſon, thought it ſo much the more lawful for us to ſpeak freely, yet on this ſide Envy or detraction, naked Truth. But as this Work went forward, which being begun in the Camp, amidſt the confuſed Noiſes of Trumpets and Sieges, grew up to Bulk in your Court, and now among the Hurry and Clamours of the Barr, and the delays of Travel, has reach'd your Reign, I perceiv'd my Inclinations far different from what they were at the beginning. For then my Mind intent on the Variety and Importance of the Tranſactions to be related, and ſeeking Reſpite from the Public Calamities, was wholly taken up in Meditation and Writing. And this has brought a fear into my thoughts, that what I wrote, ſurrounded with the clattering of Armes, and which might then perhaps be acceptable, or at leaſt not unworthy of Excuſe, will now, that our Commotions are appeas'd, not only be leſs pleaſing, but offenſive to the moroſe and difficult Ears of ſome Perſons: it being the general default of Human Kind, that men are more prone to do ill, than to hear of Evil Actions committed. But in regard it is a Law moſt exactly to be obſerv'd in Hiſtory, for the Author not to preſume to utter Falſhoods; yet on the other ſide, to be bold and daring in the delivery of Truth, I made it my buſineſs with all my might to dig for Truth, abſconded often, ſometimes more profoundly ingulph'd in the Animoſities of contending Parties; and thus dig'd up, deliver it ſincerely to Poſterity: no leſs careful, leſt prevaricating in ſo juſt a Cauſe, through a prepoſterous Affectation of prudence I ſhould injure the Felicity of Your Time, but ſeldom known, wherein every man is permitted to think what he pleaſes, and to ſpeak what he thinks. For my own part, how far I am from Diſſimulation, I hope is well known to thoſe who are acquainted with my Perſon and my Manners. Nor have I liv'd ſo obſcurely, that the moſt Partial can be ignorant of my candid and upright dealing in Public Actions. For after once Your Proweſs and Your Clemency had reduc'd us to a peaceful Reconciliation, I ſo abſolutely forgot all perſonal Injuries, if any had been offer'd, and ſo freely laid aſide the leaſt Reſentment of 'em both privately and publicly, that I may juſtly aſſure my ſelf, that no man will have occaſion to reproach my defect of Equanimity and Moderation in what relates to the Remembrance of things paſt. I might call thoſe to witneſs, whoſe names will frequently occur in theſe following Books; who when they have wanted my Aſſiſtance in any thing relating to that Imployment by You entruſted to my management, have always found me ready to do 'em any kindneſs that might not brand me with Corruption. What therefore upright Judges ought to do, when they debate the Lives and Fortunes of Men, that did we alſo, when firſt we undertook this Hiſtory: often interrogating our Conſcience, whether it were touch'd with a ſmarter ſence than uſual, that might turn us aſide from the fair Path which we propos'd to follow. To that purpoſe have I ſoften'd, as much as in me lies, the Harſhneſs of ſome Things by ſmoothneſs of Expreſſion; I have every where ſuſpended my judgment

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and avoided all Digressions: Lastly, I have observ'd a plain and naked manner of Writing, that by my Stile I might shew my self no less exempt from Disguise and Ostentation, than from the Partialities of Hatred and Favour. On the other side, I beg both of my own Countrymen and Foreigners, that shall peruse these Sheets, that they bring nothing of Prejudice along with 'em, nor pronounce sentence upon this Labour of Mine, till they have diligently read it over. I will not deny, but that it is a Task superiour to my strength; and that the due performance if it requires many Accomplishments which in me are wanting. But the Public Good and my ardent Desire to serve my own Generation and succeeding Ages, prevail'd with me beyond all other Considerations; and when I consulted the satisfaction of that passion, I rather chose to be accompted inconsiderate than ungrateful. Nor am I so anxious for what may be thought of my Sincerity, in reference to which I am not Conscious of any thing that can be laid to my charge; or of my Industry, in excusing the defects of which I despair not so much of your Clemency, or the Candor of the Reader, as I am afraid, lest what I make the Greatest part of my History, may be tedious and irksom to most People, who being out of Danger, as they believe, themselves, or are either not so just in censuring the Miseries, or else over-remiss and unconcern'd for the Calamities of others. For to those other Mischiefs, with which this Age, in Hostility with Vertue, abounds, that fatal Discord has joyn'd it self, occasion'd by Religion, which, for almost this whole whole Century, has turmoil'd the Christian world with continual Wars, and will continue still to vex, unless timely Remedies, and other than hitherto have been employ'd, be carefully apply'd by those whose chiefest Interest it is to manage that Affair. For we have learnt by Experience, that Fire and Sword, that Exilement and Proscriptions have rather exasperated, than cur'd the Distemper deeply rooted in the Mind: and therefore not to be reliev'd or heal'd by Medicines that only work upon the Body, but by sound Doctrine, and sedulous Instruction, which being gently infus'd, perswades an easie passage to the Mind. All other things are subject to the Sanctions of the Civil Magistrate, and consequently the Sovereign Prince; Religion only admits not of Dominion, and never enters the Seat of human Judgment, but when rightly prepar'd by a well grounded Opinion of the Truth, assisted by the accession of Divine Grace. Torments prevail not to enforce it; they but confirm the Obstinate, rather than subdue, or perswade. What the Stoics have so haughtily boasted of their Wisdom, much more justly may we assert of Religion; that where People are deeply affected with it, Torments and Grief are little fear'd or valu'd, and all other Inconveniences whatever, are overwhelm'd and vanquish'd by that same Fortitude, inspir'd by Zeal and Devotion. All the sufferings that Mankind is liable to undergo can never terrify 'em. All the Misfortunes and Calamities that are dreadful to Human Frailty, they never complain of Enduring. They know their strength, and whether falsely or truly, if once

once aſſur'd of Heavenly ſupport, they believe themſelves ſufficiently able to bear the burthen. Let the Executioner ſtand at their Elbow; let the Tormentor appear with his Irons and his kindled Fires, it will not ſhake their Perſeverance: nor will they conſider what they are to ſuffer, but what they are to do. The ſource of their Felicity remains within 'em; and whatever happens from without is but a fly-blow, and only grazes the ſurface of the skin. If Epicurus, *branded among other Philoſophers for the impurity of his life, had ſuch a high notion of a wiſe Man, that burning in* Phalaris's *Bull, he would cry out,* 'Tis pleaſant, and concerns not me at all; *can we believe a character leſs ſignal due to their Courage, who a hundred years ſince contemn'd and ſlighted all manner of Torments, all the inventions of Cruelty for Religions ſake? Or that they would not be the ſame again, upon as terrible a Proſecution of the ſame inhumanities? 'Tis worth the while to hear what one among the reſt both ſaid and did, when ty'd to the Stake on purpoſe to be burnt to death; how firſt he fell upon his knees and ſung a Pſalm, which the Flames and Smoak could hardly interrupt; and when the Executioner, to mitigate his terror, would have kindl'd the Fire behind his back,* Come hither, *ſaid he,* and kindle it before my Face: for had I fear'd a little ſcorching, I had never been brought to this Place, which it was in my power to have avoided. *In vain therefore, men by Torments labour to ſuppreſs the Zeal of thoſe that meditate innovations in Religion; which do but rather harden their minds to ſufferings more painful, and more daring undertakings. For when others have ſprung up out of the Aſhes of others, and that their number has increas'd, their Patience turns to Fury: no longer Suppliants, as before, they then begin to be importunate and trouble ſome Expoſtulators and Demanders; and they who fled from cruelties before, have of their own accords betaken themſelves to Arms. This we have ſeen in* France *for forty years together, and little leſs in* Germany. *And things at length were brought to that extremity, that the growing Miſchief could not be lopt off with the puniſhment of two or Three, which at firſt perhaps might be ſecurely done. But when once it had o'erſpread whole People, whole Nations, and conſequently the greateſt part of* Europe, *in vain the Civil Sword is then made uſe of; it requires the weapons of ſpiritual warfare to mow down the Harveſt of Oppreſſion. They ought to be inſtructed, and invited to friendly Colloquies and Conferences, where Equity and Moderation preſide. This did St.* Auſtin, *writing to* Proculianus, *a Sectary of the* Donatian *ſtamp. He it was, who alſo interceeded for 'em to* Donatus, *Proconſul of* Africa, *that they might not be put to death. Believing it became the profeſſors of true Religion not to recede from their prepetual reſolution of ſurmounting Evil by Acts of Lenity. And in another place, he writes to the Preſident* Cæcilianus, *that the Apoſteme of ſacrilegious vanity was rather to be cur'd by impreſſions of Fear, than to be cut off by the Sword of Revengeful perſecutions. Therefore in that ſplendid Epiſtle to* Boniface, *he adds, that in Cauſes of this nature, where by reaſon of the Fatal ſciſſures of Diſſention, not this or that ſingle Perſon*

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runs a hazard, but whole Communities of people lye liable to ruin, there ought to be a Relaxation of Severity; and that the greater evils were to be redress'd by the more indulgent applications of Charity. Which Opinion so far prevail'd in the Church, that the sentence was more than once transcrib'd into Gratian's Decree. St. Austin therefore, a Person both of a pious and meek spirit, thus delivers his Sentiments, that the Career of those Mischiefs was not to be stopt by rigour, by violence or domineering Authority; and more advantageous progresses would be made, rather by instructing than commanding; rather by admonition, than menaces; and that multitudes of sinners were after that manner gently to be dealt with, severity only to be inflicted upon the transgressions of a Few. Or if they who are superior in command are sometimes constrain'd to make use of threats, that they ought to be utter'd with a real grief and sorrow for the miscarriage of the Offender; and that the Terror of Vengeance should be deriv'd from Scripture; not to render their own authority formidable, but that it may appear to be the awful voice of God threatning his Judgments upon Transgressors from their Lips; as he writes in his Epistle to Aurelius, the Bishop. And certainly, if we have a love for Truth, of necessity we must acknowledge, that in all the ancient Monuments of sacred Antiquity we find not any approv'd example extant of capital punishment inflicted upon Sectaries; and that the Primitive Church had always in abomination the effusion of Blood. Or if such an accident fell out at any time, the Bishops truly pious, manifested still their detestation of the Fact. As appear'd in Priscillian, who having spread the Poyson of his pernicious Doctrine among the Churches of Gaul, but more especially in Aquitaine, together with his Followers, was in the year 383. put to Death at Treves, by Maximus, otherwise a good Prince, only that he had usurp'd the Empire from Gratian, whom he depriv'd of his Life at Lyons. The St. Martin had obtain'd a promise from the Emperor, that nothing Bloody or Cruel should be acted against the Guilty; and had earnestly exhorted Itacius, and some other sticklers to desist from their accusations. For all the rest of the Bishops blam'd the violence of their proceeding, as unjust and unbecoming Christians. And tho Itacius, after the fact perfidiously committed, fearing the scandal of it would fall upon his Shoulders, had withdrawn himself; yet afterwards he was condemn'd by Theognistus. Nor was it without great reluctancy, and by constraint of pressing necessity, that St. Martin could be perswaded to hold Communion with the Itacian Party. In like manner St. Ambrose, who was sent at the same time to Maximus by Valentinian, the Brother of Gratian who was put to Death, testifies in his relation, that when he was at Treves, he refrain'd the company of those Bishops that sided with Itacius, who demanded that they who deviated from the Faith might be punished with Death. Afterwards, when those hair-brain'd Prelates had prevail'd with Maximus to send certain Tribunes into Spain with Plenipotentiary Power to enquire after Heretics, and being apprehended to punish 'em with loss of Life and Confiscation of Estates, the same

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St. Martin *never left the Emperor, till he had obtain'd a revocation of that inhumane Decree. For it was the care of that pious Bishop to set free, not only the Christians, who were to be molested under that pretence, but even the Hereticks themselves. Foreseeing in his mind, that that same Tempest, were it not diverted, would cause a great depopulation of the Faithful: there being then but little difference made between the sorts of Men, when only the Eye was judge of the distinction, and Hereticks were mark'd out rather by the paleness of their Looks, or by their Habit, than by their Faith and Doctrine.*

However, after Priscillian *was put to death, the Heresie propagated by himself, was so far from being eradicated by the severity of his punishment, that it gathered strength and spread it self more and more; and his Followers who before had honour'd him as a Holy Person, began to adore him as a* Martyr, *remov'd the bodies of those that suffer'd, into* Spain, *and solemniz'd their Obsequies with extraordinary Pomp. Nay, they carry'd on their Superstition to that degree, that it was accounted a most sacred Oath to swear by* Priscillian: *which occasion'd so cruel and so long continu'd a Division between the Bishops of the Gallican Church, that fifteen years Bloody contention could hardly put an end to; while the people of God, and all good men were in the mean time expos'd to Affront and Obloquy. Which words as often as I read in* Sulpitius Severus, *who wrote the History of that Age with equal Eloquence and Fidelity, I call to mind the years of my childhood, when at the beginning of the Commotions about Religion, men were mark'd out by the Eye for Slaughter; not upon any suspicion of their manners, or of the corruption of their past Lives; but only out of a particular malice to their looks, or the fashion of their Clothes; and what with their heats of Contention and Animosities, what with favours ill bestow'd, the pusillanimous Fear, Inconstancy, Drowsiness, Sloth and Arrogancy of those that sat at the Helm of Affairs, the Kingdom was rent into Factions, and Religion it self push'd almost to the brink of the Precipice by the Troubles and Agitations of the State.*

After St. Martin's *time, more moderation was us'd in the Church toward those that deviated from the Faith; whom they only either Banish'd or* Fin'd, *but always spar'd their Lives. So that in the year* 1060, *when certain of the followers of* Berengarius *Archdeacon of* Angiers *went about sowing his Doctrine in the Territories of* Liege, Juliers, *and other parts of the Low Countries,* Bruno, *Archbishop of* Treves, *thought it sufficient to expel 'em out of his Dioceses, never thirsting after their Blood.*

Nor were they, after this, more severely handl'd by the Church, till the time of the Vaudois; *against whom when the most exquisite of Torments little prevail'd, but that the mischief was rather exasperated by the remedy unseasonably appli'd, while their number encreas'd, compleat Armies were set on foot, and a War of no less bulk was decreed against 'em, than that which our Ancestors wag'd against the* Saracens: *the event of which was, that Murdred, Massacred, Chas'd from their habitations, Plunder'd of their Goods, and despoyl'd of their Estates and Signiories, their*

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Persecutors gain'd a depopulated Country, but not a Convert that was thereby convinc'd of his error. Some there were who had defended themselves at first by force of Armes; who being vanquish'd by superior power, fled into Provence, *and the* Alps *adjoyning to the jurisdiction of* France, *where they met with a sort of skulking holes, wherein to shelter their Lives and Doctrine: others retir'd into* Calabria, *where for a long time they settl'd themselves, even till the Pontificate of* Pius IV. *Some wander'd into* Germany, *and fix'd their Habitations in* Bohemia, Poland *and* Livonia; *while another Remnant, turning Westward, sought for sanctuary in* England. *And from some one of that number 'tis thought that* John Wickliffe *descended, who for a long time taught Theology at* Oxford, *where after various Contentions and hot Disputes about Religion, he died a natural Death, above* 300 *years ago. Natural indeed, and yet more fatal to him then his common mortality: for that several years after his decease, the Magistrate order'd him to be taken up again, arraign'd him, and caus'd his Bones to be publickly burnt. After that time started up several other Sects that have continu'd till our Age, wherein after the severity of Torments in Vain experienc'd, the contest flam'd out from private Disputes into open Wars, and Rebellions of numerous multitudes, both in* Germany, England *and* France; *uncertain whether to the greater detriment of the publick Tranquillity, or Religion it self: Such a Schism being form'd and corroborated, and too long neglected by those, in whose power it was, and whom it behov'd to have apply'd proper Remedies in time.*

These Things, of so great consequence, I have not so largely insisted upon, with a design to revive that so often harrass'd Question, Whether Hereticks ought to be punish'd with death; which neither my Time nor my Profession will admit of. My aim is only to shew, that those Princes have acted most prudently and most conformably to the Institutions and Maxims of the Primitive Church, who have rather chosen to extinguish the conflagrations of War about Religion, with disadvantageous conditions of an amicable composure, then to continue the desolations of an obstinate contest, not to be determin'd but by the uncertain chance of absolute Conquest. This Ferdinand, *a most prudent Prince foresaw; who having learnt by experience, in the furious and dangerous Wars of* Germany, *under his Brother* Charles *the Fifth, the ill success of the Emperors Armes against the Protestants, no sooner attain'd the Imperial Diadem himself, but he re-establish'd the Peace of Religion by a solemn Decree, which he afterwards ratify'd several times. And further observing, that greater progresses were made in matters of Religion by friendly Conferences, as he himself had experienc'd in the Dyets held at* Ratisbonne *and* Wormes, *he resolv'd a little before his death, and immediately after the breaking up of the Council of* Trent, *to follow the advice of his Son* Maximilian, *a Prince of great wisdom; and to satisfie the Protestants who were not at that Assembly, design'd*

to have granted 'em another Conference: In order to which, the Emperour made choice of George Caſſander, *a perſon no leſs moderate than learned, in a friendly Conjunction with the Proteſtant Doctors, to examin the Articles of the Confeſſion of* Auſpurgh, *that were in Diſpute. But the Crazie Conſtitution of that worthy man, and the ſoon enſuing Death both of the one and the other, envy'd* Germany *the Fruit of ſo Noble a Determination. After the Example of the* Germans, *the Nobility of* Poland *took the ſame Courſe in their Republick.*

The Immanuel Philibert, *Duke of* Savoy, *after he was reſtor'd to the ancient Poſſeſſion of his loſt Territories, by vertue of the Peace concluded with us, having raſhly engag'd himſelf, to his great Dammage, in a War with the* Vaudois *of* Piemont, *(whether it were to raiſe his Reputation in* Italy, *or to gratifie others at the Expence of his own Jeopardy, it matters not) made amends for his miſtake by a Timely Repentance; granting the free Exerciſe of their Religion to his, otherwiſe, Innocent People, and afterwards no leſs religiouſly obſerving the Articles which he had concluded with 'em.*

I now come to what concerns our ſelves, and am going about to handle a ſore, which I am very much afraid will draw no ſmall inconvenience upon me, for only laying my Finger upon it. But ſince I have enter'd into the diſcourſe, that I may diſpatch in a word, I ſhall take the Liberty, allow'd under your Reign, frankly and ingenuouſly to declare, That War is by no means a Lawful way to extirpate Hereſie out of the Church. For the Proteſtants of this Kingdom, whoſe Number and Credit daily leſſen'd in time of Peace, have always gather'd ſtrength in times of War and Diviſion; and whether out of a prepoſterous Zeal, or through Ambition, and a Deſire of Innovation, it has been the pernicious Errour of our States-men to renew their Deſigns of extirpating the Proteſtants by Wars often inauſpiciouſly begun, and as frequently unluckily compos'd, to the great hazard of our Religion. What need of Words? The thing it ſelf ſpeaks loud enough. For after various Troubles and Commotions, and during thoſe, innumerable Cities, in every Corner of the Kingdom, wreſted from the Public, no ſooner was Peace reſtor'd by the Reſtitution of thoſe Places in 1563. but 'twas a wonder to ſee what a ſuddain Serenity once more overſpread the Nation. How joyful was that Four Years Interval to all Good Men! While our Religion ſate ſafely protected, and moſt Excellent Laws, of which France *will never have cauſe to repent, were made by a moſt upright Moderator of Juſtice and Equity. But then, the Fate of* France *again declining, we began to grow weary of the Publick Security eſtabliſh'd by thoſe wholeſom Conſtitutions, and ſpurning from us Peaceful Counſels, threw our ſelves into a War, not only Fatal to the whole Realm, but to the Adviſers of it alſo. They who were preſent at the Unfortunate Conference at* Baionne, *are ſufficiently ſenſible what perſons I mean. For from that time forward, while we were ſtill deluded and cajol'd by foreign Fraud, all things were carried on by Artifice and Force of Arms.*

Then

Then it was, that the Duke of Alva *being sent with a Potent Army into* Flanders, *after* Margaret *of* Parma, *who had govern'd those Provinces with Extraordinary Moderation, had by tacit compulsion laid down the Regency; then it was that* Alva *mingled all things with Fire and Sword; erected Fortresses in every Corner, sapp'd the Public Liberty with unheard of Impositions for the support of the War, and breaking in upon their Immunities, reduc'd opulent Cities to meagre Poverty, like strong Bodies emaciated by depriving 'em of Nourishment. But these harsh and unadvised Counsels, the fruits of Precipitation, were attended with the despair of the People, and lastly with Revolts. Which however for a time appeas'd, ended in this at length, that the larger and more abounding Part, and most commodious for Navigation, wherein the Wealth of those Provinces chiefly consists, being as it were mangl'd and dismember'd from the rest of the Body, acknowledges now no Soveraign Authority, but that of the States General, and wages auspicious War with all the Force of* Spain. *Which misfortune of the* Spaniards, Francis Balduin, *one of the most famous Lawyers of this Century, fearing long before, advis'd the Peers of the Low Countries to petition* Philip, *that he would vouchsafe their former Liberty of Conscience to the Protestants every where turmoil'd and harass'd; and surcease the Rigour of Torments and Inquisitions after suspected Persons. And to this purpose he wrote a Treatise in* French, *wherein he prov'd by dint of strenuous Arguments, that the Affairs of Religion, disquieted and tormented by restless Controversies, would sooner be compos'd by Conferences, and an equilibrium observ'd among the Dissenters, than by violence and force of Arms. Wherein if they persever'd, he foresaw that the strength of the Protestants, then but inconsiderable, and here and there dispers'd, would be united by Factions; and that from verbal Contests they would betake themselves to Arms and Revolt. I have the more willingly recited this Prophecy of a Low Country-man, concerning the Low Countries, more especially to your Majesty, for that he, having at first embrac'd the Protestant Faith, yet afterwards upon diligent perusal of the Fathers, having alter'd his Opinion, nevertheless preserv'd the same Moderation of mind; so as not to be transported with an Implacable Hatred, as many are, against those whose Doctrine he had relinquish'd; but by a rare Example of Christian Charity, foreign to this Age, admonish'd by his own Errour, to compassionate the failings of others, and to make it his whole Business, that what had been done amiss out of precipitancy, and desire of innovation, might be redress'd by reviving the Practice of better Antiquity. With these sentiments and resolutions returning out of* Germany *into* France, *he found his Counsel no less prudent than pious, readily embrac'd by your most serene Father, in whose Court he held an honourable Employment; sometimes admitted into Council, and made choice of to take care of your Natural Brother's Education.*

Away then with those Ostentatious Vaunts, to the Dishonour of the Gallick

Name, ſo frequent in the mouths of many aſpiring to a higher ſtrain of Zeal then other Men, and boaſting that they never ſubſcrib'd to any Treatiſe of Peace with Heretiks. Let 'em conſider, what became at length of all their egregious Counſels, and lament at leiſure the loſs of ſo many Flouriſhing Provinces, and the Ruinous Diſſipation of their own Eſtates conſum'd by Tumult and Sedition, or ſequeſter'd by Conqueſt. How glad would they be now to learn from our Example, what with ſo much Affectation they before deteſted! What would they give to redeem the Loſs of ſo many Years, which had they profitably employ'd against the Common Enemies of Chriſtendom, they had expeld thoſe Infidels long e're this out of Hungary, and both Mauritania's, to their Immortal Honour, and no leſs to the Advantages of Profit.

But I am afraid, the ſame Imprudence which we blame in others, may be juſtly laid to our Charge, while either ſpur'd on by our own precipitate Fury, or puſh'd forward by the Evil Counſels of thoſe I have already mention'd, we have pamper'd the Occaſions of moſt pernicious Diſturbances; wherein we have ſeen our Cities ſackt, our Churches levell'd with the Earth, Churches which the Rage of former Commotions ſpar'd; whole Provinces laid waſte; old Animoſities, that Peace had lull'd aſleep, reviv'd; Suſpitions encreas'd, and Arms laid down to be reſum'd with more Implacable Rancour. Yet after all theſe foul Enormities committed, at length a Peace was concluded, which the more pretious it ought to have been, ſo much the ſooner was it violated by an Act, ſcarce ever to be Expiated, unleſs Heaven, and that is all we dare to wiſh, would be pleas'd to bury it in Eternal Oblivion; I mean the Maſſacre perpetrated two Years after, wherein, Great Sir, Your ſelf, of old by Heaven deſign'd to re-eſtabliſh the Languiſhing Affairs of France, had like to have been envelopp'd.

After we were got clear of this ſame Formidable Caphareus, we fell in among ſeveral other formidable Rocks, againſt which with equal Imprudence we Shipwrackt our ſelves, Heaven's incens'd Wrath not long procraſtinating, but revenging the Impieties of France by the Death of a Generous Prince, miſguided rather by the pernicious Counſels of others, then ſway'd by his own Inclinations. What did his Succeſſors? Returning out of Poland, the Emperour Maximilian and the Republick of Venice, in whoſe Territories he reſted by the way, beſides their Magnificent Entertainments, gave him ſincere and wholſom Counſel; which he contemning, at his entrance into the Kingdom, preferr'd a wicked War, which they diſſwaded, and from which the ſuppliant Proteſtants implor'd him to deſiſt, before a ſu'd for Peace. But ſoon repenting, he chang'd his mind, and at the end of three Years made an Edict of Pacification, which he peculiarly call'd his own, and which was attended with a ſeven years profound Peace, unleſs it were for ſome ſlight Inſurrections and Incurſions of the Soldiers: otherwiſe, no Important Commotions on either ſide. Till certain Perſons impatient of Eaſe, and not enduring that Peace had brought the Affairs

fairs of France *to such a Condition, as not to stand in need of their Assistance, kindled an insensible and mournful War, to which the King perniciously addicted and by a fatal Mistake suffer'd himself to be drawn in: and though Your self at first were the pretended Mark, against which those Armes were turn'd, yet all their Fury fell at length on his own Head. I tremble, when I call to mind that Execrable Parricide, no less to the eternal Infamy of the Gallic Name, then to the indelible Infamy of those that so inhumanly chuckl'd at it: which doubtless had involv'd the Kingdom, and together with the Kingdom, Religion it self in ruin past recovery, had not You, Great Sir, reserv'd for these unhappy times by the unlookt for Favour of the Almighty watching over our Safety, like a well fixt Column, supported the tottering Commonwealth; and by Your Courage stopt the Headlong Wheel of Public Calamity ready to crush in pieces what ever it rowl'd over. Yet all this while have testified by Your own Example, that all things else what ever are subject to Humane Laws, but that Religion only, as I have already said, is neither to be compell'd or lorded over. For having been restrain'd from Your Infancy to struggle with so many Adversities, in the midst of Civil Wars; having been surrounded with several Armies at the same time; after so many Battels won and lost (for it was then equally mischievous to vanquish as to be vanquish'd) tho' you had all along before, like a stout Soldier fighting in his Rank, stood stedfast to your first Religion, not to be shaken either with hopes or fears, at length however at a time when you found that all things give way to your Prowess, you surrender'd of your own accord to the humble Prayers of Your Subjects, and in the full Career of Victory, suffering Your self to be overcome, return'd to the Religion of Your Ancestors. Yet after that, You still preserv'd the same sedateness of Temper and Moderation of mind, which you had always experienc'd so beneficial to your self. For thus perswaded, you recall'd the Edicts which had been publish'd in despite of your Predecessors against the Protestants, and consequently against your self. And after a Peace, to your loud Fame concluded not only with your Subjects, but with Foreigners, you by a Third confirm'd two former Edicts in favour of the Protestants, whereby you restor'd 'em to their Houses, their Estates and their Honours; and dignify'd several with the highest Employments in the Kingdom. For it was your firm belief, that all Animosities asswaging by degrees, the Concord ratify'd by the Edicts, would be more readily observ'd among Dissenters in Opinions, and that Serenity and Tranquillity being restor'd to the Minds of Men, all Heats and Passions, like a scatter'd Storm, dispers'd, People would be able with more sedateness to discern what in Religion was best to be made choice of, as most conformable to Antiquity. And indeed, this was the Course which those Holy Fathers always thought most proper to take with those, who either out of hatred, or sway'd by Errour, ran astray from the Rule and Communion of the Church: to the end they might make it appear, that they were rather led by Charity then any desire of violent*

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Conquest. And upon these Considerations it was, that St. Augustin *ever calls the* Pelagians *Brethren; and that* Optatus *of* Milevum *no less affably treats the* Donatists. *For this reason it was, that St.* Cyprian, *before them, was wont to say, that as it was his hearty wish, so it was always his advice and counsel to the Church, if possible, never to suffer any of the Brethren to perish; but to foster in her Bosom, like an Indulgent Mother, all without distinction, as one Body of People agreeing in their judgments. For indeed there are many among those that are separated from our Communion, who, that I may use St.* Austin's *words, would in order to their private Resolutions return, were once the Storms allay'd. But seeing 'em continue, or else fearing lest they should grow more outragious upon their reunion, they continue their Inclinations to advise and comfort the weak; still without separating from their particular Congregations, defending till death, and by their Testimony upholding that Faith which they know to be taught in the Catholick Church. Yet all this while they patiently suffer, for the sake of the Church's Peace, the Contumelies and Injuries offer'd on both sides, and by their Example teach us, with what sort of Zeal, Sincerity and Charity, God is to be serv'd.*

Upon these Considerations, as well taught by my own Experience, as confirm'd by Your Example, that 'tis my duty to consult the Peace of the Church, I have abstain'd from all bitterness of language: I mention the Protestants with honour; more especially those that excell'd in Learning. Nor have I conceal'd the Vices of our own People; as being of the same Opinion with all vertuous Men, that they are infinitely deceiv'd, who believe, in reference to the manifold Heresies which at this day torment the World, that there is a more Contagious Malignity in the evil Intentions and Artifices of their Teachers and Followers, than in our Vices and Impieties. And I am verily perswaded, to the best of my judgment, that the only way to provide against Both Mischiefs, as well the Deviations of the Dissenting Party, as our own Enormities, would be to remove from the Church and State all manner of Traffic and Brokage. That Vertue be rewarded; that Persons who excel in Piety, Doctrine, Learning, and Sobriety of Manners, such as have given proof of their Prudence and Moderation, should be advanc'd to the most sacred Functions: that no new Upstarts, persons of no value, but such as fear God and hate Covetousness, should be preferr'd to Secular Dignities, not for favour or by purchase, but only upon the recommendation of their Vertues. Otherwise, where good and Bad are admitted without distinction, 'tis evident that the Reign of Peace will be but of short continuance; and that those Cities of necessity must perish, whose Rulers are not able to distinguish the Vertuous from the wicked; and suffer, according to the Proverb, what the Bees should only enjoy, to be devour'd by Drones.

There is nothing, Sir, more opposite to that Fidelity which in the first place we owe to God, and next to Your self, and the People subjected to your Empire, than that are entrusted with the Highest Employments and Preferments in the Kingdom, than the hope of filthy Gain. When

which if we commence our entrance into the Magistracy, 'tis to be fear'd that that will prove the Cynosure of all our Thoughts and Cogitations; and that at length, blinded with Avarice, and laying aside all care of Honesty and Justice, we shall falsifie the Trust which God, Your self, and your Subjects have confided in us. Avarice is a cruel, inhuman, and insatiable Monster, that never cries, It is enough; and therefore not to be endur'd. Tho' the Golden Mountains of Persia, the Treasures of both Indies were added to the immense Heaps of France's Opulency, You would not have wherewithal to satiate the greedy Maw of Covetousness. For Vices know no Bounds; their motion is restless; always rowling headlong, and never cease but with their own perdition. On the other side, Vertue, according to the saying of Simonides, resembling a Cube, stedfastly withstands all Shoggs of Fortune and Human Casualties; and subjecting it self to Nature, that varies after several ways the manifold Chances that befall the Life of Man, preserves the Mind and Conscience free and uncorrupted, contented with it self; sufficient of her self for all things. Restore but to this same Vertue, which thus forms the Minds of Men, her wonted Luster and Dignity, and you will have an overflowing Plenty liberally to reward the Truly deserving, without burd'ning your Exchequer, or laying heavy Impositions on your People.

That the same Care may be taken in the Church, if it be not directly under your Majesties Administration, certainly it is a part of Royal Sedulity to be urgent, to entreat, request, and interpose Your Authority with those on whom the Burthen lies, that there be no neglect on their side. Assume to your self this Glory, Sir, to which new Encomiums belong; and ponder this continually in Your Royal Thoughts, that this blessed Ease and Leisure, which we now enjoy, together with Your self, can never otherwise be expected to be Diurnal, than by strenuously employing this Interval of Peace, by the Almighty so favourably granted, to the Advancement of his Glory, and Composing the Divisions of Religion. 'Tis a Great Thing which I propose to Your Majesty; nor at this time, in the Opinion of many, who contented with their present condition, disrelish wholsom Counsels against future Inconveniencies, to be too hastily undertaken. But Great Rewards attend Great Enterprizes; and a sublime and Towring Genius, the Gift of Heaven conferr'd upon Your Majesty, can never stoop to common Attempts. Certainly, after the suppress'd licentiousness of Riot and Rapine, and particular Families confin'd to moderate Expences proportionable to their Incomes, in which respect France is more beholding to Your Majesty, than can be expresst, You can revolve in Your thoughts nothing more worthy the sublime Pinacle and Station where you govern, than to compose and reduce into Order the Laws of God and man, all in confusion through the Civil Broils of so many Years. Whence You will doubtless reap this high Advantage, that the Wrath of God incens'd against us being thereby attoned, and the Bishops and Magistrates strenuously labouring in the several duties of their Employments, Candor and Sincere Charity will prevail against Hypocrisie and Dissimulation; the Laws will combat

Avarice

Avarice and Luxury; *which two contending Vices the depravity of the Age has intermix'd: good Manners will be eſteem'd and improv'd*; *Modeſty and Chaſtity, hitherto contemn'd and derided, will regain their Ancient Reputation*; *and laſtly, that Vertue recovering her loſt Honour, the Adoration, Luſter and Authority of Money will abate.*

Theſe are Your own Wiſhes, Mighty Sir. For I have often heard 'em from Your own Lips, when you have profeſs'd your ſelf ready to purchaſe ſo great a felicity to the Kingdom with the Mutilation of Your own Limbs. Theſe are the wiſhes of all Your moſt faithful Subjects: and this is my ſence of the Common-Weal. Wherein, if I have been ſomewhat too prolix; or if I have us'd too great a liberty of Speech, you will vouchſafe your pardon to an Innocent Perſon, bred up under that Liberty, the Reſtoration of which to our Country is a debt we owe to Your Majeſty, and who had not otherwiſe preſum'd upon Your Royal Patience, but that he deem'd himſelf oblig'd to fix ſomething by way of Preface at the Portal of the Work; in ſome meaſure to reſtrain the Aſſaſſinations of Calumny, and heave off the Burthen of Envy from his Shoulders.

But when I thought that what I had hitherto ſaid, either in excuſe, or defence of my Labours, had been ſufficient, my Friends admoniſh me, that there will be ſome who will object againſt me, that I might have ſpar'd ſuch an exact Commemoration of particular things relating to our Liberties, Immunities, Laws and Franchiſes; affirming it no leſs to the diſadvantage of Your own, and the Dignity of the Kingdom, then Injurious to Private Perſons. To which, altho' there be abundant matter of Anſwer, yet ſhould I enlarge my ſelf too far: I am afraid, leſt many ſhould think I affected an Occaſion to fight with Goblins; or if I ſhould be altogether ſilent, leſt Carping and Cenſure ſhould lay hold of the Opportunity: I ſhall therefore, as to this matter, deliver my ſelf with all poſſible ſuccinctneſs.

So ſeaſon'd by Tradition to me from my Father, a moſt worthy Perſon, as all men knew, to him from my Grand-Father and Great Grand-Father deliver'd; ſo prepar'd, and with ſuch Inclinations I enter'd into the Adminiſtration of the Commonweal, that next to my Duty to God, there was nothing that I eſteem'd dearer to me, or more ſacred, then that Love and Duty which I ow'd my Country; and that all my other private Affections, all other Conſiderations were to give way to that. For ſo I always moſt rigorouſly perſwaded my ſelf, that my Country, according to the Opinion of the Ancients, was a ſecond Deity, and the Laws of my Country a ſort of other Deities, which whoſoever violated, under a ſought for pretence of Piety, were liable to all the Penalties of Sacriledge and Parricide. Theſe Franchiſes, theſe Laws, upon which this Kingdom being founded, had advanc'd it ſelf to ſuch an extended Grandeur of Dominion and Power, if there be any, and would to God there be not, who work under Ground to ſap and ruin, when all their open Force proves vain, and unſucceſsful, may we here be deem'd worthy of the Gallic Name, who e're we are that would be thought true Patriots, if we do not might and main oppoſe the Incroaching Miſchief, more eſpecially while You reign.

For

For it is the voice of our Anceſtors, men highly eminent for Religion, that this is that Celeſtial Pledge of publick ſafety; This, that other Palladium *of* Franco-Gallia, *which ſo long as we can keep, there is nothing to be ſuſpected from Foreign Treachery: but being once loſt, nothing can be ſecure from their Attaques. Wherefore, ſhould it happen, through ſloath or ſtupidity, that theſe* Ancilia *ſhould be ſtolen from us, there is no queſtion to be made, but the ſame Perſon that wickedly commits the Theft, like another* Ulyſſes, *Maſter of* Pelaſghian *Fraud, will certainly ſuborn another* Sinon, *to get admitted into* France *ſome other fatal Horſe, cram'd full of armed Enemies; and by that means depopulate the moſt flouriſhing part of* Europe, *with the ſame Conflagration that laid* Troy *in Aſhes. But God avert it for the future: for while you live and govern, and while Heaven preſerves the* Dauphin *ſafe, there's no ſuch dire Misfortune to be fear'd.*

And here it might be juſtly expected, that we ſhould tell the World how much you have deſerv'd of the Republic; and that we ſhould enlarge upon your Praiſes, to whom we are beholding for our Lives, and the enjoyment of our Country and Eſtates. No more perhaps, then what they may with reaſon require from us, who meaſure the undertaking rather by the greatneſs of the ſubject, then the meanneſs of my capacity. But beſides that I deſign'd not any Panegyric here; 'tis certain, You take more pleaſure in the full pledge of what you have done, then in the loud Applauſes of Haranguing Eloquence.

Your Majeſty, ſprung from the moſt noble and Ancient Family of all that ever Scepters held, and deducing Your more certain Original from Male deſcent, by Birth a Pyrenæan, *grew up, under the Education of Adverſity, in the midſt of War; by providence protected, your Infancy eſcap'd the treacherous Ambuſcado's of Your Adverſaries. Your early Youth, and riper Manhood, both, became a Terrour to your Enemies. At laſt in the moſt furious heat of Hurry and Confuſion you were brought to the King, or ſent for by him, from the fartheſt part of* Aquitaine, *to the end no other but the Lawful Heir might poſſeſs the vacant Throne; and vacant ſuddainly it was. Having obtain'd the Crown, you temper'd Soveraign Authority with an Alloy of Clemency and Humility, chooſing rather to win the alienated Affections of Your Subjects by acts of Favour and Kindneſs, then to ride 'em with the Curb of fear. And ſuch was the Confidence that men, before your mortal Enemies, repos'd in their now acknowledg'd Soveraign, that they thought themſelves more ſafe in Your Mercy, then ſecure in the ſtrength of their own Arms; and were not ſo ſorry to ſee themſelves vanquiſh'd, as they were glad that You were the Victor. Of Suppliants they became Friends and familiar Acquaintance: and the Delinquents were more deeply ſenſible of their paſt Offences, then you were apprehenſive of their Injuries. Your readineſs to pardon was ſuch, that they repented they did not ſooner acknowledge their Errour. But what other way for them, who ſaw that the rapid courſe of Your Victories could not be ſtemm'd by any Oppoſition, but of their own accords to ſubmit*

to Your Majeſty, whom nothing could withſtand, and rather to truſt the Clemency of the Victor, then to try the doubtful Chance of Battel? For your Proweſs ſeem'd to have reſtrain'd even Fate it ſelf, in ſuch a manner, as that it ſeem'd to have fix'd the events of War, and clipt the Wings of Victory, to prevent her flight from Side to Side. Not, but that to all this uncontroul'd Proſperity, your Vigilance, your Indefatigable Induſtry, your patient enduring Heat and Cold, your neglect of other dyet then the Place or Seaſon afforded, your Diligence in the Trenches, your Military Labours day and night, your marching through tempeſtuous Showers and Storms of Hail and Snow, your ſhort Repoſes, Naps on Horſe-back, ſometimes on the Ground, and other Perſonal Vertues mainly contributed and aſſiſted. Thus by your own Example, the moſt alluring way of commanding Obedience, you ſtill preſerv'd that exactneſs of Diſcipline, which by others is hardly maintain'd, where want of Pay breeds mutiny and diſorder. By this felicity You every where became ſo terrible to Your Enemies, that tho, for the moſt part ſuperiour in number, and all other ſupports of War, they thought it ſufficient to defend themſelves within the Walls of their fortified Towns and Cities; and lookt upon their bare Defence as an Atchievement no leſs Glorious, then for You to vanquiſh in the Field. So that 'tis no wonder, that after ſo many hainous offences againſt your Majeſty committed, they ſhould ſo greedily embrace an Opportunity of Reconciliation offer'd 'em by Heaven it ſelf, out of a certain hope of ſincere pardon, and no leſs afraid of Victory always abiding on Your ſide.

But if it be ſo, that War has render'd You ſo formidable to your Enemies; the publick Tranquillity ſhews you no leſs acceptable to thoſe You have receiv'd into favour; while the encourag'd Arts of Peace are every where revvi'd by Rewards and Immunities. Witneſs the vaſt and laſting Piles in every Corner of the Kingdom rear'd within ſo ſhort a ſpace of Time; adorn'd with Statues of incomparable workmanſhip, exquiſite Pictures, and coſtly Tapeſtries, where the Figures ſeem to ſpeak and move; eternal Monuments to Poſterity of the Greatneſs of Your Soul, and Your deſire of Peace. But above all things we return Your Majeſty Thanks, for reſtoring the Muſes to their Seats from whence they were expell'd by the Barbarity of the War, and for the reflouriſhing State of the Pariſian Academy, under Your Auſpices reſtor'd to former Reputation, by your Addition of a ſignal Embelliſhment, in calling thither Iſaac Caeſaibon, the ſecond Luminary of this Age, and entruſting him with the Cuſtody of your truly Royal Library. By all which Acts of Princely Munificence it may appear, that the uninterrupted courſe of ſo many Laurels was not ſo much Your Encouragement to more Ambitious undertakings, as to cultivate Peace among your Neighbours, and to reſtore Tranquillity and Repoſe to your Subjects tyr'd and almoſt worn out with the vexation and turmoile of the preceding Wars.

Continue and proſper then, Great Sir, in your moſt generous purpoſe; and proceed to eſtabliſh that Peace, which You have procur'd your Kingdom and your Country at the Expence of ſo much Blood and Labour, by reſtoring the Authority

of the Laws, as already you have been begun to do: and be aſſur'd, that the Mind, the Soul, the Counſel and Authority of a Commonweal reſide altogether in the Laws; and that as a Body without a Soul, ſo neither can a City, without Laws, make uſe of her Organs, her Nerves, her Blood and Members. Conſequently that the Magiſtrates and Judges are but the Miniſters and Interpreters of the Law; and laſtly that we are all the Servants of the Law, to the end we may be truly Freemen, and enjoy the Bleſſing of our Liberty.

In hopes of obtaining this Liberty under your Reign, and taking advantage of the time recover'd by Your Means, in the general Hurry and Confuſion, and after your Troubles were compos'd, I wrote the Hiſtory of this Age, the firſt part of which I now make publick to the World, and dedicate it to Your moſt Auguſt Name, for many reaſons of greateſt Conſequence, both in reference to my own Perſon, and the thing it ſelf. It would have argu'd me ſtrangely ingrateful, not to acknowledge my Advancement, begun by your Predeceſſour of Bleſſed Memory, and by your Majeſty ſtill digniſi'd with greater Advantages of higher Preferment. And becauſe I was continually attending both in the Camp and at the Court, Your Majeſty entruſted me with ſeveral Commiſſions of Importance; by the management of which I attain'd to the Knowledge of many things requiſite to carry on the work which we had then in hand. This farther Advantage alſo I had from my familiar converſe with ſeveral Illuſtrious Perſonages grown old in the ſervice of the Court, more diligently to examin the Truth of many things that were publiſh'd upon ſeveral occaſions concerning our Affairs in various Anonymous Pamphlets. And thus I improv'd my knowledge, during my Attendance on your Majeſty, in the midſt of publick Buſineſs, till the Duty of my Employment confin'd me into this Workhouſe of the Law. The honour of my being known to Your Majeſty is of no freſh date: For it is now above twenty years ago, that I was ſent with other Commiſſioners of Parliament by the deceaſed King, to attend Your Majeſty in Aquitaine; at what time You were pleas'd to vouchſafe me particular Demonſtrations of Your Particular Favour and Benevolence. And ſince that, I preſum'd to a peculiar Confidence, that the Fruits of my Wit, if it were poſſible for ſo barren a Plant to bear any, would not be unacceptable to Your Majeſty. But there is yet another more important Reaſon why this Work ſhould be devoted to Your Majeſty; for that he who undertakes an Enterprize ſo full of Danger, muſt of neceſſity ſtand in need of powerful ſupport againſt the Detractions of repining Calumny; nor could I deſire a more piercing Judgment then Your Majeſties, wherewith you govern your own Affairs, to examin the Truth of all thoſe Great Tranſactions which I have tranſmitted to future Ages. For to Your Cenſure, as it behoves me, I dare be bold to ſtand; whether you command me to impart the reſt, or ſuppreſs what I have already publiſh'd; which indeed cannot be ſaid ſo much to be made public, as to be laid at your Feet, a Specimen to be rejected or approv'd. What ever you ordain or command concerning it, ſhall be to me in place of a Celeſtial Oracle. Nor do I queſtion, but whatſoever you allow will be unanimouſly ſuffer'd to paſs cur-

rant over all the World. Or if there be any who are not pleas'd with your unerring Approbations, they muſt be ſuch who having been advanc'd to high degree by the Freaks of Fortune, yet never doing any thing worthy to be remember'd in ſtory, think it an Injury to themſelves, when there is a true accompt given of all mens Actions. But as I ſhould wrong my Reputation by a compliance with their unjuſt deſires, ſo neither will my Conſcience permit me wickedly to bury in ſilence their Vices, generally in conjunction with the ruin of the State.

I cannot make a better Concluſion of this Preface, then with my vows and wiſhes. Great God, the Author and Giver of all our Bleſſings, who with thy only Son, together with the Holy Ghoſt, art God in three Perſons, yet one in Goodneſs, Wiſdom, Mercy and Power, always one in all things; who waſt before all things, and wilt be Eternally in all things; who by thy Prudence diſpoſeſt and govern'ſt lawful Dominion, without which, nor any private Family, nor City, nor the whole Race of all Mankind, nor Nature it ſelf, by thee created out of Nothing, can pretend to any thing of ſtedfaſt and durable; Thee, with the Prayers of the whole Kingdom I implore, and moſt humbly adjure, that what thou haſt vouchſaf'd to France and conſequently to all Chriſtendom, thou wouldſt be pleas'd to appropriate the ſame to us; and as an accumulation to thy Bleſſings to make 'em Diuturnal. In order to which, we put up to thy ſacred Throne but this one Supplication more, which comprehends all the reſt, that thou wouldſt preſerve the King and the Dauphin. For upon their ſafety, we muſt acknowledge that our Peace, our Concord, our Security, our Wealth and Welfare, and what ever elſe is deſirable on Earth, depend. To which purpoſe direct his Counſels to rule with moderation that Empire which he has reſcu'd from Deſtruction: while the Young Prince ſprings up, like an auſpicious Tree that grows upon the Banks of ſome delightful River; to the end he may prove a Protecting Shade to our Children's Children, under the ſecurity of which to be at leaſure to improve the more noble Arts of Peace, and promote both Learning and Piety. Grant that both may raign together over France, in that order which is moſt acceptable to all good men: that by their means, the priſtin Sincerity and Religion, the Ancient Manners, the Inſtitutions of our Anceſtors, and the Laws of our Country may be reſtor'd to their Primitive luſter; that all new Monſters of Sects, new Fictions of Religions, and other Forgeries of Artifice and Ambition to inveagle and corrupt the weak and inadvertent, may be utterly confounded; and that at length all Schiſm and Diſcord remov'd, Peace may be eſtabliſh'd in the Houſe of God, quiet in Conſciences, and ſecurity in the Commonweal. Laſtly we invoke and beſeech thee, moſt Great and Merciful God, through the Grace of thy Holy Spirit, without which we neither are, nor can do any thing, that as well they who are now living, as Generations to come, when they ſhall read what I am now preparing to declare to all the World, may meet with nothing deviating from that: Liberty, Truth & Fidelity which becomes a ſincere Hiſtorian; and that my whole Work may be as free from the ſuſpicion of Adulation and Envy, as it is from any Conſtraint or Neceſſity of being Partial.

The Patent from the States of *Holland* and *Weſtfreizland*, for Printing this Work, is a follows, *viz.*

THE States of *Holland* and *Weſtfreizland* Publiſh, that *Adrian Beman* Bookſeller at *Delft*, having made known to us, that he has been at great charge and trouble in Printing a certain Book Intituled [*Hiſtoire de l'e Edit de Nantes, contenant les choſes les plus Remarquables qui ſe ſont paſſees en France avant & apres la Publication a l' occaſian de la diverſite des Religions*, &c.] in Quarto in four Parts, and fearing that ſome other Perſon in our Dominions to his great loſs and damage might attempt to print the foreſaid Book after Our foreſaid Petitioners Copy, has apply'd himſelf to Us, in moſt humble manner, Praying that we would favour Our ſaid Petitioner with a *ſpecial Patent or Priviledge*, by which Our ſaid Petitioner, his Heirs, Adminiſtrators, *&c.* may be favoured and allow'd to Print the ſaid Book for 15 Years next enſuing, and that they only may be allow'd to Print Publiſh and Sell the ſaid Book

during

during the ſaid time in Our Territories, in ſuch manner and Languages as they ſhall think fit, forbidding any other to Print the ſaid Book in any manner, either in the whole or in part, or to Sell or Publiſh any of the ſaid Books that may be brought into Our Country from other Parts.

We therefore having conſider'd the Caſe and Petition aforeſaid, and being inclin'd to hearken to the ſaid Petition, have of Our true Knowledge and by Our Sovereign Power and Authority, Conſented and Agreed to and Impowred, and by theſe Preſents do Conſent and Agree to and Privilege the ſaid Petitioner, his Heirs, Adminiſtrators, *&c.* only to Print the ſaid Book for the term of 15 Years next enſuing, in Quarto in four Parts, within Our Dominions, and that he, *&c.* only may Print or cauſe to Print, Publiſh or Sell the ſaid Book, in our Dominions, *&c.* Therefore we forbid all others to Print Publiſh or Sell the ſaid Book in our Dominions during the ſaid term, or to import or Publiſh or Sell the ſaid Book, tho, printed in any other Country, on pain of forfeiting all the ſaid Books printed after the foreſaid Coppy or imported in from Foreign parts, and beſides to pay a fine of 300 Guilders, one third part to be given to the Officer that proſecutes; one third to be paid to the Poor of the Town where the fault is committed, and the remaining third part to be paid to the foreſaid Petitioner.

And

But notwithſtanding any thing contained in this Our Patent with which we have gratified Our Petitioner, Our intent is that it ſhall only defend him from ſuch damage as may be done him by printing after his Copy, and no way authoriſe or avow, much leſs being Protected by us as aforeſaid, give any reputation or credit, to the Contents of the Book, nor is the ſaid Petitioner exempted from anſwering any thing that may be charged on him, if it contains any thing that is unlawful, and to that end We expreſly command that he ſhall place *this our Patent* in the fore part of the Book without any abbreviation or omiſſions: and he ſhall be obliged to bring one of the ſaid Books well Bound and in good condition to the *Library of our Univerſity of Leyden*, and bring thence a ſufficient teſtimonial thereof on pain of loſing the Effect of theſe Preſents. And to the end our Petitioner may enjoy this priviledge, We Command all whom theſe Preſents may concern, that they ſuffer the ſaid Petitioner peaceably to enjoy the full benefit of theſe our Letters Patents.

Given at the Hague *under Our Great Seal hereunto annex'd, the* 23*d. of* Feb. 1693.

THE

The History of the Famous Edict of Nants, *containing an Account of the most Remarkable Things that have hapned since its Publication to the* Edict *of Revocation; as likewise of the principal Events that have follow'd since that New* Edict, *till this present Time.*

The First Book.

A Summary of the Contents of the First Book.

The Occasion, Design, and Platform of this Work. The Beginning of the Reformation, and its Causes. Its Entrance into France. *How it was received at* Meaux, *and at* Bearn. *The Execution of* John le Clerc, *and* Lewis Berquin. *The State of Religion in* Germany. *The Schism in* England. *The Inclination of* Francis *the* I. *towards the Reformation, and how he was diverted from it by the Cardinal* de Tournon. *An Accommodation proposed. The Synods of* Bourges, *and of* Paris. *The Beginning of* Calvin's *Doctrine. The Year of the* Placards, *or Remonstrances. The Devotions and Executions ordered upon them. Edicts against the* Lutherans. *The Council of* Trent, *and its Translation. The Death of King* Francis. Henry *the Second persecutes the Protestants. The Edict of* Chateau-Briant. *The King protests against the Councils being transferred back again to* Trent. *The Dutchess of* Valentinois *Cruel to the Protestants. The Great Credit and Influence of the Clergy. The Business of* Merindol *and* Cabrieres. *New Severities and Punishments that forward the pro-*

greſs of the Reformation. Proteſtant Churches formed at Paris, *and other places. The Spirit of Moderation prevails upon ſeveral Judges. An Aſſembly at* Paris. *The Character of* Catharine de Medicis. *Calumnies againſt the Proteſtants. The* Pſalms *ſung in publick. The Original of the Factions. The Conſtancy of* Andelot, *and his Diſgrace. The Counſellors of the Parliament of* Paris *ſuſpected as to their Religion. The firſt Proteſtant National Synod in* France. *The Death of* Henry *the Second. The State of the Court. The Nature of the Intrigues then carrieh on there, with the Character of the Heads of them. How Religion came to be made uſe of in them. Courts of Juſtice Erected for the Burning of pretended Hereticks, called,* Burning Chambers. *The enſnaring Superſtitions uſed towards Images, to diſcover and intrap the Proteſtants. The Tragical Execution of Counſellour* Du Bourg. *The Apologetical Writings, publiſhed by the* Proteſtants, *which exaſperate the Higher* Powers. *A Project againſt Arbitrary Power. The Enterpriſe of* Amboiſe. *The Cruelties of the Court. The Original of the Word* Huguenot. *An appearance of Moderation. The Impriſonment of the* Prince of Conde. *The Death of* Francis *the Second, falſly imputed to the Proteſtants. The* General Eſtates *aſſembled, who ſeem to favour them. The Riſe of the* Triumvirate. *The Conference at* Poiſſy. *The ſetling of the Jeſuits at* Paris. *The Fickleneſs and Inconſtancy of the Cardinal of* Lorrain, *and of the King of* Navarr. *A Sedition at* Paris *againſt the Proteſtants. The Maſſacre of* Vaiſſy *after the Edict publiſhed in* January. *The ſtrength of the Proteſtants. The Admirals ſhort continuance in Favour. The firſt War againſt the Proteſtants begun by the Queens Orders, but afterward diſowned by her. The League between the Pope, the King of Spain, and the* Guiſes, *againſt the Proteſtants. The Cruelties of* Monluc, *and of* Adrets, *and of the* Roman Catholicks *in general. The Maſſacre at* Sens. *Foreign Forces brought into* France. *The Battel of* Dreux. *The Siege of* Orleans. *The Death of the Duke of* Guiſe, *with which our Author charges the Admiral. Peace agreed upon. The Marriage of the Cardinal of* Chatillon, *and what followed thereupon. Tithes ſecured to the* Roman *Clergy. The retaking of* Havre de Grace *from the* Engliſh. *Proſecutions againſt the Admiral. The End of the Council of* Trent. *A Revolution in* Bearn. *New cauſes of Jealouſie given to the Proteſtants. The*

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Voyage of the Court, and the Counsel of the Duke of Alva. *The progress of the Reformed Churches, The Reconciliation of the Admiral with the* Guises. *The Enterprise of* Meaux, *and its consequences. A Peace clapt up before* Chartres, *without any design to observe it. The 3d War. The Death of the Prince of* Conde, *and of* Andelot. *Battels lost. The Admiral restores the Party, and gives new life to them. A fraudulent peace. The incredible Artifices of the Court. The Massacre of St.* Bartholomew. *The Princes of the Blood obliged by force to change their Religion. The Inconstancy of* Des Rosiers. *The Sieges of* Rochelle *and* Sancerve. *Factions in* France. *The Duke of* Alanson *Protector of the Protestants, and of those called the* Politicks. *The Death of* Charles *the 9th.* Henry *the 3d returning from* Poland, *and succeeding him, continues the War. The Retreat of the Princes. A peace broken as soon as made. The Edict of* 1577. *Synods. The Conferences of* Nerca *and* de Fleix. *The King eludes the Edict under pretence of observing it. Outrages committed by the Leaguers against the King, who is forced against his Will, to make War upon the Protestants. The Courage of the King of* Navar. La Trimouille *turns Protestant. The Battle of* Courtras. *The Defeat of the* Reiters. *The Death of the Prince of* Conde. *The Edict of Union. The Insolence of the Leaguers. The Estates held at* Blois. *The Death of the Duke of* Guise, *and of the Cardinal his Brother. The Duke of* Mayenne *escaping revives the Leaguers party. The extremity of the King's Affairs. He makes a Truce with the* Protestants. *The King's Affairs in a State of Recovery. He besieges* Paris, *and is stabb'd by a Monk.*

THE *Reformation*, which changed the Face of Religion all over *Europe*, at the beginning of the last Age, met with great Oppositions wherever it was preached. For the *Court of Rome* used her utmost Endeavours to extinguish at its very Birth a *Light* that was likely to prove so fatal to her *Grandeur*, and set in motion all the Springs of her most Refined Politicks, to maintain the Errors and Abuses from which she drew such vast gains, against those Enemies that so clearly revealed and laid open its ambitious Artifices. She raised against them all the different Bodies of her *Clergy*, whose miserable Ignorance and Corruption they so briskly attackt. She spared neither her *Bulls* nor *Anathema's*, to render them odious to all the World. She armed against

them all the Temporal Powers, where she had Credit enough to procure her *Maxims* to be embrac'd; and on the other side, the Princes of those Times, who had their secret aims for the advancing of their Authority, were glad of so fair an occasion to satisfy their Ambition, and greedily laid hold on't. For the aspiring passion after Arbitrary Power had so possest the Heads of the Soveraigns then Reigning, that thinking their Power too much confined by some certain Relicks of Liberty, which were by the Laws preserved to the people, they were ravish'd to meet so patly with a Religious Pretence to employ one part of their Subjects to ruine the other, as being very confident, that when the soundest and most understanding part of them should be once oppressed, they should easily master the rest. And the Court of *Rome* likewise in her turn, when she smelt out the Intentions of the Princes, was in no small fear of them, as well as of her pretended Heretick Enemies; and looking upon Absolute Power as a Jewel fit only to be reserv'd for the Triple Crown, she never sincerely assisted those whose power was in a State of giving her any Umbrage in that tickliſh pretension. Yet for all these precautions the Emperor *Charles* the 5*th* upon this occasion, had very like to have reduced all *Germany* under his Yoak, but that after he had defeated the *Protestants*, an unexpected Revolution reduced into Smoke all the prosperities of his life; And his Son *Philip* the 2*d* was still more unfortunate, in that by his ill-managed attempts upon the *Liberties* of the 17 *Provinces*, he gave the first Motion to those mighty concussions that have since proved so ruinous to the *Greatness of his House*. But the *Crown of France* has succeeded better in those *designs*; for tho in the contest it has been reduced more than once to the very brink of Ruin, yet *Religion* has been at last so useful an Expedient to its *Monarchs*, to advance their power beyond all bounds, that they at this day acknowledge no other limits to it but their own *lawless Wills*. However, all the Oppositions formed by divers Interests against the progress of the *Reformation*, were not able to hinder it from spreading every where in a very few years time. It was too necessary and too just, not to find some hearts disposed to embrace it; and a multitude of good Souls had too long groaned under the intolerable Yoke of the *Superstitions and Tyranny of Rome*, not to receive with open arms those which preached with such forcible

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Evidence againſt her *Corruptions*, as well in points of *Doctrine* and *Worſhip*, as of *Manners* and *Diſcipline*. But yet it met not every where with the ſame contradictions, nor with the ſame eaſie ſucceſſes. For there were ſome *States* where it was receiv'd almoſt without reſiſtance, others where it found ſuch Obſtacles which it could never ſurmount, and others again where the Difficulties it met with could not be maſtered but by an infinite number of Croſſes and Pains. *France* was one of the places where the longeſt oppoſitions were raiſed againſt it, and it was firmly ſetled in many other parts of *Europe*, before it was known what would be its deſtiny in *France*; and if we except the 10 or 12 laſt years of *Henry* IV. it may truly be ſaid, it never enjoyed any peace there, and that ſince its firſt dawning in that great Kingdom, till now it has always been perſecuted. For if its Adverſaries have ſeemed ſometimes to give it any reſpite, and to renounce the further uſe of any violent means to oppreſs it, 'Twas only to gain opportunity to compaſs it by other more hidden, and conſequently more dangerous and effectual practices. They have ſucceſſively employ'd againſt it *Capital puniſhments*, *Wars*, *fraudulent Treaties*, *Maſſacres*, and *all the Artifices of a profound and refined policy*, and whenever they met with a Juncture of time they thought favourable to their deſign, they never were aſhamed divers times to make uſe of the moſt odious and infamous methods of Sham Proceſſes, Law quirks, and down right breach of Faith, to promote its Ruin. And even in our days they have purſued the Remainder of the *Reformed*, with *penal Executions* and *Maſſacres*, becauſe they found them too weak and diſunited to defend themſelves. It is not to be imagined what has paſſed in that Kingdom upon this occaſion, eſpecially within theſe laſt 30 years. Certainly never did over powering Force, or wheedling Treachery, in any other Age or Place produce Effects either ſo infamous to their Authors, or ſo diſmal and fatal to Millions of ignorant people who demanded nothing elſe but bare *Liberty of Conſcience*, and who giving no occaſion by their Conduct, either to be fear'd or hated, had reaſon to expect nothing leſs than to be treated with thoſe unparallel'd Cruelties and Injuſtices with which they have all along been ſo implacably purſued.

I have undertaken in this Work to inform *Poſterity* of what has been done in *France* towards the bringing that deſign to its

The Occaſion and Deſign and Platform of this

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propoſed end. But my project would be too much above my Power, if I ſhould take upon me to give you the Hiſtory of all that has hap'ned in that Kingdom upon that account, from the firſt Preaching of the Reformation, to our days, ſuch a work as that would be great enough to deſerve to be parted among ſeveral perſons. And therefore obſerving that the time relapſed ſince that new Light firſt begun to ſhine in the World, till our time may naturally be divided into 2 *periods* almoſt equal in duration, *viz.* The firſt, containing all the Occurrences of about 80 Years, till the *Edict of Nants*, when the *Churches* enjoyed a little Reſpite. And the other comprehending the Tranſactions which have paſt ſince that famous *Edict* to our days. I thought I might paſs over the firſt period, without ſpeaking much upon it, as well becauſe the Hiſtories of that Time are ſo full of events that relate to *Religion*, whoſe concerns were then ſo intermixed with thoſe of the *State*, that it was impoſſible to ſeparate them; as becauſe the ſhort Account I ſhall give of them, will be ſufficient to inform the Reader of all he needs to know of the affairs of thoſe times, to enable him to underſtand thoſe which have followed ſince; but I ſhall make it my main buſineſs to unfold the Events of the ſecond *Period*, becauſe the affairs of *Religion* that belong to that ſpace of time, are not ſo well known, and that we have as yet no faithful Collection of them in any Hiſtory extant.

The ground of my ſubject ſhall therefore be the *Edict of Nants*, all the conſequences and dependencies of which, I here undertake to repreſent as exactly as I could draw them out of all the publick and private Memoirs it was poſſible for me to get, having bound my ſelf under the obligations of a very ſtrict Reſolution, not to write any thing for which I could not produce good *Authority*. But firſt, that they which are not better informed otherwiſe may ſee at leaſt in general what paſſed before that *Edict*, without ſome knowledg of which he cannot perfectly underſtand the juſtice and advantage of it; I will premiſe a ſummary account of what paſt in *France* about Religion, till the Death of *Henry* III. And becauſe *Henry* IV. who ſucceeded him, was the Author of the *Edict* which is the principal Subject of my Diſcourſe, and which that *Prince* granted to his *Proteſtant Subjects*, as a Recompence of their faithful Services, I will begin to treat amply of thoſe tranſactions that

that concern the *Reformation*, ſince *the Crown* was devolved upon that K. After which it will be much more eaſy to diſcern whether that *Edict* was a *Favour extorted*, or a *pure Effect of Gratitude* and *Juſtice*; and whether the continual *Contraventions* of the *Succeſſors of that Great Monarch*, in prejudice to that Work of his Wiſdom, and the *ſolemn Revocation* that was made of it ſome few years ago, to the great aſtoniſhment of all *Europe*, be proper *Motives* to induce *poſterity* to bleſs the *Memory of their Authors*.

After *Luther* once began to preach againſt *Popery* in *Germany*, there paſt but a very little time before his *Doctrine* was communicated to *France*; and tho the *Faculties of Divinity*, and particularly that of the *Sorbon*, as well as the reſt, had condemned it, yet in ſpite of all they could do, it found Diſciples every where which greedily received it. Learning, which the favour and encouragement of *Francis* I. had newly revived, had inlightned many perſons, and made them aſhamed of the great number of Errors which had been introduced and eſtabliſht in the times of Ignorance; and the Benevolence of that liberal Prince inticed into his Dominions all the choice men of Learning that were to be found in the reſt of *Europe*, becauſe the Penſions and Priviledges he beſtowed upon them ſufficiently ſecured them both from contempt and miſery; Among whom there were ſome that came from *Germany*, where they had taken ſome tincture of the Doctrine which was called *New*, either out of the Sermons and Books of *Luther*, or by reading of *the Scriptures*, which were diſperſed into the hands of all the World. They imparted the ſame light to others, many of which took a liking to thoſe *Opinions* accounted *New*, becauſe they were already diſpoſed to it by the contempt they had juſtly conceived for their blind Conductors. For in earneſt, the Ignorance of the *ordinary Paſtors* was ſo great, that many of them could only read, almoſt all of them led ſcandalous Lives, and their Corruption was ſo general, that thoſe of them which had no other Vice but an inſatiable *Covetouſneſs*, and an *unmeaſurable Ambition*, might be called *vertuous men*, in compariſon of their other *more profligate companions*. Yet among the *very Clergy themſelves*, they which had any *relicks* left them of Modeſty or Piety, were aſham'd of the abuſes which were laid to the Charge of the *Roman Church*; and tho the greateſt part of them were more inclin'd to keep their Vices and their Errors than

1517. 1520.

The beginning of the Reformation, its progreſs and its cauſes.

1520.

Its entrance into France.

than to hazard by a Reformation, both their Greatneſs and Revenues, or to ſubject their Lives to the Rules of a ſtricter Morality, yet there were not wanting even ſome *Biſhops* whoſe Eyes were ſtricken with this Light; *Briſſonnet*, Biſhop of *Meaux*, was one of
1523 that number; He got ſome tincture of the *Reformation* at *Paris*, at ſome Conferences there held between 3 or 4 Learned Men, whom he heard with ſo much delight, that he carried them into his *Dioceſs*, and permitted them to ſpread their Opinions there. He further gave leave to his people to read the *holy Scriptures*, and made no
How it came to be received at Meaux, oppoſition to *Conferences* and *Meetings*, and ſometimes he took the liberty himſelf to preach the ſame Doctrine which thoſe private men taught; ſo that in little time there were at *Meaux* above 400 perſons who had imbibed *Luther*'s Opinions. But at laſt, the Reproaches of the other *Biſhops*, the threats of being proſecuted for *Hereſy*, and the fear of loſing a *Biſhoprick* ſo commodious for them that love the Court for the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, prevail'd over *Briſſonnet*, and reduc'd him to the profeſſion of his former Errors; after which, his *Doctors* finding no longer ſecurity in his *Dioceſs*, ſeparated, and ſhifted every one for himſelf. *Le Fevre*, who was one
and in Bearn. of them, found protection at the *Court of Navar*, where he was well received by the Queen, who was Siſter to *Francis* I. and as great a Favourer of Learned Men, as the King her Brother. *Rouſſel*, one of his Companions, after a Journey into *Germany*, came back to *Bearn*, where the ſame *Princeſs* gave him a like entertainment as to the former, and both of them together ſo ſtrongly inſpired her with their *Opinions*, that ſhe retained them to her dying day, tho for ſeveral years 'twas thought ſhe had quitted them.

Theſe two men loſt no time in thoſe *remote Provinces*, and prepared the minds of the people there the more eaſily to embrace the Doctrine of *Calvin*, when it came to be preached there 10 or 12
1533 years after. Their Retreat hindred not the *Church* which they had in ſome meaſure formed at *Meaux*, from preſerving it ſelf, and increaſing, which was the Reaſon that was the firſt place where *the Courts of Juſtice* began to take cognizance of thoſe *pretended Novelties*. One *John Clerk*, who had an indifferent underſtanding in
The Execution of John Clerk. *the Scriptures*, the only book he had ſtudied, ſerved for a *Guide* to thoſe *converted people*, who received *corporal puniſhment* for calling the Pope *Antichriſt*, and after he had been baniſhed from *Meaux* upon

on that account, was not long after burnt at *Mets*, becauſe his Zeal *had tranſported him ſo far* as to break an *Image*. Six years after, *Lewis Berquin* was condemn'd at *Paris*, to *the ſame puniſhment*, for teaching *the Doctrine of Luther*. *and of* Lewis Berquin. 1529.

The progreſs of *the Reformation* was more rapid in *Germany*, where it was embrac'd by ſeveral *Princes* and *States*, who in the year 1530, preſented *their Confeſſion of Faith to the Emperor*, and within a little while found *themſelves ſtrong enough* to League together at *Smalcalde*, againſt thoſe which deſigned to *oppreſs them*. *The State of the Proteſtant Religion in Germany.* 1528.

The *Schiſm* made in *England* by *Henry* VIII. was only a ſtep which open'd the way to *a greater Work* carried on in *the following Reigns*. But yet *that Prince*, who had *done Luther* the Honour to write againſt him, and was anſwer'd by *that Dr.* in ſomewhat too harſh and inſolent a ſtrain, would never ſuffer *the Opinions of his Adverſary* to take root in *his Kingdom*, tho at the ſame time he would fain have perſwaded *Francis* I. to have broken with *Rome*, as *himſelf had done*. The K. of *France* would by no means hearken to him, and anſwer'd him with *this Compliment*, *That he was his Friend as far as the Altar, but there he muſt leave him*. But he continu'd not always ſo obſtinate, for he was almoſt perſwaded once time to yield to the earneſt ſolicitations of *the Q.* of *Navar*; for ſhe had inſpired him with ſome inclination for *the Doctrine which ſhe her ſelf had embrac'd*, and of which ſhe alſo had communicated ſome tincture to *the King her Husband*, whom ſhe carried privately with her to *hear the Sermons of her Teachers*. The *Dutcheſs* of *Eſtampes*, who poſſeſt *the heart* of *Francis* I. and may likewiſe be reaſonably ſuppos'd to have abetted *the ſame inclination in him*, becauſe ſhe was inſtructed and principled in *the Lutheran Opinions*, openly favoured thoſe that profeſs'd them, and, after *the King's Death*, lived a very retir'd life in all *the exerciſes of the* Proteſtant *Religion*, protecting all thoſe that profeſs'd it, to *the utmoſt of her power*. *The Inclination of* Francis I. *to the Reformation.* *The* Schiſm *of* England.

This at leaſt is certain that the King writ to *Melanchton*, the moſt renown'd of *Luther's* Diſciples, and eſteem'd the moſt moderate of them, inviting him to come into *France*, and aſſuring him he ſhould take pleaſure to hear him. But whilſt *Melanchton* ſpun out the time in delays, *the Cardinal of Tournon* put by the deſign, and wrought ſo abſolute a *change* upon the King's Mind, who had let him gain a very ſtrong Aſcendant over him, that he would after- 1534. 1535. *From which the Cardinal de Tournon diverts him.*

ward listen neither to his *Sister* nor *Mistress*, nor be perswaded to shew the least favour to those accus'd of *Heresie*. There is no doubt but *the Cardinal* had Orders from *Rome*, to that purpose. For *the King* had discovered his Mind to *that Court himself*, in the In-
1535. structions he gave to *Cardinal du Bellai*, whom he sent thither, in which he ordered him to give *the Pope* an account of the Letter he had written to *Melanchton*, and of that Dr's Answer, and most especially to move *his Holiness* to consent to a kind of Accommodation, which he had a design to negotiate in *Germany*, by an *Embassy* on purpose. The most important Article of that Accommodation was to be, *That the Pope should be acknowledged to be Head of the Universal Church*, and in other things *the King* would take from the Protestants *as much as he could, and as far as he could*: That is to say, He would consent to gratifie the Protestants in many things that concerned *Faith*, *Religion*, *Ceremonies*, *Institutions* and *Doctrine*, at least till a Council should determine them, and it was already agreed what Concessions and abatements to make them; which consisted of 7 Articles, in which the Mass was to be reform'd, without changing any thing in the Ceremonies of its celebration; viz. 1. *That Mass should never be said without a publick Communion.* 2. *That the Elevation should be retrenched.* 3. *And Adoration abolished.* 4. *That the Cup should be restored to the Laity.* 5. *That in it no Commemoration should be made either of male or female Saints.* 6. *That it should be celebrated only with ordinary fine Bread, which should be broken by the Priest, and distributed to the people.* 7. *And that Marriage should be allowed to Priests.* The *Mass so reform'd* was called by the Vulgar, *The Mass with 7 points.* But alas, an Accommodation of this Nature could not find acceptance at *the Court of Rome*, which was very sensible, that *the Authority of the Holy See* could never be sufficiently supported by the bare Title which was, given there to the Pope, and that to maintain it in so exorbitant a power as it had assumed, it had need of the united force of all *those Errors*, by which it first mounted to, and afterwards establisht it self in its present Greatness. And therefore that *Court* employed all their policy to divert the King from that dangerous project.

An accommodation proposed.

1285. The *Cardinal* of *Tournon* had already signaliz'd his Zeal against *the Reformation*, in a *Synod* assembled at *Bourges*, of which he was *Archbishop*, and had there condemn'd the Doctrine of *Luther*. The

The Synods at Bourges and Paris.

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Cardinal du Prat did the same, about the same time, in a *Synod of the Province* of *Sens*, which he held at *Paris*, as fearing perhaps *the Reformation* might ruin *the Concordat*, which was his Work, and by which he had compleated *the Corruption of Ecclesiastical Discipline* in *France*. But all this hindred not the Number of the Protestants from daily increasing, especially after Mr. *John Calvin* had begun to *preach* and *write* about *Religion*, who had several years before already taken distaste at *the Roman Doctrine*, and already run great dangers upon that account at *Paris*, where he had some Disciples. He had likewise made himself known in *Berri*, whilst he was yet a *Student* in *Law*, in *the University of Bourges*, and a Lord of *that Neighbourhood* had permitted him to *preach* privately in his Parish. He had afterwards conferred about Religion at *Nerac*, with *Rousſel* and *Le Ferre*, whom he found concurring almost in *the same principles with himself*. But he spread his Doctrine most effectually in *Saintonge* and *Poitou*, in the latter of which Provinces 'tis thought he gave the first Form of a *Church* to the Assemblies of those who had embraced his Opinions. When by persecution he was forc'd to leave *the Kingdom*, he made some stay at *Basil*, where he publisht his *Institutions* dedicated to *Francis* I. But that Prince being prejudiced against all Works of that Nature, would never read them. From thence *Calvin* passed into *Italy*, where he was well receiv'd by the *Dutchess* of *Ferrara*, Daughter to *Lewis* XII. who testify'd a great affection to such as labour'd to reform Abuses. At his return he was detain'd at *Geneva*, which had newly shaken off the yoke of its *Bishop*, where, after he had weather'd some Oppositions and Encounters, he setled his Residence for the rest of his life. From thence he filled all *Europe* with his Writings, which were greedily read, both for their matter and eloquent stile.

1534. *The beginning of Calvin's Doctrine.*

There was a seeming prospect then as if *Francis* I. who had so great an inclination to an Accommodation, would have conniv'd at *the progress of the Reformation in his Kingdom*, especially because of *the Confederacy* he was engag'd in with *the Protestants* of *Germany*, who were always either in War with, or apprehension of *the Emperour*. But it hapned quite contrary to expectation; for the *Placards*, or Libels which were found fixed all about *Paris*, and at *the very Court* it self, and which treated *the mysteries of the Roman Religion* in very injurious terms, and *the Clergy* in a very Satyrical

1534. *The year of the Placards or Libels.*

1535. rical manner, put *the King* into a great Rage. So that to expiate those pretended *Blasphemies*, at the Request of *the Clergy*, he made a solemn Procession, at which he assisted in Person with his *Children*, and all his *Court*, and ordered the Pomp to be concluded with the Execution of some of the poor supposed Criminals, who were burnt. He publisht a very severe Edict at the same time against *the Lutherans*, in which all that *harbour'd*, or *conceal'd them* were made liable to the same punishments with them, and the Informer against them encourag'd with the reward of the 4*th* part of all their Confiscations. The *Germans* were offended at it, but some *Lutherans* of their Nation reporting at their return into their Country, that they had been very kindly used in *France*, took off the edg of their Resentments, and dissipated their fears. Nevertheless *the King* about 5 years after, by a new Edict, stirred up all persons of every Order and Degree, against *the French Lutherans*, and *the Emperour* making a new War upon them, *the King* afforded them but little aid, because *the Cardinal* of *Tournon* filled his Head with scruples concerning *Alliances* with *Hereticks*; and he further gain'd so much power over that Prince, that he perswaded him to renew the punishment of *Death* against them all over *France*, that he might not appear less religious, and less an Enemy to those pretended *Heresies than the Emperour*, who had taken the way of Arms to destroy them.

Devotions accompanied with Executions.

An Edict against the Lutherans.

1546.

The Council of Trent.

The Pope not being able to resist any longer the instances of *the Emperour*, nor the desires of all *Europe*, after he had been long importun'd to call a *Council*, and for a long time by divers Artifices eluded the Solicitations of *the Princes*, had at last resolved to fix it at *Trent*, and publish a *Bull* of *Indiction* for that effect in the year 1542. But yet it was not opened till 3 years after, by reason of new difficulties that arose every day. The K. being willing to contribute to *the success of that assembly* summon'd to *Melun* several illustrious Drs. in order to *confer there together*, and prepare matters fit to be represented to *the Council*. But there were but few Prelates, one of which being *the Bishop* of *Lavaur*, appear'd there as *Ambassador*, who signaliz'd himself *chiefly* by *the answer* he made to a *Partisan* of *the Court* of *Rome*, who being minded to droll upon the Remonstrances of a *French Dr.* concerning the Abuses committed in *the matter of Benefices*, in allusion to *the Latin* word *Gallus*, that sig-

1545.

1544.

ſignifies both a *Cock* and a *Frenchman*, had ſaid to one of his Companions, *'Tis but a Cock that crows.* The *Biſhop* keeping ſtill to the ſame alluſion, and applying it to the ſtory of St. *Peter*, whoſe Succeſſor *the Pope* pretends to be, anſwer'd him immediately, *God grant that by the crowing of this Cock* Peter *may be ſtirred up to tears and repentance.* Some time after, the tranſlation of the *Council* to *Bolonia*, and *the King's Death*, changed the ſtate of affairs, and made moſt of *the Potentates* take new Meaſures. 1547. *The Council tranſlated.* *The King's death.*

But the Condition of the *Proteſtants* in *France* was never the better for that; The new K. *Henry* II. proving more rigorous to them than *his Father*, being puſht on to it by *the* D. of *Aumale*, who was afterward D. of *Guiſe*, and in favour of whom the Land of *Aumale* was erected into a *Dutchy* and *Peerage*. He therefore in imitation of *Francis* I. made ſuch another like Proceſſion at *Paris*, and terminated it as *he did his*, with a like Sacrifice of ſome poor Wretches who were condemned to the fire. And beſides, tho he was at firſt in very good intelligence with *Paul* III. ſo far as to declare himſelf for *the tranſlation of the Council*, and to ſend his Ambaſſadors to *Bolonia* with good inſtructions, yet he ſoon fell out with *Rome* after the Exaltation of *Julius* III. which ſtill redoubled but the more *the perſecution againſt the Proteſtants*, and produced againſt them a very ſevere *Edict* at *Chateau-Briant*, by which it was forbidden ſo much as to ſolicit for thoſe accuſed of *Hereſie*. Since which time it has been remark'd, that *the ſame policy* has been often followed in *France*, always to perſecute the Proteſtants every time they had any difference with *the Pope*, and that they never were more *cruelly handled* than when there happned any Quarrels between *the Courts of France* and *Rome*. Thoſe conteſtations were great at *that time*, and produced *the Proteſtation* which the *King* made afterward by *the Abbot* of *Belloſane*, againſt *the Council* which *the Pope had* removed back to *Trent*. 1548. *Hen. II. perſecutes the Proteſtants.* 1549. 1551. *The King proteſts againſt the Removal back of the Council to Trent.*

The *Dutcheſs of Valentinois* the *King's Miſtreſs*, exaſperated him likewiſe againſt the *Proteſtants*, both out of ſpite to the *Dutcheſs of Eſtampes*, whom ſhe mortally hated, and out of intereſt, to gain by the *Confiſcations* of the Goods and Eſtates of the *Condemned*, which ſhe obtain'd for her ſelf. But eſpecially after the *Edict* of *Chateau-Briant*, ſhe was accuſed of making *advantage* by the *rigorous Proſecutions* then carried on againſt the *Proteſtants*, and *The Dutcheſs of Valentinois cruel to the Proteſtants.*

who

was thought even to have kept *Emiſſaries* on purpoſe to inform againſt thoſe who were rich enough to tempt her covetous inclination. The *Clergy* on their ſide took *pleaſure* in ſeeing ſo many innocent people *Sacrificed* to the flames for their intereſts, tho on the other ſide, they had a great deal of *Indulgence* for themſelves; and accordingly, to put the world out of all hope of the amendment of the *Church-men*, they obtained from the Kings *Council*, the annulling of an *Act* of the *Parliament* of *Tholouſe*, which tended to nothing elſe but the ſuppreſſion of the looſeneſs and debauchery of *Prieſts*. That *Parliament* was likewiſe laſht with *bloody Satyrs*, publiſhed by the *Clergy* on that occaſion, and when one of the Members of that *Court* had written an Apology for that venerable *Body*, in which the Vices of the *Eccleſiaſticks* were too openly *reprehended*, they yet had ſo much power as to cauſe it to be cenſured. However all this hindred not ſome ſeeming *Juſtice to be done* for the cruelties committed ſome years before by *Oppeda* the Executioner of an *Act* of the *Parliament* of *Provence*, againſt certain remains of the *Vaudois* inhabiting about *Merindol* and *Cabrieres*. That affair had been huſht up in ſilence during the Life of *Francis* I. becauſe the *Cardinal of Tournon*, who then was very powerful at *Court*, was ſuſpected to have been the *Counſellor*, or *chief complice* of that *Barbarous Action*; but after the Government was paſſed into other hands, that *Cardinal* was removed from the helm of Affairs, and the *Conſtable* who bore him no great good will, was ſuſpected in his turn to have excited thoſe that were left of thoſe poor People, to demand Juſtice on purpoſe to bring the *Cardinal* into trouble by the ſucceſs of their Complaints, There was much ado about fixing upon Judges fit for *that buſineſs*. The *Great Council* firſt took Cogniſance of it, from thence it was call'd up before the *King*, and by *him* at laſt turn'd over to the *Parliament* of *Paris*, where it was pleaded for 50 *Audiences* together; but yet after all *that great Buſtle*, it came *to little effect*, the principal *Criminals* eſcaping unpuniſht; and *the King's Advocate* in the *Parliament of Provence*, was the only man that loſt *his life* for it; as for the *Count de Grignan* he was only frighted with the fear of loſing his Eſtate, which was preſerved to him by the favour of the *Duke of Guiſe*; and *Oppeda* himſelf was acquitted by producing his Orders, and by the *Dukes* interpoſition, who ſerved him with all

The great Credit of the Clergy.

1550.

1545. *The affairs of Merindol and Cabrieres.*

1550.

all his credit; ſo that the *Proteſtants* obtain'd no other vengeance for his *Cruelties, than the ſatisfaction of being inform'd*, he *Died* afterwards a *horrible Death*; and of ſaying openly, *That he ſuffered it by a juſt Judgment of God.*

Thoſe *Executions* did not at all *diminiſh* the number of the *Proteſtants*, the conſtancy of thoſe who were burned ſerving to make more ſenſible *impreſſions* upon peoples *minds* in their favour, than either their *Books* or *Preaching*; but the *King* however, was inexorable, and tho the doleful *ſpectacle* of thoſe he had cauſed to be burned, after the *proceſſion* above mentioned, and their horrible cries in the torments of their ſufferings, had ſo deeply ſtruck his imagination, that the remembrance of them was a *laſting Terour* to him all his life after, yet did he not at all abate his *ſeverities*; for they burned, after that, ſome perſons come from *Bearn* into *France*, where they preached the *Doctrine* of their *Country*, among whom *Lewis de Marſac* was moſt taken notice of, for that having been a *Soldier* all his life, and being diſpenſed with from having a rope put about his neck at the ſtake like other ſufferers, out of reſpect to that noble profeſſion, he complain'd, that ſuch a difference ſhould be made between him and his Brethren, as if by retrenching any thing from the infamy of his Puniſhment, they had deſign'd to leſſen the glory of his *Conſtancy*. *New Executions do but advance the progreſs of the Reformation.* 1553.

That year the uſe of the *Gag* was firſt practiſed, invented purpoſely to hinder the *Proteſtants* that were put to death from ſpeaking to the People, or ſinging *Pſalms* for their *conſolation*, when they were led to *Execution*: And 'tis reported, that *Aubeſpine*, who was the inventor of it, was ſome years after ſtruck with the *lowſie diſeaſe*, which put him into ſo great a deſpair, that he would needs let himſelf ſtarve to death; which furious reſolution obliged thoſe which were about him to open his jaws with a Gag, to make him take nouriſhment by force, ſo that he increaſed the number of thoſe, that have been known to ſuffer thoſe *torments* themſelves, of which they were the firſt inventors. Amidſt theſe *Executions*, the *Churches* took the *firmer root*; and there were already ſome that were governed by a *regular diſcipline*, and ſetled Paſtors. And at *Paris* it ſelf, where *the fires* never went out and under *the King's Noſe*, there was one which had its peculiar Paſtor. The ſeveral Juriſdictions of *the Kingdom* accuſed *one another reciprocally* 155[illegible] upon *Churches formed at Paris, and many other places.*

upon *this occaſion*, for not executing rigorouſly enough *the Court-Orders*; for which Reaſon *the cognizance* of Crimes of *Hereſy* was ſometimes committed to *the Royal*, and ſometimes to *the Eccleſiaſtical Judges*, and ſometimes parted between *both thoſe Tribunals*; ſo that ſince *the firſt introduction* of *that kind of Proceſſe*, there had been publiſht 5 or 6 Edicts about *the competence of Judges*, which revoked one another by turns. Nay, and in *the following Reigns*, there was nothing fully fixed as to *that matter*. That year *the Cardinal* of *Lorrain*, to pleaſe the Pope, depriv'd the Parliaments, in ſpite of *their Remonſtrances* to the contrary, of *the power of hearing Cauſes of Hereſy*, which was transferred to *the Biſhops*, leaving to *the Royal Judges* nothing but *the Executions of the Criminals*. And indeed this proceeding of *the Cardinal* was very reaſonable, if meaſur'd by the intereſt of *the Clergy*. For the Parliaments began to incline to a *Temper of Moderation*, and there were ſome Spirits among them that could not think thoſe Rigours agreeable to Juſtice. Nay, there
1556. were ſome Judges at *Bordeaux* that maintain'd, it was a *thing unheard of*, that ever ſo many cruelties were at any time before practiſed, as had been exerciſed within the laſt 40 years; and that it was againſt *Equity*, to condem any man for ſimple Errors, before Endeavours had been uſed to inſtruct and reclaim the perſon accuſed: And that ſince *the Council* was ſtill on foot, as being only ſuſpended, which was finally to determine that affair.

The Spirit of Moderation prevails over ſome Judges.

Their Deciſions ought to be waited for, before they proceeded to condemn, to ſuch extraordinary puniſhments any perſons *beforehand accuſed* upon *ſuch accounts*. The party of thoſe moderate men was ſo ſtrong, that *the Judges* were equally divided. But *the zeal of Religion* carried it againſt *the Order of Juſtice*, and inſtead of following, according to rule, *the favourableſt ſide in criminal matters*; when Opinions are equally divided about them, they turned over the Cauſe to *the great Chamber*, where *the Order* in caſe of diviſion was over ruled, and the ſevereſt Opinions preferr'd before the moſt mild and equitable.

1557. The perplexity into which *the Court* was put, by *the loſs of the Battle* at St. *Quentin*, gave the Proteſtants *ſome hopes they ſhould be allowed a little reſpite*; and therefore they aſſembled *with leſs caution than before*, and among *other meetings*, they had one at *Paris*, in St. *James's ſtreet*, ſo numerous, that it being impoſſible to eſcape *the eyes*

A Proteſtant meeting at Paris.

of

of the people who ſaw them come out of *the Houſe where they met.* The *Rabble* fell upon them, which cauſed ſuch an uproar, that the *Officers of Juſtice* were fain to come to appeaſe it. In which ſcuffle ſome of the *Meeters* defended themſelves againſt the aggreſſours and got away, and others *eſcaped* by ſeveral means; but however, above 100 of them were ſeiſed, among which, were ſome *Maids of Honour to the Q.* And that *Princeſs her ſelf* who was nothing leſs than what *ſhe had a mind to appear*, and who deſired to paſs for a *ſober chaſt Lady*, was not unwilling to be ſuſpected to incline to the *Proteſtant opinions*. The better ſort of People had a high conceit of them, and thought them of unblameable Manners; but the *Rabble* were incenſed againſt them by *moſt horrible calumnies*; for ſometimes it was reported they were *Jews*, and uſed to *eat a Paſchal Lamb at their Nightly Meetings*; ſometimes *that they eat a Pig there inſtead of a Lamb*, and ſometimes, *that they roaſted Children there, and made great cheer at thoſe monſtrous entertainments, after which they put out the Candles, and coupled together with all manner of unlawful Embraces.* Nay, and there were ſome ſo furiouſly Zealous againſt them, that they had the *impudence* to affirm *they had participated at thoſe infernal Devotions.* Several of thoſe thus taken were *burnt*, but the reſt fortunately made uſe of all the ſhifts they could find out in *Law*, to delay their *Sentence*, during which time, the *Germans* and *Swiſſers*, of whom the K. at that time ſtood in great need, interceded for them, and thoſe *ſeverities* were by little and little moderated, for fear of offending ſuch neceſſary Friends as they. The next *Summer* the people took a fancy to ſing in the *Clerks Meadow*, a place where all the *Town* uſed to divert themſelves with walking, *Marot*'s ſinging *Pſalms* that were ſet to very fine *Muſical Tunes*: which *novelty* at firſt was ſo pleaſing, that the next day after, the *K.* and *Q.* of *Navar* went thither, with an incredible multitude of People: but the *Clergy* were terribly alarm'd at it, and endeavoured with all their power, to procure all ſuch Aſſemblies to be ſuppreſt; and their *zeal* in that was very ſingular, becauſe they could not endure people ſhould ſing in the *open Field* what they had without controul ſung in their Houſes ſeveral years together, and at the *Court* it ſelf; during all which time, that *ſinging* was never thought any mark of *Hereſie.* But ever ſince that Enterpriſe, to theſe laſt years, the *ſinging of*

The Character of Queen Katharine de Medicis.

Calumnies againſt the Proteſtants.

Singing of Pſalms in Publick.

Psalms has always been insupportable to the *Clergy*; and tho they never employed any *serious efforts* to *hinder the singing of Prophane and filthy Songs*, which have been too rife at all times; yet on the contrary, they never pursued any thing with so much eagerness as their endeavours to deprive the *Protestants of the Consolation of singing with freedom those holy Canticles.*

The Original of the Factions.

About that time first appear'd in *France* that *competition* of those two *Rival Parties*, that afterwards had like to have ruin'd it, and which was, as 'twere the *Fountain-head* of all the other *Factions*. One of them was that of the *Princes of Lorain*, who took advantage by the *defeat* and taking of the *Constable* to augment their own *greatness*. The other was that of the *Constable himself*, and *his Family*, who possessed most of the *great Employments*. That Lord huddled up the *Treaty* of *Cateau* in *Cambresis*, out of eagerness, by a *Peace*, to procure his *liberty* and *opportunity* to return to the *Court*, to prevent the *ruin of his house*. But the *Cardinal of Lorain* made use of the same *Treaty* to find occasions to *destroy him*; for he had a *secret Conference* with *Granvelle* Cardinal, Bp. of *Arras*, who complain'd to him *how highly persons tainted with Heresie, were favoured in the Court of* France, and named in particular *Andelot*, Brother to the *Admiral of Chatillon*, and Nephew to the *Constable*; which was an Artifice to engage the *Lorain Cardinal* whose Genius *Granvelle* very well knew, in a *Quarrel* with the *Family* of those Lords, in assured expectation that by the *mutual opposition* of those *two Parties*, the *Kingdom* would be brought into great *confusions* which would be of *considerable advantage* to the House of *Austria*. The *Cardinal* being a vain and *busy man*, and who in his great *designs* had not always the *prudence* and *constancy* to carry them on, snapt presently at the *Bait*, thinking to find his *account* in the *News* he had heard, because he knew *the suspicion of Heresie was enough* to *Exasperate Henry* II. to ruin the *greatest of his Favourites*. And accordingly he *accuses Andelot*, upon which the K. immediately sending for him, and *requiring* to know the *truth from his own Mouth*, he answered in so *resolute a manner*, and *declared* his sense about the *Mysteries of the Roman Church* in such *vigorous terms*, that the *Historians* of that time durst not *repeat his Expressions*. At which the K. fell into such a fit of *fury*, that he suffered his *passion* to transport him to commit very *undecent Actions*,

1559. *The courageous behaviour of Andelot.*

for

for he would *have Kill'd* him, and in the *attempt*, *wounded* the *Dauphin* his Son who was near him. In fine, *Andelot* was sent to *Priſon*, and depriv'd of all his *places*. But when the K's *paſſion* was over, the *Conſtable*, after ſome difficulty, found *credit* enough to procure his *Reſtoration*. And ſo the *Cardinal's artifice* had no other effect for that time, than to provoke againſt him the *Reſentment* of thoſe *puiſſant Houſes*, and to inform the *Proteſtants*, *That ſome of the moſt conſiderable Lords of the Kingdom were of their Opinion.*

And his diſgrace.

This then hindred not the *Reformation* to continue its *progreſs*, for it was *embraced* by perſons of all ſorts of conditions. It gain'd a great number of *Church-men* and *Men of Learning*, and was well *reliſhed* by the moſt *eminent Perſons* in the very *Parliament* of *Paris*; ſo that the *ſeverities* there went on more *heavily* than *ordinary*, tho the K. hotly preſſed the *Execution* of his *Edict* of *Chateau-Briant*. Having then ſent a new *Order* to the *Parliament*, commanding them exactly to *obſerve* it; Some *Spies* inform'd him, that notwithſtanding that, *their Votes tended ſtill towards moderation*; upon which, he goes ſuddenly thither, when he was leaſt expected, and *ſurpriſes* them when their *deliberations* were already very far advanced, and after he had patiently heard them till they came to a *concluſion*, he ordered ſeveral of them to be *ſeiſed*. *Du Bourg* and *Du Faur* were taken in their *Houſes*, and ſearch was made after others which could not be found. The *Priſoners* were *Tryed* by *ſpecial Commiſſioners*; but tho they drove on the *buſineſs* with all the *haſt* they could to *ſatisfy the K's impatience*, yet he had not the *pleaſure* to ſee the end of it; for *Death prevented him*, and when he thought of nothing but *Joy* and *Divertiſement*, he was *kill'd* by *Mongomery* whom he would needs force to *break a Lance with him*.

1559.

The Counſellers of the Parliament of Paris *ſuſpected about their Religion.*

The Death of Henry *the 2d.*

A little before the *renewing* of thoſe *ſeverities*, the *Deputies* of the *Churches* already form'd in the *Provinces*, held, in the *Suburbs* of St. *Germain* at *Paris*, *their firſt National Synod*, and drew up that *confeſſion of Faith*, which they retain to this day, and the firſt *articles* of the *Diſcipline* which has ſince been obſerv'd in all the *Churches* of the *Kingdom*. That *Synod* laſted *four days* in the midſt of the *Fires* and *Gibbets*, which were prepared in all *quarters of the Town*, and it was held with ſo exact a *ſecrecy*, that the *Aſſembly* was neither *diſcovered* nor *diſturbed*.

The firſt French *proteſtant National Synod.*

Francis II. *succeeds. The state of the Court. The Nature of the Intrigues and Characters of the chief persons.*

After the *Death* of *Henry* II. all things changed at *Court*, except *Vices*, which having taken root there during his *Luxurious Reign*, assumed still a greater *Empire* under those of his *Children*. The *Interests* there were very different, and the *Intrigues* much divided. The Q. *Katharine* being *Ambitious*, *Voluptuous*, *Cruel*, *Vindicative*, *Perfidious*, and of a humour *to sacrifice every thing to her Passions*, had a mind to retain the *Authority in her own hands*. The K. of *Navar* was of an unequal *Temper*, *wavering* in his *Religion*, *weak-spirited*, *timorous*, *devoted to his Pleasure*, and easy to be *govern'd by* any that knew how to take him at their *advantage*, and bore a *greater Figure than sway at Court*. The Prince his *Brother* was *Bold*, *Valiant*, *Active*, firm in his *Resolutions*, and fixed in the *Reformed Religion* by motives mixed with *Ambition* and *Conscience*, but most extremely poor for a person of his *high Quality*. *Mompensier* and *la Roche-sur yon* had more *zeal* than *knowledg* in matters of *Religion*. The *Guises* were animated with a violent *Ambition*, and besides were all-powerful at *Court*, as well by the consideration of the great Merits of the Duke of that Name, and because they were Uncles of the young *Queen*, Wife to *Francis* II. who being a very *beautiful Princess*, was in power, by vertue of *that charming Prerogative*, to assume a great *Empire over the K.* who was of an easy *disposition*, and even *confining upon down right simplicity*. And besides, she was able the more powerfully to second her Uncles Ambition, because she was a very apt Scholar in *Politicks*, and knew to a *hair*, how to imitate all *the Maximes of her mother in Law*, as by the Sequel of her Life sufficiently appeared. The *Constable* was a little wedded to his Interest, but otherwise superstitious, and not very knowing in Religion. The Title of *the first Christian Baron*, and the Cry of War used by those of *his House*, founded upon the same *Fable* from which his Ancestors had drawn that Elogy, was to him a decisive argument in all controversies. The *Coligni's* were puissant, brave, and persons of Great Honour, and if their Uncle had not abandoned them, they might easily have made Head against *the Lorain Princes*. But he supposed to find his account better in joyning with *the Guises*, as likewise did *Mompensier* and *La Roche-sur-yon*, which obliged his Nephews to joyn with *the Prince of Conde*, whose Constancy and exact fidelity to his Word, gave them sufficient assurance he would never sacrifice them to his Fortune. All which Combinations were

God assists the first Christian.

in

in their first Original nothing but pure *Court-Intrigues*, and Religion was taken into them only by accident, *the Guises* making use of it as a pretence to clear the *Court* of all those that gave them any jealousie; and the *others* were obliged for their better defence against such powerful Enemies, to unite themselves in interest with those which were already united with them in Religion. *Philip* II. then K. of *Spain*, follow'd *the Maxims* of his great Grandfather *Ferdinand*, and like him, in all things he did, improved the pretence of Religion to the utmost advantage. He had signalized himself by the persecution of *the Protestants* in all his Dominions, to that degree of Rigour, that he spared not the Memory of his *own Father*; and therefore was far from neglecting so fair an occasion as the same pretence of Religion then gave him to divide *France*, by exciting one of these Parties to ruin the other. All this, joyned to the extream corruption of *the Court*, in which debauchery and impiety were made soon after, the most powerful Tools of *Policy*, were the Cause why the Condition of the Protestants was rendred not a whit better than before.

How Religion came to be concern'd in those Intrigues.

There were erected in the Parliaments certain Courts of Justice called *Burning Chambers*, which burn'd a sufficient number of those who past for *Hereticks*, to deserve the Title given them. The President *de St. Andre* signalized himself by his Cruelties, in the Jurisdiction of *the Parliament of Paris*, being vigorously seconded by *Le Moine Inquisitor de Mouchi*, so named from the Village where he was born, from whence likewise those that served him for Spies or Informers, to discover *the Protestant meetings*, took the Name of *Mouchards*, which has since remain'd to all those that have follow'd the same Employments. That bloody Hangman afterwards changed his Name and assumed the barbarous appellation of *Demochares*, under which he is known in History. And those Spies, or some like them, who were almost all of them *Apostates from the Reformation*, were the men that published those Calumnies against the Protestants I have before recited. A little while after, the people, the better to discover those that were season'd with *Protestant principles* being mov'd thereto, either by *their own Superstition*, or by *the Zealots*, took a Freak to set up *Images* at *the corners of streets*, and to force all passers by to salute them, and they that refused it were accounted to have good luck, if they escaped only with a basting, be-

Courts of Justice called Burning Chambers erected.

Abominable Superstitions towards Images.

becauſe ſuch a Refuſal was reckon'd a mark of *Hereſy*. It's true indeed, many of thoſe Objects of Superſtition were taken from the people, but inſtead of being aboliſht, they were placed in the *Churches*; And ſince that, their Paſſion for Images has increaſed ſo prodigiouſly, that there is not a Town in which they have not erected new ones, and where the people are not uſed to paint them, to dreſs them up, to light Lamps and Wax Candles before them, to meet and kneel down before them in the middle of the ſtreets at certain Hours, and ſing Hymns and Litanies, all which Extravagancies are at this Day committed more than ever in *the open view* of thoſe very ſame Guides that take Heaven and Earth to witneſs *they pay no manner of homage to Images*. In the mean while, *the Trials* went on againſt the Priſoners, moſt of which came off with a *ſlight puniſhment*. But Counſellor *du Bourg*, after he had ſhewn ſome weakneſs, which he ſoon retracted, by the Exhortations of *the Miniſters*, and *others who writ to him*, or *viſited him*, was condemned to *the flames*, as if he had been a common perſon. They endeavour'd to blacken him, by accuſing him as a Complice in *the aſſaſſination of the Preſident de St. Andre*, who had been one of the Commiſſionated Judges appointed to try him. But that Accuſation being ſufficiently refuted by the known Probity of *that Venerable Senator*, fell of it ſelf. That Preſident had acted in the whole Examination and Proſecution of that buſineſs, more like a paſſionate Adverſary, than an equitable Judge, which *Du Faur*, one of the Priſoners, charged him with very couragiouſly one day; which cruel man hapning to be kill'd before *the Trial of the Priſoners* was over, one Mr. *Stuart*, a *Scotch* Gentleman, and who pretended ſome Relation to *the Queen*, but in complaiſance to *her Uncles*, was diſowned by *her*, was taken up upon ſuſpicion for *that murder*; to which, to make weight, they added ſeveral other Accuſations. But with all their Tricks, they could not convict him by any ſufficient Proofs, nor extort any confeſſion out of his Mouth, no not by the torments of *the Vrack*, which he ſuffer'd with ſuch an unſhaken conſtancy, that as they were unwilling to condemn him upon imperfect Evidence, ſo they durſt not acquit him, becauſe they fear'd him.

Whilſt the Proteſtants were thus outragiouſly handled, their ſevere uſage exaſperated them both to ſpeak and write ſomewhat warmly in their own defence. But *their Apologies* had the ill luck to

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incenſe the higher Powers but ſo much the more againſt them becauſe they maintain'd, *That Women Foreigners ought to be excluded from the Government, and that the adminiſtration of it belong'd to the General Eſtates of the Kingdom, and to the Princes of the Blood, during the minority of Kings*, whom they would by no means acknowledg at age fit to govern at 14 years. And about 3 years after, they ſtill brought upon *themſelves more miſchief*, by reading in a *Synod* a Writing drawn up by a certain *Author*, exhorting them *to unite together againſt deſpotick Power, Popery and Abuſes in Law*, which they called *the three plagues of human Kind*, from which they who live by the *Corruption* of *Religion* and *Juſtice*, fail'd not to give a malicious turn to the *averſion* they ſhew'd for *Arbitrary Power*, and to take *advantage* there-from, to *reproach* and *traduce* them to this day, as *Republicans*, and *ſworn enemies* to *Monarchy*; as if not to *flatter Tyranny*, were the ſame thing as to *Rebel againſt a legal Government*. The *power* of the *Guiſes* began to grow *Inſupportable*, and there began likewiſe from that very time, to ariſe between them and the *Royal Houſe* of *Bourbon*, a *competition* that ſoon after *degenerated* into a *declared Enmity*, ſo that from that time forward, thoſe two *Houſes* became *Irreconcileable foes*, which was the true occaſion of the *attempt* of *Amboiſe*, tho ſome will needs have it paſs for a pure *buſineſs of Religion*. I ſhall leave that talk to others, to treat more amply of that ſubject, and to make uſe of the *Teſtimony* of thoſe who aſſure us that Q. *Katharine* had ſecretly *ſolicited* the *Admiral* to free her out of the *hands* of the *Guiſes* who had aſſumed all the *Authority*, and for my own part, ſhall only be content to aſſert, That *Religion* was concern'd in it only by *accident*, by reaſon that thoſe who were deprived of their *part in the Government* due to them by their *high Birth*, profeſſed the *Reformed Religion*. Among near 1200 unhappy perſons that were *deſtroyed* upon that occaſion by divers ſorts of *Puniſhments*, and moſt of which ſuffered all the ſeverities of the *Tortures*; there were but two in all, whom they could force by *Torments* to ſay what they would have them; all the reſt unanimouſly maintaining, that their deſign was only to ſeiſe the *Lorrain-Princes*, and diveſt them of an Authority, which they ought not to enjoy to the prejudice of the *Princes* of the *Blood*. There is therefore as little *reaſon* to charge the *Reformed Religion* with the *blame* of that *Enterpriſe*, ſuppoſing that according

A project againſt Arbitrary Power.

1560. *The enterpriſe of Amboiſe.*

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ing to the *Rules of Policy* it deſerved any, as to *impute to the Roman Religion*, the *conſpiracies of the Catholick Princes* and *Lords*, againſt the *Tyranny* of the *Marſhal D'Ancre*; or that of the D. of *Orleans*, againſt the exceſſive power of *Cardinal Richelieu*; or thoſe of the *Parliaments*, and of the *Prince of Conde*, againſt the Miniſtry of *Cardinal Richelieu*, who went on in the ſteps of his *Predeceſſour*, to oppreſs the *publick liberty:* The heads and principal Members of thoſe *Conſpiracies*, being *Catholicks*, as thoſe concerned in the deſign of *Amboiſe* were *Proteſtants*. Since therefore the perſons concerned in all thoſe ſeveral *Intrigues*, were all engaged by the ſame motives, and the ſame proſpects, they muſt either be equally imputed to the *Religion* of their *Authors*, and by conſequence the *Roman Religion* muſt be judged ſo much the more *Guilty* in this matter, than the *Proteſtant*, as it has oftener ſtirr'd in thoſe ſorts of *Commotions* than the other; or elſe it muſt be confeſſed, that *Religion* had no ſhare, but by accident, in thoſe *affairs*, which were purely Politick of their own Nature, and that thoſe *Intereſts* which ſet the *Wheels* of thoſe attempts in *motion*, were indeed properly none of Hers. But the *Cruelty of the Court*, the principal heads of which *diverted* themſelves with the *horrible Spectacle* of ſo many *Executions*, and ſeeing *the blood run down in all the ſtreets of Amboiſe, ſtruck a horrour in all moderate perſons*: And this firſt Eſſay which was follow'd by ſo many *Maſſacres* that ſtain'd the *ſucceeding reign* with ſo much *Blood*, touched the *Chancellour Oliver* ſo much to the *Heart*, that he *Died with grief*, and *L'Hopital* was put in his *place*, who in *acknowledgment of that Favour*, always adhered to the Q's *intereſt* as his own. That *Princeſs* ſeeing the *Authority of the Guiſes* increaſed by their *Succeſs* in the *Enterpriſe of Amboiſe*, would not ſuffer the *Proteſtants* to be *proſecuted to extremity*, yet could not induce them by that *to place any confidence in her*, ſince for all that they examined in one of their *Synods*, a *Memorial* to be *preſented* to the *General Eſtates*, in which ſeveral things were made uſe of not at all to her advantage. But however the *Court* kept fair for a while with *the Prince of Conde*, tho they were well enough perſuaded, he was privately the chief contriver of that *Enterpriſe*; and the D. *of Guiſe*, by a profound *Diſſimulation* of his *Thoughts*, ſeemed to aſſent to his *juſtification.*

The Cruelty of the Court.

The Original of the word Huguenot.

About *the ſame time* the name of *Huguenot* was introduced into the

the World, and becauſe it has been ever ſince retain'd *as the diſtinguiſhing name of a* Party, I may very well without breaking off the thread of my *Hiſtory*, ſay ſomething of its *Original*, than which nothing perhaps is more unknown. For they *themſelves* that ſaw this word firſt brought forth, yet give very different reports of its riſe, and perhaps it may not without reaſon be concluded from thence, that it is one of thoſe *names the rabble invent they know not why*, and that they retain in uſe without knowing how they came by it. Only every one endeavouring to *explain the Original of the word*, according to their own *particular paſſion and Intereſt*, have by falſe *Etymologies* produced by thoſe cauſes, made us loſe all traces *of the true one*. For ſome derive that word from *John Hus*, or from a certain *Sacramentarian*, named *Hugues*, who is feign'd to have liv'd in the time of *Charles* VI. which is grounded only upon an *Analogy of Grammer*, or upon ſome conformity between *the Doctrin of the one with the other in ſome Articles*. Some think it comes from the word *Gnoſtick* ill pronounced, which was *applied to the Proteſtants*, becauſe they were charged with the like *abominations* thoſe *Hereticks* were accuſed of, which ſeems to be *a meer conjecture*, without any ground; as is likewiſe the Fancy of thoſe that fetch it from a certain Speech made by ſome *German* Envoys, which begun with theſe words, *Huc nos*, and which were ſo ill pronounced, that they made our *Courtiers laugh*, which is indeed a ſtory only fit to be *laught at*. They who have obſerved, that in proceſs of time the Proteſtants were offended at that Name, as an injurious Term, imagined it came from certain words in the *Suiſſers* Tongue, ſignifying *ſeditious people*, or that it was taken from a ſort of ſmall mony, of leſs value than *the Mailles*, which becauſe they were currant in the time of *Hugh Capet*, were called *Huguenots*, which Name was afterwards in contempt applied to *the Proteſtants*. But there are 3 Opinions, which as they are more common, ſo they are more probable than the reſt. That which is moſt follow'd, is, That it is deriv'd from a certain Spirit, or *Robin Goodfellow*, called at *Tours*, *King Hugon*, from which one of the Gates of the Town was by corruption named *the Gate Fourgon*, inſtead of *the Porte Hugon*, becauſe that Spectre appear'd ſometimes in *the Night*, near that Gate, in the form of *Fire*. Now becauſe *the Proteſtants* held their Meetings about that quarter, in *the night time*, by reaſon that the 1560.

persecution was too hot to let them do it in *the day time*. Occasion was thence taken to call them *Huguenots:* To which they further add this story, *That the first advice of that Conspiracy came from* Tours, *and that they which gave it made use of the term of* Huguenot *already known in their Town, and which has ever since remain'd in use.* But there is one thing remark'd by Historians, that gives us great reason to doubt of *the solidity of this conjecture*, which is, That according to them, that Enterprise was carried on so secretly, that *the Guises* received the first notice of it out of Forein Countries, and that the first man who informed them of it in *France*, was one *Des Avenelles*, an Advocate of *the Parliament of Paris*, at whose House *La Renaudie*, a known Ringleader in that Conspiracy, was lodged, and to whom he was forced to reveal it, to obviate *the suspicions* the great concourse of people to *his house* had justly raised against him: So that it could not be from *Tours* that *the Court* received the first Information of that Mystery. The 2*d* Opinion is much more probable, which deduces that word from those words in *the Swiss* Language, *Eid genossen*, which signifies, *Allies*, and which were brought into *France* by *the Ministers* which come from that Country, as for a like reason they were called *Fribours*, in *Poitou*, whilst it was believ'd that *the Canton of Fribourg* corresponded with those of *Geneva*, in matters of *Religion*. Which Name became more common after *the Enterprise of Amboise*, because that was the first occasion in which *the Protestants* appeared united for their common Interest, and in which they most constantly observed the Faith they had mutually given to one another. And yet the 3*d* Opinion is no less probable than that, which pretends that Name to be derived from *Hugh Capet*, because the Protestants were *headed* by a Prince of that Royal House, and stiffly maintain'd their Interest against *the Intrigues of Forein Princes*, who endeavour'd to deprive it of the Government. 'Tis true, it is not very likely the *Guises* had as yet framed any designs upon *the Crown*; but there are several unquestionable Circumstances that give a great appearance of probability to this Opinion. The *Guises* were then become very newly allied to *the Throne*, by the marriage of their Niece to the K. and had any Children proceeded from it, they would have been *much nearer a kin to them* than *the Bourbons*, who were [illegible] to Re-
moves off; That is to say, at such a degree of distance, in which

all *Hereditary Right* ſeems naturally to ceaſe of it ſelf. They had likewiſe at that time a great power at *Court*, cloſe correſpondence with *Spain*, a particular Enemy to *the Houſe of Bourbon*, becauſe of their mutual competition for *the uſurped Kingdom* of *Navar*, and had entertain'd a formal deſign entirely to uſurp *the adminiſtration of affairs from that Noble Houſe*. Beſides, it appears by the Writings, and by the Acts of the *Synods* of the Proteſtants, that even in thoſe early days they already aſſerted *the Rights of the Bourbons*, and endeavour'd to maintain them in *that Authority*, againſt the encroaching attempts of all Foreiners, not excepting *the Q. Mother her ſelf:* So that they were declared Partiſans of *the Capetians*. As therefore from *the Name of Pope*, the *Guiſes*, and *their Adherents*, who made Religion a ſerviceable Tool for their Intereſts, were called *Papiſts*, and from *the Name* of *Guiſes* were called *Guiſards*, or *Guiſians*, by the Proteſtants; It is probable, that from *the Name* of *Hugues*, i. e. *Hugh*, the Rights of whoſe Family the Proteſtants ſo ſtiffly maintain'd, they were called *Hugenots*, which Name grew publick at the time of the Enterpriſe of *Amboiſe*, becauſe that was an eminent occaſion in which the oppoſition of thoſe 2 *Factions* firſt broke out, and put the world upon inventing Names to diſtinguiſh them. Which is the more confirmed, becauſe in the Memorials of that time we find that the Proteſtants at firſt eſteem'd it an *honourable Name*, as thinking without doubt, it was in effect a Glorious Monument of *their Loyalty*, in defending the Intereſts of *their lawful Princes* againſt the attempts of *Uſurpers*. But after the Memory of thoſe Tranſactions was aboliſh'd by divers Edicts, and eſpecially by the Extinction of *the Guiſian Faction*, they had reaſon to complain they ſhould ſtill be called by *that Name*, becauſe it renewed the Memory of thoſe Troubles, and was given them by *the people*, who were ignorant of the Original word, as a Name of ſome party of Conſpirators, on purpoſe to brand them with diſgrace. But to return from this digreſſion, and re-continue the Series of Events, I ſhall remark, That attempts were made about that time to eſtabliſh *the Inquiſition* in *France*, and that *the Chancellor*, who would fain have *hindered that pernicious Inſtitution*, unwillingly conſented, *that Cauſes of Hereſie ſhould be once more turned over to the Biſhops*, of whom there were ſome not very ill-inclin'd to the Proteſtants: For *Marillac*, Archbiſhop of *Vienna*, and *Monluc*, Bp. of *Valence*,

ſpoke favourably for them in an Aſſembly held at *Fountain-Bleau*, where *the Admiral* preſented a Petition in the Name of the perſecuted party, for whom he begg'd Liberty of Conſcience. The Court ſeem'd diſpos'd to *moderation*, and accordingly talkt of calling a *National Council*, prohibited all provocations on either ſide, and put a ſtop to any further Executions; ſo that during that ſhadow of peace the Proteſtants began to hold publick Meetings in ſeveral Provinces. But yet when they leaſt expected it, the P. of *Conde* was made Priſoner, his Enemies having gain'd time in that deceitful Calm with which they had purpoſely amuſed the World, to take *the ſurer meaſures againſt him*, and pretended a diſcovery of *his being engag'd* in new deſigns; upon which he was proſecuted with *ſuch extraordinary diligence*, that *the Sentence of Condemnation* was already ſigned by all his Judges, except only *the Chancellor*, who *held off* as long as he could; and he had certainly loſt *his Life*, if *the K's ſudden death had not deliver'd him from that tragical end*; which hap'ned ſo patly for his advantage, that it gave occaſion to their *Adverſaries* to impute it to the *Proteſtants*, to *inſinuate* as if they had ſhortned that *Princes days by the hands of his Surgeon who was of their Religion*. But *ſincere Hiſtorians* have diſcharged them of that *reproachful Calumny*, by informing the World, *That* Francis II. *had ſome natural Infirmities that brought on him that fate*; that his Brain had no vent at all to purge it ſelf by the ordinary Conduits made for that uſe, as in other men; that about a year before his Death there appeared upon his Face, ſome pimples that were taken for ſigns of ſome extraordinary Diſtemper, which 'tis reported, his Phyſicians went about to cure by a yet more extraordinary Remedy. From which it may eaſily be judged, how much his Blood was tainted, and how extreme full his Body was of corrupt humours.

A falſe appearance of Moderation.

The P. of Conde imprison'd.

The ſudden death of Francis II. falſly impaſed to the Proteſtants.

Charles IX ſucceeds. The Eſtates aſſembled, who ſeem to favour the Proteſtants.

The *Eſtates* who were in *great haſte Aſſembled* towards the end of the *year*, give *the Proteſtants* ſome hopes *that the Q. Mother* would be no longer ſo much againſt them; becauſe the *Chancellor* her *Creature* was ſo bold there, as openly to *cenſure* all *violent proceedings* upon the account of *Religion*; the *Guiſes* were fallen from their former *Credit*, as not having the ſame *Aſcendant* over *Charles* IX. who ſucceeded his *Brother*, as they had had over the deceaſed *K.* who had *Married their Niece*; the *Admiral* having been

been offenſively treated in the *Speech made by the Deputy of the Clergy at the opening of the Aſſembly*, *reparation* was made him for *the Indignity*. The *Prince* of *Conde* was *acquitted*; and the *Biſhops* of *Seez* and *Valens* having *Preached at the Court* ſomething very like the *Doctrin* of thoſe called *Hereticks*, were by the Q. *protected* againſt the *clamours* of the *Zealots*; nay, ſhe writ to the *Pope* himſelf in their *favour*, and ſeconded their demands for *the Reſtitution of the Cup to the Laity*, *and for the celebration of Divine ſervice in the vulgar Tongue*; and granted them the *firſt Edict* for *Toleration* that ever was vouchſafed them: but ſhe not being a Woman that could long forbear ſhewing her ſelf in her true Colours, ſhe her ſelf ſtir'd up the *Conſtable* to *Murmur at it*; and the more effectually to hinder the *Parliaments* from obeying it, ſhe ſlily ordered it to be directed contrary to cuſtom, *to the Preſidial Courts*, and accordingly the *Parliaments* fail'd not to complain of ſuch an *Irregularity*, and to oppoſe it by *contrary Decrees*. And the *Court* fell again into the ſame *irreſolution* they had often been in before, *whom to declare the moſt competent Judges of Cauſes of Hereſy*, and by an *Edict* of the Month of *July*, divided a new that *Juriſdiction* between the *Preſidial* and *Biſhops Courts*, authoriſing the one, to *judg of the unlawfulneſs of Aſſemblies*, and the other, *of the Doctrin Preached in them*, the *Clergy* having well *Bribed* them for that favour; for taking a *hot Alarm* at ſome *proceedings of the Eſtates* who were removed to *Pontoiſe*, that tended to *favour the Proteſtants*, they *politickly ranſomed themſelves from that fear*, by conſenting to a *ſubſidy of four tenths of ſix years*. But the beſt thing done in the *Edict of the Proteſtants* was, *That it moderated the puniſhment of Hereſies*, *which before was Death*, *to Baniſhment only*.

In that year was the firſt riſe of the *Triumvirate*, that is to ſay, *of the threefold League* between the D. of *Guiſe*, the *Conſtable*, and the *Marſhal de St. Andre*; the laſt of which engaged in it to *exempt himſelf* from giving an account of *immenſe ſums of Money he had embezel'd* And *the Conſtable* did the ſame, for fear of being obliged *to pay back a ſum of* 100000 *Crowns*. And tho *Religion* was one of *the pretences of the Union*, by which they did a World of *Miſchief to the Proteſtants*, yet it was to thoſe other *ſordid intereſts that the Roman Religion was chiefly obliged to for its preſervation*. But there was nothing more *remarkable* in the whole courſe of that year than *The Riſe of the Triumvirate*

The Conference at Poiſſy.

than *the Colloquy or Conference of Poissy*, which held all *Europe* for some time in suspence. There never was any *Assembly* that ever made so much noise, nor yet any that produced so *little effect*, excepting only that they gave some *Alarm* to *Rome*. The beginnings of it were *pompous and stately*, for all the *Court* was present at it, as well as several *Cardinals* and *Bishops*; it began on both sides with very solid and grave *Orations*; but one word which *Beza* unluckily let fall in his Discourse, served for a pretence to the *Cardinal de Tournon*, and others of his *party*, to make a noise, and to dissuade the K. from continuing to *honour* those *Disputes* any longer with his *Presence*. And so *that publick Conference* dwindled into *private Disputations*, and the Bps. either disdaining, or being
1561. afraid to confer with the Ministers, the whole business was committed only to some private Doctors, and at last the *Conferences* were quite broken off; after which, instances being made in vain to Renew them, The *Protestant Deputies* grew weary of being shamm'd off with so many delays, and went away when they found they were amused only with vain hopes. They spent some Months in reconciling the differences about some controverted Articles; but when the persons commissionated to treat of them, had agreed upon any point, it was always travers'd by some zealous Drs. who made Oppositions and Protestations against such Accomodations; which particularly hapned about the matter of *Image-Worship*. For *the Dean of the Colledge of Divinity* hotly opposed what had been
1562. concluded concerning their use, and stiffly maintain'd, that they ought not to abate an ace of what *the Roman Church had once authorised*, tho own'd to be introduc'd at first by *evil custom*. And so obstinately have *the Clergy* of our times adher'd to *that Maxim*, that they never would consent to *purchase the return of the Protestants to their Communion*, with the price of any of the least Abuses tolerated by *the Roman Church*. And besides, from the very beginning of *that Conference*, there appear'd a certain *presage*, That no good could be expected from it, since *the Clergy* at *Poissy*, about 11 days after the opening of their Assembly, which was the 4*th* of *September*, when the Parliament had referred to them *the Jesuits* Petition, for leave to settle in *France*, authorised them to fix in *Paris*, upon conditions which *that Society* never observed. And so that very Assembly from whom *the World* expected an *equitable accommodation* of

The setling of the Jesuits at Paris.

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differences in Religion, effectually ſerved for nothing elſe but to eſtabliſh in the Kingdom the moſt *mortal enemies of all equity*, and that have taken up *ambition*, *perfidiouſneſs* and *cruelty* for *the chief maxims of their Politicks*.

The inconſtancy of the Cardinal of Lorrain.

The *Cardinal* of *Lorrain* had ſhewn ſome little inclination to *the Lutherans* Opinion about *the real preſence*, and had order'd a *Formulary* to be drawn up, that differ'd not from their principles. Now whether he was really of that Opinion, or only diſſembled an inclination for it, out of ſome politick conſideration, is not known. But certain it is, at leaſt, that *he*, and *the Duke his Brother*, made uſe of that Artifice effectually to hinder *the Duke of Wirtemberg*, with whom they had an interview with *Savern*, from confederating with *the* P. of *Conde*, who ſought *his Alliance*. The K. of *Navar* likewiſe, at the perſuaſion of *the Tutor to his Natural Son*, had teſtified the ſame inclination, but yet never ſtuck to any ſetled O- *and of the K. of Navar.* pinion in Religion, but continued wavering and doubtful in that matter to his dying day. 1561.

A ſedition at Paris againſt the Proteſtants.

There hapned a great *ſedition* that year at *Paris*, where the *Proteſtants* were met for *their Religious Exerciſes*. For *the Catholicks* having a *Church* hard by *their Meeting*, were ſo malicious as to ring *their Bells* with *more noiſe*, and *much longer than ordinary*, purpoſely to diſturb *the Miniſter*, and his Auditors, by *their jangling*; upon which the Proteſtants ſending 2 men unarmed, civilly to intreat them to leave off that troubleſome ringing, *The Catholicks* were pleaſed to knock one of *the meſſengers on the head*, but the other got away. Upon that, *the people* eaſily took fire on both ſides, and fell ſo fiercely together by the ears, that *the City Guards*, which were then employed to prevent ſuch Accidents, were not able to ſuppreſs them. The Proteſtants over-powered their Adverſaries in this Scuffle, and *the doors of the Church* were broken open, *the Images* battered to peices, ſome *Catholicks* killed, and ſome Prieſts put in priſon. But *the Proteſtants* were made to pay dearly for that advantage; for the Parliament condemn'd them for it, and hang- ed up 2 or 3 of them, and impriſon'd their very Witneſſe- p-ring in their favour. Which Example has been foll- i- and *the unhappy party* always judged in the w- - been treated with the moſt outrageous violence- ſame

1562. casion of *the Massacre* at *Vassi*, which the Domestick Servants of *the* D. of *Guise* committed in their Mrs. presence, killing about 60 persons, and wounding above 200. For tho *the* Q. promised them Justice for it, yet *the* K. of *Navar*, whom *the Triumvirs* had wrought over to their *Interests*, received *Beza* but very ill, when he came to complain of it to him; and the *Duke* of *Guise*, and *Marshal de* St. *Andre* baffled all their Prosecutions for the punishment of the *Criminals*, and the whole blame of the *Massacre* was at last thrown upon the pretended impatient humour of the *Protestants*. And yet that action was a thing of no slight consequence, because besides the cruelty of the Fact, it was a Breach of the *Edict of January*, which was the first that *granted a free exercise of the Reformed Religion in publick*, and was drawn up with the *approbation of an Assembly of the Notables, or select Council of Nobility*, but not verified without great opposition, especially at *Paris*, where after several *reiterated commands*, it was at last *Registred* with this *provisional clause*; *That it was done in consideration of the present conjuncture of Affairs, without approving the new Religion, and to remain in force no longer than the K. should order otherwise.* That *Edict* was an effect of the extraordinary favour the *Admiral* was then in with the Q. who highly caress'd him, which gave so much *jealousie to the Triumvirs*, that they retired from *Court*. But that great Lord suffering his eyes to be dazled, by the *Artifices of the Queen*, discovered to her a little too much the strength of his *Party* by demanding of her the *liberty of building Temples* or *Churches* for 2150 *Protestant Congregations*. For the Q. thereupon demanded to see a particular *account* of the number of each *Congregation*, which he refusing, as being sensible he had already been too *open-hearted* with her. Ever after that she was shie of the *Admiral*, as being unwilling to depend on him.

The Massacre at Vassi, after the Edict of January.

Chief Nobility.

The strength of the Protestants.

The French term for Protestant Meeting places.

The short favour of the Admiral with the Queen.

But the *Triumvirs* were not long absent from the *Court*, but returning and restoring to the *Parisians*, who where passionately affected to them, their Arms again, they reduced the Q. into such danger of losing her Authority, that she was forced to have recourse to the Prince of *Conde* to deliver her out of their hands, authorising him by pressing Letters, wherein she recommended to him the K. the Kingdom and her self, and complains, *That the Guises*

The first war undertaken by the Queens Orders.

Guises kept her in Captivity, requiring him to take up Arms, under the ſpecious pretence of delivering *the King and Queen*. But that *Princeſs* afterwards falling into the power of the *Confederates*, and being conſtrain'd to diſown the Commiſſion ſhe had given the Prince to take Arms, he ſent her Original Letters to thoſe *German Princes* to whom he had a mind to juſtifie his Conduct, which ſhe took for ſo heinous an Affront, that ſhe would never pardon it to him However, to hinder the people from joyning with the *Prince*, another *Edict* was publiſht in the King's Name, to confirm the *Edict* of *January*, which granted *an Indemnity for all that was paſt, and permiſſion for the free publick Exerciſe of the Reformed Religion every where, but in the City and Suburbs of* Paris. But the Prince baffled that Stratagem, by publiſhing the Copy of a Treaty of Confederacy concluded between the *Pope*, the King of *Spain*, and the *Guiſes*, againſt the *Proteſtants*, which he had newly intercepted. Not but that on that, and all other like occaſions, there was always a conſiderable number of Proteſtants that ſuffer'd themſelves to be deceived by thoſe *Illuſory Edicts*; Nay, and that there always was ſome of them that have been wheedled in to bear Arms too againſt their Brethren, for the Court-Intereſt. But yet ſtill the Diviſion was not ſo great as very much to weaken the Princes Party; who, ſometime after the Queen had diſowned them, having called a *Council of Conſcience* of ſixty Miniſters, to conſult whether it were lawful after that, to continue the War; they came to this Reſolution, That ſince thoſe Arms were at firſt taken up by Order of that Princeſs, whilſt free, againſt the Enemies of the King, and the State, and the Violaters of Edicts, they were lawfully taken up, and ought not to be laid down (by any Counter-Order proceeding from her) whilſt under the force of hers, and their common Enemies.

and afterwards diſowned.

The Triple League between the Pope, the K. of Spain, and the Guiſes, againſt the Proteſtants.

This War was very cruel in many places, becauſe there were ſome Commanders on each ſide, that proſecuted it without any Mercy. For *Des Adrets*, on the Proteſtant ſide, was noted for his Cruelties, and *Montluc*, on the other, would ſpare no body; Nay, and *Mompenſier* too, ſignalized himſelf not a little by his Inhumanities. However, this difference there was between the Cruelties of the Two Parties, That thoſe of the Catholicks were a continuation of what they had exerciſed for near 40 years paſt, by ſo many Butcherly Executions; and thoſe of the Proteſtants were but actions of men made deſperate by ſo long and barbarous a perſecution. Which, by the way, deſerves to be remarked againſt the *Roman Catholick Hiſtorians*, who always excuſe, as much as they can, the Exceſſes of their own people, though never ſo villainous, but repreſent the Violences of the *Princes Forces* much horrider than they were. And indeed the Proteſtants found no mercy at all; No Faith of Treaties was ever kept with them, and not being content to deſtroy them by Fights and Maſſacres, The *Catholicks* wherever they had power, further employed againſt them the *forms* of *Juſtice*. But nothing more furiouſly incenſed the Peo-

The Cruelties of Montluc, and Des Adrets, and of the Catholicks in general.

ple againſt them, than their breaking of *Images*, and burning of *Relicks* in ſeveral places. That likewiſe occaſioned many bloody *Edicts* againſt them; and the *Parliaments* would needs ſtretch the ſeverity of thoſe Acts of the Council yet to a higher pitch, by their *Decrees*, eſpecially thoſe of *Paris*, *Roan*, *Dijon* and *Tholouſe*. And tho the *Catholick* Armies were guilty of as many outrages as the others, yet the *Proteſtants* bore the blame of all, and were charged with the Sacriledges even of their Enemies.

The Maſſacre at Sens. A new *Maſſacre* of the *Proteſtants* which hapned at *Sens*, by the *Cardinal* of *Lorrain*'s fault, who was *Archbiſhop* of that Town, broke off the Negotiations for a Peace, and the War was continued a freſh both by Arms and Writings. In which the *Catholicks* were the firſt that had recourſe to Foreign Aid, and the *Proteſtants* imitated them, by procuring aſſiſtance from Queen *Elizabeth* of *England* who ſeiſed of *Havre de Grace* for her ſecurity. *Foreigners called into France.* But before her Forces could joyn the *Princes* Army, a Battle was fought near *Dreux*, the ſucceſs of which on both ſides was ſo equal, that the *Duke* of *Guiſe* was the only gainer by it. *The battel of Dreux.* The King of *Navar* died ſome time before of a wound he received at the Siege of *Roan*, the *Marſhal de St* Andre was Killed, and the *Conſtable* taken in this Battle, ſo that the *Duke* had now neither *ſuperiour* nor *competitour* at *Court*. The *Prince of Conde* was likewiſe taken Priſoner, but that hindred not his party from ſtanding upon ſuch high conditions, that no Peace could be agreed upon. The *Duke* afterwards laying Siege to *Orleans*, was there Aſſaſſinated by one *Poltrot*, which miſerable wretch being taken, Accuſed the *Admiral* and *Beza*, and ſeveral others as his Inſtigatours to that enterpriſe, and tho he often varied in his anſwers upon Examinations, yet he accuſed the *Admiral* with a little more conſtancy than the reſt. However he was willingly credited in that point; and the young Duke of *Guiſe* continuing ever from that time, a reſentment againſt that Lord, as guilty of the Charge, revenged himſelf nine years after, upon ſeveral thouſands of Innocents, whoſe blood he mingled with the *Admirals*, to expiate the death of his Father.

1563. *The Siege of Orleans. The Murther of the Duke of Guiſe, charged upon the Admiral by the Wretch that did it.*

The *Tragical Death* of that *great Man*, dampt the vain thoughts of the *Cardinal* of *Lorrain* then at *Trent*, whither the *Council* had been removed the third time by a *Bull* of *Pius* IV. where the *French Ambaſſadours* had waited a good while for the coming of the *Biſhops* of their Nation; but the *Cardinal* came thither at laſt, attended with ſome *Prelates*, with a full *Reſolution* to inſiſt upon thirty four *Articles of Reformation* which ſeemed to be much deſired by the *Queen*, and eſpecially *the Reſtitution of the Cup, and the Marriage of Prieſts*. The ſame accident likewiſe put the *Court* upon other Meaſures, and diſpoſed matters to a *Peace*; for which an *Edict* was agreed upon at *Amboiſe*. *A Peace concluded.* The Prince took advice only of the *Nobility* of his Party who were weary of the War, and would not hearken to the Counſel of threeſcore and ten *Miniſters*, who would have perſuaded him to abate nothing of the

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Edict of January. The *Admiral* was not at all content with this proceeding. But however he was forced to seem to approve of what he could not hinder; and to accept an Edict much less favourable than the former, and where the *Distinction of Rights of Exercise by vertue of Fiefs, Possession* and *Bailywicks*, was introduced.

The Peace was followed by an Event at which the *Court of Rome* was highly offended. The *Cardinal* of *Chatillon Bishop* of *Beauvais*, which is one of the most antient *Peerages* of the *Kingdom*, turning to the *Religion* of the *Admiral* his Brother, quitted both the Name and Habit of his *Ecclesiastical Dignity*, and retain'd only that of *Count* of *Beauvais*. The *Pope* thereupon cited him, and depriv'd him of his *Cardinals Hat*. But that Lord, to shew how little he valued the *Papal Censure* immediately took up again his *Cardinals Habit*, and wore it at all Ceremonies at which he was present, and even at the Registring of the Kings Declaration upon the Subject of his Majority; nay and to carry his contempt further he Married a Lady, and wore his Cardinals Habit on his Wedding day. The same year the Cardinal of *Lorrain* called a Synod at *Rheims*, where the Cardinal of *Chatillon* appeared not, tho he were Suffragan of *Rheims*, as Bishop of *Beauvais*. They who were present at it, were content only *to agree upon a resolution* to give notice to the King, that that Prelate was Excommunicated at *Rome* for a Heretick. But that was put off till 1569. when the Parliament Declared him a Rebel, and deprived him of all his Dignities, *turning him over to the Judgement of his Superiour* as to what concern'd the * *Common Crime* But they durst not at first explain what they meant by the term *Superiour*, for fear of offending the Pope; but in another Decree, they plainly owned, that by Superiour, they meant his Metropolitan, the Archbishop of *Rheims* with the Bishops his *Suffragans*, conformably to the *Liberties* of the *Gallican Church*. And in fine, when this Cardinals Widow moved after the passing of that *Edict*, to have her Marriage confirmed, she could not obtain it, as I shall shew more fully in time and place. The pretence urged against her, was, That there appear'd no Evidence neither by writing nor witnesses, to prove it an Authentick Marriage, and not Clandestine. It's true indeed it was then 40 years since it was done, and there remain'd but one man alive that could witness it; but yet that hindred it not from being very true, that the Marriage was celebrated by the consent, and in the presence of the Cardinals Brothers, and with all the Solemnity that the Simplicity of the *Reformation*, and the circumstances of that juncture of time could permit.

1564. *The Marriage of the Cardinal of* Chatillon, *and its consequences.*

* i.e. *Heresy.*

1568.

That Cardinal passed in the time of the following Wars, into *England*, to demand assistance from Queen *Elisabeth*, but as he was about to return into *France*, he was basely poysoned by one of his own domestick Servants.

1571.

1563. *Tythes confirmed to the* Roman *Clergy.*

The *Chancellor* took his opportunity after the *Edict* of Peace, to publish another commanding all the King's Subjects to pay Tithes as before, to the Church-men: And it was not doubted, but that *Edict*

was the preſervation of the *Roman* Church, becauſe had the *Proteſtants* been ſuffered to eſcape free from paying thoſe dues, all that had any Goods or Eſtates lyable to pay Tithes, would have wheeled about to their Party, out of greedineſs to augment their Revenues at one jerko a full tenth part. Yet for all that, it appears by the repeated complaints of the Clergy in all their Aſſemblies, that they had much ado to enjoy the benefit of that Edict. And 'tis only ſince the *Edict* of *Nants*, that they have been eſtabliſhed in the full poſſeſſion of thoſe dues. And then indeed that queſtion was contradictorily decided to the advantage of the Church-men, and the recompenſe granted to the Proteſtants to indemnify them for what they paid in Tyths, took from them all colour of renewing any more pretences on that Subject; for till then, the *Clergy* had not been able to keep poſſeſſion of thoſe Rights, becauſe the Proteſtants paid them nothing in places where they were ſtrong enough to avoid it; and the *Catholicks* in many places, and eſpecially the Gentry paid them but 'en what they liſted. But that Edict fortifying them with a new Title, they recovered by little and little the full enjoyment of all their Rights, and under pretence of explaining, or confirming them againſt the pretenſions of the Proteſtants, they often procured orders, which they made uſe of to the Diſadvantage of the Catholicks themſelves; So that they that for time out of mind had been obliged only to pay certain fixed Tythes, were then forced to pay Tyths of the *Artichokes*, *Melons*, *Pumpions*, nay, and of their *Marjoram*, and in a word, of all the Herbs of their Gardens. And for the obtaining thoſe Orders, the Clergy was not aſhamed to vacate the old cuſtoms that were confirmed by an interrupted poſſeſſion of 2 or 300 years. After the Peace, both Parties contended which ſhould be moſt active in re-taking *Havre de Grace* from the *Engliſh*, who had a mind to keep it; and the Proteſtants ſeemed to eſpouſe the cauſe with more heat than the others, the better to *wipe off* the reproach caſt upon them, of having given new footing in the Kingdom, to a Foraign People that had been ſo long its mortal Enemies. At his return from that *Expedition*, the *King* was declared *Major* at *Roan*, and put forth a new Edict to confirm that of *Amboiſe*, which was again renewed towards the end of the year by another which explained ſome dubious Articles of it. But when the *King* was return'd to *Paris*, the *Admiral* was impeacht for the Murther of the *Duke of Guiſe*; the affairs was very difficult to decide at that Juncture of time, becauſe of the equal Ballance that ſeemed to be between the power of the *Accuſers*, and that of the *Accuſed*, and therefore after ſeveral inſignificant proceedings, it was cunningly put off for three years.

At Tholouſe 6. & 8. March 1640.

At the great Council, the 25. Feb. 1563.

The re-taking of Havre de Grace.

The ſame year likewiſe there began to appear, at *Tholouſe* and elſewhere, ſome ſeeds of a *League* againſt the *Proteſtants*, and the *famous Council of Trent* was at laſt terminated, which having been long deſired, as the only ſalve for the *Diviſions* of *Europe*, was for ſome time

The end of the Council of Trent. 1563.

time as 'twere the Shittle-cock of the *Policy* of *Princes*, and the *Terrour of the Court of Rome*, which was afraid, that in such a tickliſh time in which ſhe was ſo much cried down, a *Council* would in ſpite of her attempt a *Reformation* of her intolerable Errours and Abuſes. But yet at laſt that Court found its account well enough here, and that Council degenerated into a manifeſt Cabal, confirmed all *Abuſes* to the advantage of the *Roman See*, exalted her above *Princes*, and made the yoke of the *Roman Church* more heavy than ever upon mens Conſciences.

The next year, the *Spaniards* did what they coul'd to re-kindle a new War; but the time was not yet ſeaſonable to hearken to them. In expectation therefore of a better occaſion, they conſpired with the *Catholicks* of *Bearn* to ſeiſe the Queen of *Navar* and her *Children*, and to deliver them to the *Inquiſition* for *Hereticks*, which if effected, would have given a fair occaſion to *Philp* II. to make himſelf Maſter of the reſt of their Dominions, which had eſcaped from the Ambition of his *Great Grandfather*. The Conſpiracy was diſcovered, but yet *Queen Katharine* had particular reaſons worthy of her ſelf, not to order the perſon to be taken up, that was the chief Intriguer in it. Four years after, the *Queen of Navar*, who was forced to provide for her own and her *Childrens* ſafety, by flying to *Rochel*, from the fury of the ſame *Revolted Subjects*, ſent from thence *Montgomery* to chaſtiſe them, after which ſhe Baniſht quite out of her Country all exerciſe of the *Roman Religion*, under the pretence of which, ſuch a horrid Treatment was deſign'd her; And that was done by the conſent of the *States*, without which nothing can be legally done in that *Principality*. So that the *Catholicks* loſt all their Priviledges there, by a juſt puniſhment for their furious Attempt in going about to deliver their Lawful Soveraign Princeſs into the Power of a *Foraign Juriſdiction*, and the *Reformation* was by this means received there by the concurrence of that *double Authority* in which the *Legiſlative Power* of that Country Reſides. We ſhall ſee afterwards what reſpect was had to thoſe conſiderations, under the Grand-child of that Princeſs.

1564. 1562. *A Revolution in Bearn.* 1569.

But in *France* the *Proteſtants* were not long at quiet, without new occaſions to be jealous of the *Court*; for they were ill treated almoſt every where, and ſaw their Tranquillity openly conſpired againſt; And the *Pope*, the *King* of *Spain* and *Duke* of *Savoy* loudly demanded by their Ambaſſadours, that the *Edict* might be Revoked, and the *Decrees* of the late *Council* Publiſht, to which the King's anſwer was in ſuch general and ambiguous Terms, that the *Proteſtants* could not but be alarmed at it. And beſides the *Pulpits* every where reſounded with nothing but the praiſes of the King of *Spain*, whom they extolled to the Skies, as the *great Extirpater* of *Hereticks*; and a *Deputy* of *Burgundy* in an Oration to the *King*, paſſionately preſt him to ſuffer but one Religion in his Kingdom. Many Violences and Maſſacres were committed in divers places without any puniſhment

1565. *New occaſions of jealouſy given the Proteſtants.*

inflicted on the Authors. The conceſſions of the *Edict* were invalidated by diſtorted Interpretations, which were renewed again in our Time. The Miniſters were forced to reſide in the places where their Temples, or Meeting places were; and they were permitted to teach no Schools. The exerciſe of the *Proteſtant Religion* was ſuſpended in all places whither the Court hapned to paſs. The Priviledges of the Proteſtant Lords were clipt, and none ſuffered to come to the Religious Exerciſes in their Houſes, but ſuch as were their own Subjects or Vaſſals. All *Synodical Aſſemblies* were forbidden. No Money was ſuffered to be Levied for the Maintenance of their *Miniſters*. The Marriages of ſuch who had been Prieſts, Monks, or Nuns, were diſanulled. The *Fortifications* raiſed by the *Proteſtants* in the Time of the War, were demoliſhed, and yet ſtrong *Cittadels* built to awe thoſe Towns that favoured them. In a word, nothing was omitted to induce them to believe, that the *Peace* was granted them with no other deſign, but to diſarm and diſunite them, and eſpecially, to break the neck of thoſe *Alliances* they had with Foreign Proteſtants All theſe violations of the Peace, obliged the *Prince* of *Conde* to preſent a *Memorial of Complaints* to the King; wherein, among other things, he reckons up no leſs than 130 *murthers* committed ſince *the Peace*, for which he could obtain no *Juſtice*. But yet all the *Satisfaction* he got from his *Majeſty*, was only a *general Anſwer*, and *civil words*.

The voyage of the Court, and advice given them by the Duke of Alva.

It's true, the K. made a *Progreſs* all over his *Kingdom*, with all his *Court*; but the *Proteſtants* were never the better for it; and then it was the *Court* had an Interview with the D. of *Alva* at *Bayonne*, where they learnt of him, that fatal and bloody *Apothegm* which they afterwards ſo well improved in practice, viz. *That the Head of one Salmon is better than thoſe of* 50000 *Frogs*. The *Prince* then but a *child*, and much careſs'd at that time by Q. *Katharine*, being preſent at the *Conference* where this advice was given, tho he was but young, yet well apprehended its conſequence, and learnt thereby to keep himſelf upon his guard, againſt that *Princeſs*, after he had loſt her favour. Whilſt thoſe Intrigues were carrying on, as there was yet no open War, The *Proteſtants* were buſy in confirming their Churches by convenient Regulations, and held ſome *Synods*; by the acts of which, it appears, that the cuſtom of *Annexes*, or *Pluralities*, was already received among them, becauſe they had more *Churches* than *Miniſters*; tho in our time, their Adverſaries have been pleaſed to cavil with them upon that account, as if the ſerving of ſeveral *Churches* by the ſame *Miniſter*, had been a novelty among them. The Catholicks on their ſide, fortified themſelves by Leagues, and ſome private ones were concluded in ſeveral places, and *Montac* propoſed to the K. to make one too with his *Catholick Lords*. At the ſame time the *Admiral* was attacked by dangerous Calumnies; and a wicked Villain that had attempted to Murther him, thinking thereby to eſcape Puniſhment, accuſed him of endeavouring to perſuade him to Kill the Q. But the time being not yet ſeaſonable to accept ſuch black Impoſtures for good Evidence, that Traytor was convinced of *Forgery*, and broken upon the Wheel.

The progreſs of the Proteſtant Churches.

1565.

But

But because the Court had a mind to trick the *Protestants*, they pretended to reconcile that *Lord* with the House of *Guise*. And accordingly the accomodation was made with all the cautions usually observ'd in a sincere *Treaty*. But the young D. was not at the conclusion of it, as designing, by his absence, to reserve to himself a Right to violate at pleasure the promises advanced by his Family. Yet for all that, a thousand wrongs were continually done every where to the Protestants; for in places where they were weakest, they were openly *oppress* and their complaints derided; but where they were strong enough to make themselves be fear'd, the K's *name* and *authority* was made use of to stop their *mouths* and make them tamely suffer all the evils their enemies had a mind to inflict upon them. And besides all this, the March of the D. of *Alva*'s Army, which he was leading towards the *Netherlands*, where peoples Spirits were in a shrewd ferment, still more Alarm'd the *Protestants*, and made them apprehensive, lest under a colour of some other design, the *Court* should make use of him to destroy them. All these considerations induced the *Prince of Conde* once more to take up arms, who attempted to seise, and carry away the *Court* then at *Monceaux* in which he narrowly miss'd *succeeding*, and would certainly have effected it had he not been timely hindred by the diligence of the Constable: However the boldness of the *attempt* made such an *Impression* upon the K's Spirit, that he would never pardon *it to the Prince*. The most remarkable event in that *War* was the death of the *Constable* who was kill'd at the *attack of Paris* by the *Forces of the Prince of Conde*, who with a handful of *Men*, in the *View of a Turkish Envoy*, who beheld the fight from the Walls, resisted the whole *effort* of the *Royal Army*, tho back't by all the people of that *great City*. The War from thence spread it self into the *Provinces*, whether both *parties* once more call'd in *Foreigners to their assistance*. At last a *Peace* was clapt up, whilst *Chartres* was *besieged*, by which the *Edict of January* was restored to the *Protestants* without restriction, more out of design to make them send back their *Foreign Aids*, than to restore Tranquillity to the *State*. The most part of the *Protestants* were against this peace, because they rightly enough judged *it was granted them only for a decoy*. And the Prince himself was much afraid of it too, and therefore made no hast to perform the *Articles of the Treaty* that related to his own concerns; and, to say the truth, the Catholicks gave him but too much occasion of jealousie: For there was much ado to get *the Edict* verified by *the Parliaments*, and that of *Tholouse* refus'd it till after 4 *Reiterated commands*; and before that too, had the insolence to put *Rapin to Death* that was come thither from the Prince, to press its *Registring*. But the *Court* stopt not there. For they sent into the *Provinces a form of an Oath*, in which under pretence of *Allegiance* the *Protestants* were to swear never to take *Arms more*, and to confess themselves worthy of the most *rigorous punishments*, if there should happen any *disturbance through their fault in the places where they liv'd*. That is, they made them thereby responsible for all *accidents*, tho it were to their own *wrong*, since they had *learnt by experience, that the blame was always laid upon them, right or wrong*. In 2 *Months time* more than 2000 of them were *Massacred* in several places, and nothing was to be seen every where but *Injustices to destroy them*, or *artifices to undo them*. That was the drift of an *Edict*, in which the K. pretended to take into his *Protection* all *Protestants that should live peaceably at home*, but that *trick* had no effect, because it was too soon discover'd. Then came out another *Edict*, which took the liberty to *exercise* any other *Religion* but the *Catholick*, which was soon tol-

1566. *The reconciliation of the Admiral with the Guises.*

The attempt at Monceaux, and its consequences.

1568. *A peace made before Chartres, without any intention to keep it.*

followed by another, commanding the Proteſtants to quit all offices; and the Order for Regiſtring it in the Parliament of Paris, added this clauſe, That all who ſucceeded to any Offices for the future ſhould be obliged to ſwear, to live and die in the Roman Religion. The Proteſtants likewiſe intercepted ſome Letters written by the Court, to the Magiſtrates in the Provinces forbidding them to obſerve the Edict of Peace. There are others extant from the Q. of Navar to the Cardinal of Bourbon, where ſhe reminds him of a thing at which he was ſo terribly alarm'd, that he could not ſleep for one whole night, which was, that during Q Katharines laſt ſickneſs, the deſign was laid to act over again in France the Sicilian Veſper. This ſtright of the Cardinal, as may be a hint by the way, was a ſufficient proof their malice aim'd as much at the Houſe of Bourbon, as the Reform'd Religion. They attempted likewiſe to ſurpriſe the Prince of Conde at his houſe at Noyers, and that ſo ſubtilly that he had hardly a minutes notice to make his eſcape. But nothing more clearly betrayed the Courts intentions, than the Bull of Alienation of ſome Eccleſiaſtical Revenues granted towards the ſupport of a War againſt the Hereticks, and which being dated ſome days before the Proteſtants took Arms, was an evident proof, that the Court that had ſollicited it was the firſt that deſigned a Rupture. However the Chancellor ſuffer'd it not to be made uſe of, for fear the Proteſtants ſhould improve it to their advantage; and they were fain to procure another three Months after, that granted the K. the ſame Alienation, under the notion of a Recompence of his Revoking the Edicts of Toleration. Yet for all that, the Chancellor was disgraced, either becauſe he was againſt the War, or was ſuſpected to favour the Proteſtants for the ſake of his Wife, his Daughter, and his Son in Law, who were of their Religion. Thus the Proteſtants were forced to a third War, in which they ſuffered great loſſes. For Andelot Brother to the Admiral, and one of their beſt commanders died of ſickneſs; and but a little before that the Prince of Conde was ſlain at Baſſac near Jarnac, by a treachery without example, committed in all appearance by the Court and Orders to the D. of Anjou; ſince that Aſſaſſinate was done under his Noſe by the Capt. of his Guards, himſelf ſhewing no diſlike at the exploit. This was the firſt noble head ſacrificed to the D. of Alva's Counſels. The ſame year the Proteſtants alſo loſt the Battle of Moncontour, ſo that after ſo many misfortunes, the Court ſeemed to have a proſpect of having a cheaper bargain of the reſt. For indeed, the Admiral himſelf, tho never ſo great as in Adverſity, was then ſo ſtupified with ſo many croſs blows, that he was ſome time before he could recover himſelf. But however, when they ſaw him take freſh Courage, and that after he had March't almoſt round the Kingdom, through ſo many ſtrong Troops and Towns, he was ſtill in a condition with his Army, as much tired as he was, and unprovided of all neceſſities to oppoſe the Royal Army ſent againſt him, they quitted all thoughts of deſtroying him by open force, and reſolv'd to diſpatch him by ſome maſter ſtroke of Treachery; and accordingly ſtruck up with him a new Peace, by which they granted him ſo many things ſo much beyond his hope that it was eaſy to ſee they had a mind to trick him. That was the firſt Peace in which there were mentioned any cautionary Towns. But then 4 ſuch were given to the Proteſtants for 4 years, and they reſted content with that ſecurity, tho they had been ſo often deceiv'd by the Court-Oaths, becauſe they thought that time might be ſufficient to execute the Edict, and to accuſtome the French to live in Peace together, for all their difference in Religion. All the great perſons in the Kingdom Swore to this Peace, and the Spaniſh Ambaſſador ſeem'd to be highly ſatisfied contented at it.

The third War.

1569. The death of Andelot and of the Prince of Conde.

Battels loſt

The Admiral re-eſtabliſhes the Party.

1570 A new Peace.

But the better to ſurpriſe the *Proteſtants*, they prevented their deſires in many things.. For they conſulted about the War in *Flanders*, which the *Admiral* was very zealous for; they made applications to *Queen Elizabeth*, and the *German Princes*, whoſe Ambaſſadors, and Exhortations to obſerve the Peace, they received very well. They Negotiated a Marriage between *Henry* Prince of *Navar*, and *Margaret* the King's Siſter, as if they deſigned to ſtifle all ſuſpicions by ſo ſtrict an Alliance. And in particular they careſſed the *Admiral* ſo highly, that the Old Gentleman, as wiſe as he was, let himſelf be ſo inſnared by them, that he made the places of Security to be yielded back before the two years were expired, and anſwered them who gave him private advice of the Court-deſigns, that he had rather be drawn about the Streets through the dirt, than to begin a New War. *Incredible Artifices of the Court.* 1571.

During this Calm, the *Proteſtants* held two *National Synods*, at both which *Beza* aſſiſted, and at the firſt, which was held at *Rochelle*, were preſent the *Queen* of *Navar*, the *Princes* and the *Admiral*. And the *Queen* was pleas'd to take the Advice of the *Synod* for regulating the Religion of her Domeſticks, The Complaints of that Aſſembly were favourably heard at *the Court*, who checkt a Sedition that had been raiſed at *Roan*, and promiſed Redreſs againſt another that had been ſtirr'd up at *Orange*, and ſuffered 1200 Families of the County of *Avignon* that had been perſecuted there for Religion, to take Refuge in *Dauphiny*. and in fine, omitted nothing that might convince the World, they were heartily weary of the War.

But notwithſtanding this fair Out-ſide, they neglected not to take meaſures at a diſtance for what they afterwards put in Execution. And 'tis ſaid, They deliberated firſt about it at *Blois*, in the very ſame Chamber where the Duke of *Guiſe* was killed 16 or 17 years after, and that that Prince preſided in that Aſſembly; That a year after the Propoſition was renewed at St. *Cloud*, in the ſame Chamber where *Henry* III. was aſſaſſinated in the year 1589. and that this Prince, who was then but Duke of *Anjou* preſided in this Second Aſſembly. King *Charles*, who kept the Secret with a profound Diſſimulation, during all theſe long Intrigues, did not forbear to ſay enough to the *Legate*, who complain'd of the Favours which were heaped upon the *Proteſtants*, to make him underſtand 1572.

derſtand that the Reſolutions were already formed at *the Court*, of thoſe things which afterwards hapned. The only difficulty was to agree about the Pretences and Means to put them in Execution. But at laſt they concluded upon one of the moſt deteſtable, which was executed upon the 24*th* of *Auguſt*. The Queen of *Navar* was poyſoned before, as was ſuppoſed by the Queens means, who was very much ſuſpected for the buſineſs of Poyſoning. The Admiral was wounded by *Maurevel*, who was charged to kill him, and they took this way as moſt proper to puſh the Reformed on to Sedition, which would give a ſpecious pretence for their Maſſacre, or make them fall out with *the Guiſes*, and ſo give the King opportunity to ruin either the one or the other of them; But *their patience* was the *cauſe* of their being maſſacred without any pretence, in the moſt cruel manner in the world. I ſhall not give a particular account of this Horrible Action, ſince all honeſt Hiſtorians have declared and deteſted it. I ſhall add only, that they are accuſed for having forced the King to ruin them, to prevent a Conſpiracy againſt his own Perſon; ſo that after he had treacherouſly ſpilt their blood, he would *blacken their memory*. You muſt not be aſtoniſhed, if there be found ſome to apologize for this *cowardly Cruelty*, ſince there was found thoſe who were *capable of committing it*. *Peter Carpentier*, a Lawyer, a *Proteſtant Refugee* at *Geneva*, ſold his Pen to his Brethren's Murderers, and being made known to *Bellievre*, whom the King had ſent into *Switzerland* to juſtify this Action, he received mony from him, and permiſſion to return into *France*, and promiſes of great Recompence for declaiming againſt *the memory of the dead*. This he doth by a bloody *Letter*, which was printed again not long ago, to juſtify the *Cruelties of the laſt perſecution*, as if the ſhameful perfidiouſneſs of a Rogue of the laſt Age, would ſerve for an Apology for the Injuſtice of this. As for the *Guiſes*, becauſe they were not willing to bear the Reproach of this baſe treachery, they conſtrained the King to take it upon himſelf, and ſaved ſome of the Reformed from the hands of the Maſſacrers, to keep themſelves from the blame of ſo black an *Infidelity*.

The Maſſacre of St. Bartholomew.

The Princes change their Religion by force.

The King of *Navar*, and the Prince of *Conde* run a great riſque of loſing their lives. The Prince was more difficult to be wrought on, but in the end, both of them gave way to the violence. They took

took occaſion for an honeſt pretence of *des Roſiers*, who having been found in ſome Criminal Matters, had redeemed his Life at the expence of his Conſcience. The Reaſons which had made him change, had the ſame effect upon the Princes, becauſe they were in the ſame fear as he. *Monſieur* had drawn him out of trouble by his Credit, and having ſecured him to his Intereſt by this benefit, was willing to make uſe of him to bring back his Daughter, and the Duke of *Bouillon*, his Son in Law, to the *Roman* Religion. He already procur'd a *Conference* at *Paris* 6 or 7 years before, between the Drs. of both Parties, for the ſame end, but it had then no effect, for the Princeſs perſevered in her former Opinions. The Duke believ'd the Example and Reaſons of *des Roſiers* would have the ſame force to convert Hereticks at *Sedan*, as they had had at *Paris*. And therefore ſent *Maldonat* the *Jeſuit* thither, with this *revolted Miniſter*, but the *Jeſuit* obtain'd nothing, and durſt not let *des Roſiers* come to *Sedan*, becauſe he did not believe him as yet to be a *firm Catholick*. The *Conference* which he had with *the Miniſters* did not ſhake this Princeſs in the leaſt, and tho he publiſh'd a Relation of this *Journey*, where he ſpeaks very advantagiouſly of himſelf, and makes *the Miniſters* to argue like Children, yet he brought back from thence no other fruit but the loſs of his *des Roſiers*, who having followed him to *Metz*, fled himſelf 3 weeks after into *Germany*, where he made an acknowledgment of his Faults.

The Inconſtancy of des Roſiers.

But in *France* it was found more difficult to deſtroy the *reformed party* than was imagined; For after ſo much blood ſpilt they ſtood yet upon their feet. In a little time the War was kindled every where. The Duke of *Anjou* loſt his Time and Reputation before *Rochel*. *Sancerre* could not be forced to ſurrender it ſelf by the moſt *cruel Famine* that ever was recorded. So that they thought themſelves *very fortunate in making peace*, and to find *pretence* for it in *the Interceſſion of the Polanders*, who were come to *offer the Crown* of *Poland* to the Duke of *Anjou*. The *Edict* granted the *Exerciſe of Religion* but to 3 *Cities*, and *revoked* almoſt *all the foregoing Conceſſions*.

Siege of Rochel and Sancerre.

France was then divided into 3 *Factions*, and in the Duke of *Anjou*'s Army alone, there was 45 1. that of *the zealous Catholicks*, which was the *ruling party*; 2. that of *the New Catholicks*, diſcontented and ſuſpicious; 3. that of *the Politicks*, ſprung out of the

Factions in France.

foregoing War, and without taking part in Religion, formed one in *the State*, under pretence of oppoſing either *the Enterpriſes of the Court*, or *the ambition of ſtrangers*; and 4. that of *the perſevering reformed* Religion, which they ſuffered in the Army, the better to deceive the reſt, and to make them believe that they would not exterminate them. They had already publiſh'd an Edict to *give this aſſurance* to all that ſtaid *peaceably in their houſes*, and to perſwade them, that *the ſuſpicious Conduct of the Admiral* was *the only cauſe of their misfortune*. But *the Maſſacres* either done, or commanded on *the ſame day* in the moſt *conſiderable Cities of the Kingdom*, made it known to all them that had not *loſt their ſenſes*, how *falſe* and *ridiculous a pretence this was*. The Princes and young Lords of thoſe ſeveral Parties had like to have raiſed *New Troubles* during *the ſiege* of *Rochel*. But *La Noue*, whoſe wiſdom they had a great deference for, hindred *the Effects* of their *head-ſtrong reſolutions*.

1574. *The Duke of Alenzon Protector of the Reformed, and the Politicians.*

But a little while after *the Duke of Alenzon* renewed thoſe *Intrigues* to get *the ſame Authority in Affairs* which his *Brother* had before he was King of *Poland*; and *the Reformed* and *the Politicians* acknowledged him for *their Protector*. But before he could *eſcape from the Court*, his Plots were diſcovered. This coſt him *his Liberty*, as well as the King of *Navar*, and many others, and *the Lives* of ſome. But all this did not hinder the War from breaking out again in many Provinces, and the Proteſtants loſt *Montgomery*, whoſe Head *the Queen* cut off, againſt *the promiſe* which *Matignon* made him of *his life*, when he rendred himſelf *his priſoner*. The Prince of *Conde* ſaved himſelf in a *diſguiſe* in *Germany*, and made a *publick acknowledgment* at *Straſburg*, that *he had been at Maſs*. A little after *the Death* of *Charles* IX. the King of *Poland* was called back into *France*, and in expectation of his return, the *Queen* made *her ſelf* be declared *Regent*, and ſuſpended the War with the Proteſtants by a *Truce of 2 months*, by which ſhe gave them leiſure to make an Aſſembly at *Millau*, where they choſe the Prince of *Conde* for *their Chief*; but this alſo ſerved *their Enemies* to recruit *their Army*, and *make their advantages*. The New King *Henry* III. receiv'd good advice at *Vienna*, *Venice* and *Turin*, where he was exhorted to *give peace to his people*, but *the Queen-Mother*, and *her Favourites* quickly effaced all the impreſſions of thoſe good Counſels.

The death of the King.

Henry III. at his return continueth the War.

The Council was divided into 2 *Factions*, one follow'd *the Maxims of the Chancellour of the Hoſpital*, and were for *peace*; the other fol-

follow'd thoſe of *Morvillier Biſhop of Orleans*, who was *Keeper of the Seals* ſome time; and theſe were for deſtroying *the Proteſtants* at any rate ſoever. This laſt party was animated by *the particular hatred of the Queen-Mother* againſt *the reformed*, by *the ambition* of *the Guiſes*, and by *the Intrigues of Spain*, who had a great influence in *the Council*. *Morvillier* added the Charm of ſome *Bigottry which he had in his Head*, and which was enough to dazle *the ignorant people*. The Proteſtants provoked the Cabal yet more by a Memorial which they preſented, in which they demanded ſatisfaction in 92 *Articles*, which *touched the diſorders of the Court* too much to *the quick* to be *heard favourably there*; and they principally inſiſted on *the calling the General Eſtates* to remedy *the miſeries of the Kingdom*. 1575.

In the mean time the Princes were ſet at liberty by *the King*, when *the Queen-Mother* preſented them to him at his arrival in *France*, tho there wanted not ſome to watch them ſo narrowly, that they were little better than Priſoners. But at laſt *the Duke of Alenzon* retired from *Court*, and a little while after *the King of Navar* did the ſame. It is obſerved of this latter, that paſſing by *Alenzon*, he there went to *the preaching*. The *Pſalm* which *the Miniſter* ſung before the Sermon, was the 21*ſt*, which begins with theſe words, *Seigneur le Roy s'ejouira D'avoir eu delivrancee par ta grande puiſſance*, &c. *The King ſhall joy in thy ſtrength, O Lord! and in thy Salvation how greatly ſhall he rejoyce*, v. 1. He enquir'd if *this was ſung becauſe of him*; and when he underſtood that it was according to *the Order that the* Pſalms *were ſung for that day*, he took it for a good preſage of Succeſs in *his Enterpriſes*. Howſoever, it was a *good while* before he fixed intirely to *the reformed* Religion. His Life at *that time* had more of *the Libertine* in it *than of Devotion*; But *the year after*, his Servants, who ſaw *that this indifference* in Religion did not accommodate *his Affairs*, obliged *him publickly* at *Rochel to repair the fault which he had been forc'd to* at *Paris*, by *the terror of death*. *The Princes Retreat.*

Theſe Conjunctures extorted from *the Court* a Truce of *ſix months*, and in *the end* a Peace which *they needed*, to break *the Union of the Confederates*, and to ſeparate *the Duke of Alenzon* from *their party*.

They granted an *Edict* to the *Proteſtants*, ſuch an one as they were uſed to make, when they were not willing to keep it; this is that which introduced the name of the *Religion pretendedly Reformed*. 1576.

form'd. They gave them 8 places of *Security*, and at the same time concluded upon their ruin with the *Legate*, and with *Don John of Austria*; and in the very same year it was openly talked *that the Edict should be revoked, and that they had granted it only by force.* They put it under Consultation whether *Faith should be kept with Hereticks*, and it was publickly *Preached* that according to the *Council of Constance, they were not obliged to it.* After this then the Peace was broken, and the *Estates General*, which the *Protestants* had demanded with so much earnestness concluded to destroy them, and to oblige *Henry* III. to make himself chief of the *League*, because he was afraid that some other should.

Peace as soon broke as made.

The League. This *League* so famous was form'd of the *Union* of many particular *Leagues*, all which had Religion for their pretence, but the principal end of this *general League* was to set the Duke of *Guise upon the Throne*, and that the King could not doubt of. There was a Writing which a certain Advocate of *Paris* brought from *Rome*, which contain'd the Reasons and Methods for *Deposing* the Descendents of *Hugh Capet*, and restoring the Crown to the Posterity of *Charlemagne*, which fell into the hands of the *Protestants*, who Published it. *Vivonne* Ambassadour in *Spain*, sent another Copy of the same Writing, and reveal'd the whole *Mystery* of the *League*. The King, being of a timorous and unsetled temper, followed the advice of *Morvillier*, who was as timorous as himself, and believed he should more easily destroy this Cabal, by making himself the Head of it, than by Methods more firm and agreeable to his Dignity. He passed further, and declared, *That as he had promised by Oath at his Coronation upon the most holy Sacrament of the Altar, to suffer no Religion in his Estates but the Catholick, he warned his Subjects not to believe any thing he should either say or do to the contrary, and that if he was reduced to make peace, he would not keep it, but till such time as he could get an occasion to break it.* But all these Protestations hindred not, but in a little time after, he made a Peace with the King of *Navar*. *Mompensier* who went to see that *Prince* to sound his intentions, advising him thereto at his return, and the third Estate likewise helped the King out of his perplexity, declaring that they were of advice to bring back the stray'd sheep to the *Roman Church* by all convenient methods, but that they had not counselled the War. The Honourable manner with which the

The King's Oath.

Who notwithstanding makes peace.

the *King of Navar* received the *Deputies* and the *Letters* of the Eſtates, facilitated the Treaty. He anſwered in Writing, *That he was ready to quit his Religion, if by any better inſtructions they could ſhew that his own was not good.* This clauſe was taken as an ill augury by the Miniſters of his Court, who therefore razed it out, but he interlined it again with his own hand. The *Prince of Condé* ſhew'd a greater Spirit, for he would neither acknowledg the Eſtates, nor receive their Letters, nor give them an Anſwer.

Thus Peace was made and confirmed by an Edict given at *Poictiers*, which they themſelves, who excus'd it with the Pope, acknowledged to be leſs favourable than any that had been granted to *them* before. But *the Bigots* were angry at it nevertheleſs, becauſe of *the Article* which declares *the Proteſtants* capable of *Offices* and *Honours*. In ſhort, it ſtruck at *the Deſigns of the Guiſes*, and it was eaſy to extend it to *the Princes*, *That their Religion ought not to render them incapable of the Crown, ſince it did not render other* Proteſtants *incapable of Employs ſuitable to their Birth.* This Calm gave opportunity to Hold ſome Synods. That of St. *Foy*, held a little after *the Edict of Poictiers*, was remarkable, for a Cauſe that was judged between *the Prince of Conde*, and *the Conſiſtory of Rochel*, which *had ſuſpended him from the holy Supper*, becauſe *he had not well received the* Remonſtrances *of the Company*, upon the Subject of a Prize taken at Sea, during *the* 40 *days* preſcribed by *the Edict*, for the laying down of Arms. It was found, that *the Judgment of the Conſiſtory* was too raſh, and that the Prince, on the other ſide, had too little Reſpect for *the Authority of the Conſiſtory*, and Deputies were named to reconcile them. This Peace, as to other things, did not ceaſe all Jealouſies. And therefore to take away all *pretences for them*, there was a *Conference* held at *Nerac*, where *the Proteſtants* had ſome new favours granted them, and ſome new places of ſecurity. *The King of Navar* was then permitted to raiſe a certain Sum upon *the reformed Proteſtants*; and all *Churches*, which *the Edict* of 1577. had either maintained or re-eſtabliſhed, were rated to it, and accordingly every one paid his part, and took an Acquittance. And this was pretended ſome few years ago to prove, *that the Churches which could produce them had their Right eſtabliſhed from the year* 1577. But neither *the Intendants*, nor *the Council* would regard any Titles of this nature.

Edict of 1577.

Synods.

1579. *Conference of* Nerac *and* Fleix.

The

The young Gent. of the K. of *Navar*'s Court began a *6th* War, which was called *the War of the Amorous*, becauſe it was undertaken only to pleaſe *the Ladies*. The greateſt part of the *Proteſtants* did not enter into it. So that *this fire* was not very hard to be extinguished. Its courſe was ſtopp'd by *the Conference of Fleix*; after this 5 years paſſed in peace, ſuch as it was; *the Edicts* were obſerved in ſome places, in others not regarded. The King was he that kept them leaſt of all; for he gave no Offices to *the Proteſtants* of his own accord. And when any of them asked any from him, he had always ſome *pretence ready to refuſe them*; nay, he took them from *thoſe that poſſeſt them already*, and ſtirred them up Troubles and Law-ſuits, and always cauſed them to come by the worſt, to oblige them to lay them down, reſerving expreſly to himſelf *the cognizance of theſe ſorts of proceſſes*, to be aſſured of *the condemnation of the pretended Hereticks*. He would not receive into his Houſhold any Gentlemen of *the Reformed Religion*, and *his Courtiers* knowing his mind, took care to tell them that complained of thoſe Refuſals, *that their Religion was the cauſe*. In one word, the King kept his promiſe to *the Eſtates*, and he did more miſchief to the Proteſtants by thoſe Arts in 5 years, cauſing more Revolts among them, than have been ſeen to happen in 36 years *War* and *Maſſacres*. Nay, you might have ſeen ſome others who being aſhamed *themſelves* to quit a Religion which they had embrac'd with great affection, yet had the weakneſs to bring up *their Children* in *the Catholick Communion*, becauſe they would not bring them up in a Doctrine which the King would not ſuffer; and ſome again that uſed a quite contrary Policy in turning *Catholicks* for fear of loſing *their Offices*: but for *the diſcharge of their Conſciences*, brought up their *Children* in *the Reform'd Religion*, becauſe they believ'd it to be *the ſafer way to ſalvation*.

1580. *The King eludes the Peace, and ſometimes ſhews keeping it.*

During *this falſe peace*, all *Europe* was engag'd in *great conſpiracies againſt them* whom they believ'd to be *the Chiefs* or *Favorites of the Proteſtants*. The *Duke of Alenzon*, who had took *the Name* of *the Duke of Anjou*, and *the Prince of Orange*, fell in them. They had a way in *France* to penetrate into the ſecret of thoſe dark Actions, but they were not willing to ſound them to *the bottom*. In the mean time, *the ſecurity* into which the King fell, made *the Leaguers take Courage*, Their *Preachers* expoſed him in their Sermons, They entertained *the Catholicks* with nothing but *the miſ-*

Outrages done to the King by the League.

chiefs

chiefs which would happen, if a Reformed King ſhould *mount the Throne*, and they frighted the *Bigots* with *horrid Hiſtories* and *Pictures* of the pretended Cruelties which *Queen Elizabeth* exerciſed in *England*. At laſt, *the Guiſes* began openly to perſecute *this unhappy* Prince, and drove him to incredible Extremities. He was forc't to *undergo the Violences of the Duke*, who had begun the War againſt him, under pretence to *ſecure the Crown for a Catholick Prince*. He durſt not *murmur*, tho they diſputed *the right of Succeſſion* during *his Life*, nor at the aſſembling of the States to debate that queſtion; nor at their debauching his Officers and Servants from him. *Villeroi*, who was one of his *Secretaries of State*, was ſuppoſed to be Penſioner to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the King not being otherwiſe able to guard himſelf from him, oblig'd him to a diſtance from *the Court*, and ſhewed him always after that great marks of *his diſpleaſure*. From whence it came to paſs that his Father and himſelf threw themſelves into *the League* after the Death of the *Guiſes*.

Is forced to a War with the Reformed.

The War againſt the *Proteſtants* was then renewed againſt the K's mind, who had made peace with *the Leaguers* upon that condition: Great Sums were exacted upon *the Clergy*, under this pretence; which they paid but grudgingly, as may be ſeen by the Remonſtrances of their Deputies. They proteſted they had never counſelled *the War*, tho it was notoriouſly known they had endeavour'd with all their power the Revocation of *the Edicts*. The K. of *Navar* made His Majeſty great Reproaches upon that Subject, by his Letters he ſent him during *the Seſſions of the Eſtates*, and there renews the Offer of ſtanding to the Deciſions of a *Free Council*; He wrote to others of *the Nobles*, and the 3*d Eſtate*, where he makes great complaints, *That they forced the King to make War againſt him:* But the Courage and good Fortune which he had to affix at *Rome* an *Appeal* againſt the *Bull* of *Sixtus Quintus*, by which he declared both him and the Prince to be *Hereticks, relapſed, Favourers of Hereticks, excommunicated, deprived of all their Lordſhips, and incapable to ſucceed to any* Principality, *and particularly to the Crown of France*, did him greater Honour than all the reſt of his Actions, and procured him Eſteem even with the Pope himſelf. He appealed by his Remonſtrance, to the *Peers of France* in Temporals, and in Spirituals to the next *Council*, to which he cited the Pope, declaring him *Antichriſt*, if he refus'd to appear.

La Trimouille becomes reformed. In the Height of the War, *Claudius Trimouille* the Son of a moſt *zealous Leaguer*, embrac'd the Intereſts and Religion of the P. of *Conde*, and took his Siſter *Charlotte Katharine* in Marriage. This Alliance extreamly fortify'd the Reformed Party in *Poictou*, becauſe that Houſe is there very powerful. The *Conference* of St. *Bris* between *the Queen-Mother* and the P. of *Conde*, towards the end of the year, allayed not their Spirits, and the next year *France* ſaw her ſelf overrun with Strangers, which *both* Parties had called in

1587. *The Battle of Coutras.* for Succours. The K. of *Navar* gain'd the Battel of *Coutras* againſt the King's Army, which the Duke of *Joyeuſe* commanded. But on *Defeats of the Reiters.* the other ſide, the Duke of *Guiſe* defeated the *Reiters* at *Auneau*, inſomuch that the Proteſtants had little fruit of their Victory, and

1588. *The death of P. of Conde.* little ſervice from their Allies. The P of *Conde* dy'd ſome months after at St *John de Angeli*, being poyſoned by ſome of his own Family; and his own Wife being accuſed for the fact, The Judges of the place condemn'd her. But the birth of a Son that ſhe brought forth in *September* following, the great Revolutions which happned a little after, and *the Authority* of ſome great Perſons to whom this Princeſs was nearly related, ſtopt their proceedings.

During theſe ſad Times many Edicts were ſet out againſt the *Edict of Union.* Proteſtants, but the moſt bloody was that which was called *the Edict of Union*. The King put out this laſt for fear the *Leaguers* ſhould procure the King of *Spain's* Fleet, which was Equipp'd againſt *England*, to deſcend upon the Coaſts of *France*; yet after this, they ceaſed not to do him a thouſand indignities. So that at *The boldneſs of the Leaguers.* laſt he was conſtrained to leave *Paris*, to give place to the D. of *Guiſe*, and to ridicule him, they follow'd him to *Chartres*, whither he was retired, by a comical Proceſſion of Penitents, which went to demand pardon for the *Pariſians*, who had the impudence to advance their *Barricadoes* as far as the very Gates of the *Louvre*. He was forc'd, in ſome ſenſe, to receive Law from the Duke as the ſtronger, to aſſemble the Eſtates, ſubſcribe the Edict of Union, and take *The Eſtates at Blois.* an Oath not to lay down his Arms till he had deſtroy'd *the Hereticks*. However, *he had reſolution enough* not to ſign the Act by which they would have declared the K. of *Navar* unworthy of *the Crown*. He then ſaw clearly into *the pretences* of the D. of *Guiſe*, who did not intend, it ſeems, to wait for *the King's Death* to poſſeſs *the Throne*; for his Party ſpoke of nothing leſs than putting him

him into a *Cloyſter*, and adding a *Monk's Crown* to that of *France* and *Poland*, which he had already worn. He could find no better way therefore to parry off this blow, than by *the death of the* D. *of Guiſe*, and *the Cardinal*, his brother. It is obſervable, that they were brought into the ſnare, in the ſame manner the Admiral was, under the Name of *the publick Faith*, under the appearance of Reconciliation, and by a general Compliance with all their demands. *Death of the* D. *of* Guiſe, *and the Cardinal, his brother.*

But the King could not rid himſelf of the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was then about *Lions*, and who quickly form'd a great Body, with which he thought to overwhelm him. In the mean time, to make it known, that it was not in favour of the Proteſtants, that he had kill'd their Enemies, he ſwore a-new to *the Edict of Union*, and without doubt did it with a true Hatred to them, becauſe, tho he afterwards was forced by deſpair to throw himſelf into their arms, he defer'd for 15 days the publication of a Truce he had made with 'em; being ready to break it, and make War upon 'em without mercy, could he have ſucceeded in an accommodation with which he was flatter'd, between him and the Duke of *Mayenne*. But the Duke had clear other thoughts, being in a condition to revenge with a *high hand the death of his brethren*. The King ſaw himſelf forſaken of *his beſt Cities*, and was reduc'd to that point, that he knew not which of 'em would open their *gate to him*. He preferr'd *Tours* before all the reſt, not becauſe he was more aſſur'd of the Inhabitants, but becauſe his Preſence was there neceſſary to prevent a *Commotion* juſt ready to break *forth to his prejudice*. The *Pope* excommunicated the K. for *the murder of the Cardinal*; they refus'd to pray for him in all *the Cities of the League*; at *Tholouſe* they committed terrible inſolencies, even ſo far as to hang up his Image upon a Gallows, and to maſſacre thoſe that durſt take *his part*. *Paris* offer'd to make *the D. of Mayenne* King. The *Sorbon* declar'd *the French* were diſcharg'd from *their Oath of Fidelity*; and almoſt *all the Clergy* took part with *the Leaguers*, whether it were in conformity to the Example of the Pope, or becauſe they were otherwiſe diſſatisfied with the Government, the King drawing great Sums of mony from them, which *the Eccleſiaſticks* never paid with a good will; beſides, he had ſharply taxed the Vices of that powerful body, in an Anſwer to a *harangue of their Deputies*, which *the Clergy* could not ſuffer neither, without great impatience. Nor were *the Nobles* *The Duke of* Mayenne *being eſcaped, relieves the Leaguers party.* 1589. *Extremity of the King's affairs.*

more affectionate to him; the D. of *Guiſe* had gain'd one part by his Merit and Liberality; the other were obliged to *the League* by *Religion*, and they that were not leaven'd with *this Lump*, durſt not declare for the King, becauſe they believ'd his affairs deſperate. He had few Men, and leſs Mony, and he did not know whether he was ſure of thoſe that were about his Perſon.

Well then, when he had no help left, when he had nothing to *hope from the Catholicks*, there remaining ſo few of them who adher'd to his Intereſts, the Proteſtants alone, whom he had *hated with ſo much paſſion*, perſecuted by ſo many Wars, by Maſſacres, by fraudulent Treaties, and whoſe ruin he had but lately ſworn, were *the only people that inclin'd to his Succour*. He had made no Peace with them, but only ſingle Truces, for the ſecurity of which he had given *Saumur* to the King of *Navar*, becauſe he had not Credit enough to deliver him *Ponts de Cé*. By this Truce the third part of *the Realm*, where the Proteſtants were at leaſt ſtrong enough not to *fear the League*, return'd to the King's Party. Thus it was the ſuccour of the Proteſtants that ſav'd *this Prince* at *Tours*, where the D. of *Mayenne* thought to have ſurpris'd him, and which brought him conſiderable ſucceſs at *Senlis*, and elſewhere. But the moſt important of all was the return of one part of his *Nobility*, who came over to him ſo ſoon as they ſaw that this Truce did advantagiouſly relieve his affairs. So that in a little time he became formidable to his Enemies, and marched towards *Paris* with an Army of above 38000 men, to *chaſtiſe the Inhabitants for their madneſs*. That Noble Army was for the moſt part Proteſtant. There were the *Veterane* Victorious Troops of the K. of *Navar*, 10000 *Suiſſes*, which *Sancy* had levied in *the reformed Cantons*. Some thouſands of *Reiters*, and a Reinforcement of *Engliſh*, which the King had receiv'd from Queen *Elizabeth*. Without which, the remainder would never have been able to have withſtood *the Leaguers*. But *the Chieftains* of that unfortunate Party not being able to make Head againſt the Kings Forces, thought it was *high time* to make ſure of their game, by cauſing that poor Prince to be aſſaſſinated at St. *Clou*, by *James Clement* a *Jacobite Monk*, who by that execrable blow, deliver'd the *Leaguers* from that Horrible Tempeſt which was pouring down upon them.

The King makes a Truce with the Reformed.

His affairs grow better.

He lays ſiege to Paris.

Is aſſaſſin'd by a Monk.

The End of the Firſt Book.

The

The Hiſtory of the Edict of *Nants.*

The Second Book.

The Summary of the Second Book.

The change of Affairs. What the Proteſtants had hoped for from the deceas'd King. The trouble of the new King. The Intreagues of the Army and the Court. The Characters and Intereſts of the Princes of the Blood. Of the Officers of the deceaſed King, and of both the Catholick and Reformed Nobility, and their ſuſpicions about the King's Religion. The hopes of the Miniſters. The King's wavering, and his reſolution upon the conditions propoſed by the Catholicks. The Reformed flatter themſelves about the King's Inſtruction. Divers affections of the Catholick Lords. The diſſipation of the Army. The Fight at Arques. *The effects of the King's Promiſes in divers Provinces. What the Proteſtants underſtood by a Protectour. The reciprocal Protection between the King of* Navar *and the Reformed. Jealouſies, and the foundations of them. The King is angry at the Propoſition of taking another Protector, and the Reformed find it unjuſt and unſeaſonable. A Letter from the Kings own hand upon this Subject. The Forces of the King, and of the League. Diviſions between the one and the other Party. The Diſpoſitions of the Catholicks and the Reform'd in regard to the Peace of Religion. Writings upon the taking Arms for Religion. The Battle of* Yvry. *The Siege of* Paris. *The project of Peace for the Proteſtants. The equity of their Demands, and the Paſſion of the Catholicks. The project is approved, and afterwards rejected. Remonſtrances upon this Subject, and their effect. The Bull of* Gregory XIV. *The Edict of* Mants. *Quarrels about the Verification of it, of which the Reformed complain. The third party and their Deſigns. The propoſitions of the Clergy that followed the King. Forein Army. Viſcount* Turenne *Marrys the Heireſs of* Sedan, *and is made Marſhal of* France. *The Pragmatick eluded by the Clergy. The Arts of the Catholicks to gain the King. Conferences between* du Pleſſis *and* Villeroy *without Fruit. Divers aims in promoting the*

King's

King's Inſtruction. The Proteſtants continue excluded from Imployments. Rigours about their Burials. The continuation of the Artifices to work upon the King's Conſcience. Politick Intereſts which tended to the ſame end. The mutual Policy of the Catholicks and Proteſtants. The King's Diſſimulation. Preparatives to his change. The vain Ceremony of his Inſtruction. The King's pretended Converſion. A Formulary which the King refuſeth. A Trick to content the Pope.

Change of Affairs.

THis unexpected Murder brought a great change upon affairs, and was the beginning of a long Series of troubles. No body had time ſince the truce to take meaſures either for his ſecurity, or advancement: The Proteſtants thought they had loſt more than others. They did not doubt but the laſt ſervice they had done the deceaſed King, had touch'd his heart, and that he had laid aſide thoſe miſerable prejudices, which cauſed him to have ſo great an averſion for 'em. He had promiſed to *change* the *Truce* into a *ſound Peace*, ſo that they imagin'd they might hope from him the re-eſtabliſhment of his Edict of 1577. and the revocation of all thoſe that had been extorted from him by the *Leaguers*. They had the ſame reaſon to believe, that, that Prince being ſenſible of the ſervices which he had receiv'd from the K. of *Navar*, would by little and little plain his way to the *Crown*. But there muſt be time for that, and chiefly to ſubdue the *Leaguers*, without the deſtruction of whom, neither Religion nor the State could be aſſur'd of any firm repoſe. But the Death of *Henry* III. happen'd in a time when there was nothing ripe; and where the ſucceſſion is conteſted, it is impoſſible but the State muſt fall into great confuſions.

What the Reformed hoped from the dead K.

The trouble of the New King.

It is true the King when he died gave great marks of tenderneſs for the King of *Navar*, whom he acknowledg'd for his lawful Heir, and recommended him to the *Lords*, and to the *Officers of his Court and Army*. But for all this the new King met with a world of difficulties as ſoon as ever his Predeceſſour expired. The Intereſts were ſo various between *the Heads of the League* and the Lords, that it ſeem'd to be impoſſible to reconcile 'em. Every one was willing to take *the advtange* of this conjuncture, and to raiſe his own Fortunes by the publick miſery. They put themſelves then upon Negotiating, and upon

upon making Parties and Cabals, without regarding the body of the dead King, and much leſs to revenge him, which ought not to have been long deferr'd, if their only deſign had been to find an opportunity. There was ſcarce one Catholick that declared himſelf for *Hen.* IV. without making his Market. The *Marſhal Biron* who had a great deal of credit in the Army, was ſo vain as to demand the Soveraignty of the *County* of *Perigord*, and the King who was willing to buy this Lord at any price whatſoever, conſented to diſmember one of the Provinces of the Realm, notwithſtanding the danger of the conſequence: but as good luck would have it, becauſe every body could not promiſe themſelves as much, there were men of Honour who loſt thoſe ambitious thoughts; but the Marſhal took ſo great an Authority over the Troops, and in the Council, that in a little time he made himſelf very uneaſy to his Maſter.

The Intrigues of the Army.

The Princes of the blood gave more trouble than help to the K. The old Cardinal of *Bourbon* was his Rival, and the Leaguers acknowledged him for K. under the name of *Charles* X. This old man who had neither force of Mind, nor vigour of Body ſufficient to bear the weight of a Crown, took pleaſure in the name of K. and might have made ſome buſtle perhaps, had he not been in a place where he was not much to be fear'd. The Cardinal of *Vendome*, who took upon him the name of the Cardinal of *Bourbon* after the Death of this old man, was unquiet and Ambitious, and became the Idol of a *third party*, which he formed in a little time after. The Count of *Soiſſons* his Brother could not agree with *Henry* IV. and could more eaſily raiſe new ſtirs than concur to the good of the State. The Prince of *Conti* was deaf and heavy by reaſon of a natural Indiſpoſition. *Mompenſier* was the richeſt, and fully determined to acknowledg *Henry* IV. but he held off upon his Religion, and was for abſolutely having him to be a Catholick. The Officers of the old Court ſtaid with the K. more by reaſon of their Intereſt than Inclination. They could hope for no favour from the League, becauſe they had been either Counſellors, Executors, or partakers of thoſe reſolutions which carried *Henry* III. againſt the principal heads of that Faction. And on the other hand were not without great perplexity, when they thought on the ill Offices they had done the new K. while he was but K.

And of the Court.

The Characters and Intereſts of the Princes of the blood.

The Officers of the laſt King.

of

of *Navar*. Nor were they leſs afraid of the Proteſtants, to whom they had occaſioned a great many ſufferings in the preceding reign, leaſt they might now take an occaſion to revenge themſelves. For theſe reaſons they thought themſelves upon the Point of loſing both their Offices and their Credit, to which it appeared as if the Proteſtants would quickly ſucceed, ſince by this Change the K. would avenge them of their antient Enemies, whom he could not aſſure himſelf of, and recompence his antient Servants, whoſe fidelity was known. The Catholick Nobles prepoſſeſs'd with the zeal of Religion, made it appear clearly enough that they inclined towards the League, and that a Proteſtant K. would not be agreeable to them. They conſulted whether they ſhould acknowledg him for K. or no, and after divers deliberations, they did not reſolve upon it, but upon very hard conditions. The D. of *Longueville* was order'd to tell him, *That the quality of* Thrice-Chriſtian *being Eſſential to a K. of* France, *they prayed him to receive the Crown upon that condition*, that is to ſay, *upon condition to make himſelf a Catholick, according to the Opinion of the Romiſh Church that believes there is no true Chriſtianity out of her Communion.* The Duke at firſt accepted the charge of making this Declaration to the K. but all of a ſuddain changed his mind when he was upon the point to execute it. The Marquis *D'O*, who had managed the Finances of the Treaſury under the laſt K. refus'd the Commiſſion of carrying this Meſſage. He was the only Man in the World that knew leaſt of Religion, being drown'd in Luxury and debauchery, a great blaſphemer, bold even to Inſolence, and an implacable enemy of the Proteſtants, whom he Perſecuted even to Death, *thwarting* upon all occaſions the King's deſigns, when he was willing to do any thing in order to their repoſe.

The Catholick Nobles.

The Reformed.

The K. ſaw no body but them in all the Army that did not raiſe him ſome trouble, and that did not form a Party to draw from him ſome advantagious Capitulation. But they acknowledged him without any conditions and ſerved him as long as he had need of them. I know that, to leſſen the Glory of their Obedience, and the uſefulneſs of their Services, it is objected, that they had no other thoughts but of getting a King of their own Religion, and that it was for this Intereſt that they hazarded all things. But ſuppoſing this to be their Imagination, however this advantage cannot be taken

taken from them, that their intereſt and the Kings was ſo mingled, that what they did to eſtabliſh their Religion, ſerved at the ſame time to aſſure the Crown to him: in which they were extremely different from the *Catholicks*, who ſeparated the intereſt of their Religion from that of the K. and appeared almoſt all ready to leave him alone to his Affairs, if their Religion did not find an advantage in their Obedience. Time quickly ſhewed that the K's. change, who forſook the Proteſtant Religion, did not abate their *zeal, and that they did not fail to ſerve him, when he had bereav'd them of all hopes of ſeeing a Proteſtant Prince come to the Crown.* The Catholick Hiſtorians themſelves confeſs, *That from the beginning there was great jealouſy about his ſtedfaſtneſs.* In ſhort, the Death of *Henry* III. happening too ſoon, they eaſily foreſaw that the State would fall into great diſorders, and that the new K. might eaſily *quit their Religion*, when he ſhould need only that ſtep to rid himſelf of ſo many Encumbrances. The *Offer* which he always made, in a manner *Offenſive to the Miniſters and Zealous perſons*, of receiving better inſtruction when ever he could be *convinced his Religion was not good, gave reaſon enough for their Jealouſy.* Thoſe who had been brought up with him in his youth knew very well that *Patience was none of his Favourite Vertues, and that he was not of proof againſt long enterpriſes, and by conſequence would be quickly weary of the difficulties of Conquering ſo many places as held out for the League, and that if he could ſhorten them by changing his Religion, that would be no balk in his way.* 'Tis true indeed that he had ſome *appearances of Piety*, which might give a good *opinion of his Conſtancy*; he knew many paſſages of the *Pſalms*, and other *Books of Scripture*, which he would apply very well, chiefly when he would *comfort himſelf after any croſs chance*, or recur to *God Almighty* in the uncertainties of *future events*; and he behaved himſelf very well in his *ordinary Devotions*, in his *Prayers* before a *Fight*, or in his *Thankſgivings* after a *Victory*. But there is nothing which a Man treats in ſo contradictory a manner as *Religion*; for he makes it the *greateſt of his Intereſts*, and yet ſacrifices it to *the leaſt Affairs*: it is the moſt *invincible* of his *opinions*; and at the ſame time *he playeth with it* as the moſt variable of *his Thoughts*. No *Paſſion* is *Miſtriſs of his Heart* with *greater violence*, and yet nevertheleſs, nothing that he more eaſily *puts in competi-*

And their ſuſpitions about the King's Religion.

tion here; nothing that he maketh a greater *ſhew* of on *ſome occaſions*, and nothing with which *he troubleth himſelf leſs on others*. There was then a great deal of *reaſon* to be *jealous of the King's Conſtancy*, when his *mind* upon this *Subject* was like another mans, and their *Suſpitions* of him *encreaſed*, as ſoon as they ſaw him *King by the Death of* Henry III. and were *changed* almoſt into *certainty after ſome ſteps* that he made to gain the *confidence of the Catholicks*.

But theſe *Jealouſies* which were but too well *verified* by the *Conſequence of Affairs*, did not oblige the *Proteſtants* to take *Security* of him, nor make him *buy* their *ſervices* by *advantagious conditions*. It happened, as it is ſaid, that ſome *Miniſters* in their *Entertainments* and *Sermons Predicted the ruin of Anti-Chriſt*, in *terms* a little *too harſh*, and promiſed *their Party a ſpeedy triumph over the Church*; a *hope* upon which men often *frame* very agreeable *illuſions*, becauſe every one makes an *Application* of the *promiſes* upon which he believes them *founded*, to *the age he lives in*. Some *Hiſtorians* have alledged *theſe over bold Diſcourſes*, for an excuſe of the *irreſolution of the Catholicks*. But there was more particular *Intereſt in the matter, than true Zeal for the good of* Religion, as appears by the *Articles which they oblig'd the K to promiſe* before they *would acknowledg him* He deliberated a great while with his *antient Friends*, to know *what to determine*; during which the *Catholicks* laboured to take *their precautions*. But after a long *wavering the reſolution he took was not abſolutely to refuſe changing his Religion, but only in the preſent conjuncture come what would*; that is to ſay, *he would have Religion for an up-ſtroak and ſee in the mean time what he could do by his prudence, and by the fidelity of his ſervants*. At laſt they preſent Conditions to him, upon which the *Catholicks* of the *Army* would *acknowledg him*. The firſt, *That he ſhould cauſe himſelf to be inſtructed in ſix Months. as much as to ſay, according to the ſtile of the* Roman *Church, that he ſhould make himſelf a Catholick in that time*. Thoſe are 2 things which they neither diſtinguiſh in Speech nor Practice; *to be inſtructed according to them* being to promiſe to reliſh their Doctrine, and to engage to make Profeſſion of it. Whereas *reaſon requires that* Inſtruction *ſhould be* only an Eſſay, after which one ſhould have entire Liberty, to advance no further towards the *Roman Religion*, if after ſuch Inſtruction the *Conſcience* be not

The hopes of the Miniſters.

The uncertainty of the King.

not fully satisfied. The second condition was, *That the exercise of the Reformed Religion should be suspended during that time.* The third, *That the King should grant no Office to any Protestant for those 6 Months*; this the Catholicks desired, to secure those that were in *possession* of them, from being turn'd out. The last was, *That they should have permission to send to the Pope, to give him an account of their Reasons for submitting to the Kings obedience.*

Altho it was very hard for the K. to buy a Crown so dear that was legally fain to him, yet he consented to all but the 2*d. Article.* And in effect, besides the shame of depriving himself of the *exercise of his Religion*, it would have been a piece of injustice, to take away from his Subjects the priviledg they enjoy'd before his coming to the *Crown*; and 'twas to be fear'd he would find them resolute and strong enough to maintain *them*, in spite of *all Prohibitions.* The *Catholicks* did not take well this denial, but however to induce them to *approve* it, he promis'd to re-establish *the Catholick Religion* in those places where the exercise of it was not before free. The Article which concern'd *the* K's *Instruction* was not much contested by the Protestants themselves, of whom he took Counsel; and himself assures in a Letter which he wrote upon this Subject, that the principal of those that were his followers did not disapprove his proceedings. The Reason of it was because the Protestants were perswaded, that if they proceeded to this instruction, in a method agreeable to his Dignity, and the importance of the thing, they should rather gain than lose by it. For they thought of nothing for that effect but General or National Councils, or at least eminent Assemblies of the most Ecclesiasticks, Reformations of Abuses, sincere and serious conferences, and they hoped to make *the Truth of their Doctrine* shine forth there so clearly, that instead of losing *the King* they should gain many *Lords*, who *hated* not *their Religion*, but only out of ignorance of its Principles. *Du Plessis Mornay* was pre possess'd with this Hope, as well as others, and it was for this Reason that two years after he agreed so easily with *Villeroy* upon *this Article.*

His resolution upon the conditions proposed by the Catholicks.

The Protestants flatter themselves about the King's Instruction.

The *Catholicks* would have had a Declaration signed by the King for the assurance of the things which he had granted them, and notwithstanding all *the Complaisance he had for them*, they were not entirely contented. Some signed *the Accord with regret.*

The various affections of the Catholick Lords.

and others *refused to sign it.* *Vitri* carried the matter *further*, and *threw himself into the League.* The Duke of *Nevers* stood in a kind of *Neutrality*, under pretence, *That his Conscience would not let him joyn himself to the Enemies of the State, such as he esteemed the* Leaguers, *nor serve the King, because he was not a Catholick.* He persisted in those Sentiments a long time, and it was nothing but the King's Victories which determined him to his service. In the Provinces, the Governours of Places who held for *the King*, did in a manner the same thing. Some were bought, others promising to obey, declared without ceremony, *That they should do it with regret whilst the King continued an Heretick.* But nothing did him so *much mischief* as the Retreat of the Duke of *Espernon*, who quitted *the Army* without discovering what Party he would take, nor the true reason of his Conduct. He would fain have the World believe he did it out of a pure Motive of Zeal for Religion, but 'twas suspected he had other considerations besides, *&c.* He fear'd perhaps, that he was not in security at the New Court, which did not love him, because he abused the Favour which he had under the late King, or whether he could not resolve to submit to the mean figure in which he must have lived had he staid, since there arose already some contests about his Rank: either perhaps he had no inclination for the New King, nor confidence in his Friendship, or whether in retiring to his Government he thought himself strong enough to Cantonnize that part, and there expect what would befal the Realm; and in case of dismembring it, he would keep what he had. Yet however in a little time after his Retreat, he promised the K. to serve him in those Provinces where he governed. But his Example proved of considerable consequence, because the Lords and Captains retired likewise, and the Troops disbanded themselves, and the fine Army, which would easily have brought *Paris*, and *the League* to *reasonable terms*, dispersed in a few days. Some *even of the Protestants withdrew themselves*, and because *their enemies* made it a great Crime afterwards, it is necessary to observe, that the Dissipation began first by *the Catholicks*, and for a few others quitting it, that Retreat ought not to be imputed to the whole Party. It is certain, that the K's true Servants were as useful to him in the Provinces as *in the presence* of his person. In effect, there were many Cities which waver'd at the News of *Hen.* III. his *Death*; and the Re-

The dispersion of the Army.

Reſolution taken at *Paris* not to receive an Heretick King upon *the Throne* of St. *Lewis*, appear'd ſo pleaſing to *the Catholicks*, that it drew a great number into *the League*, and 'twas thought it would bring over many Cities which held out for *the King*. And therefore *the Proteſtants* had need of ſome part of *their Forces* to bridle thoſe that had a mind to ſtir, and to keep their own places from being ſurpriſed, in whoſe preſervation the King had as much Intereſt as *themſelves*. So that they were oblig'd to diſperſe part of *their Troops* into divers places, to keep as much of the Country as they could in obedience. From whence it follows, that if we judge equitably we muſt not make *the Proteſtants* guilty of a Crime *where they can excuſe themſelves*, either by *the Neceſſity of the Time*, or by *the Example of the Catholick Nobles*, or becauſe, if they did go off from *the King's Army*, it was but to ſerve *him elſewhere*.

In the mean time *the diſſipation of the King's Army* made the League take Courage, and they had freſh Springs for ſuccour; and *the King*, who was in no eſtate to enterpriſe any thing, being retired towards *Diepe*, to receive the Forces which he expected from *England:* the D. of *Mayenne* purſued *him*, and reduced *him* to ſo great an extremity, that *he* was upon the point of paſſing *the Sea*, as deſpairing of *his affairs*. But *the Mareſhal Biron* hindred him from leaving his Party, and *the ſucceſs of the Fight* at *Arques*, joyned to *the arrival of the Engliſh*, having made *the Leaguers* retire, the King put *his affairs* into a good poſture, and gain'd ſeveral advantages. *The fight of Arques.* During the time that this paſſed, *the promiſe which he had made to the Catholicks of his party*, being ſent into *the Provinces*, gave great Alarms to *the Proteſtants*. Theſe words were read *with ſuſpicion*, which had ſlipt into *the Copies*, *The late King, whom God abſolve:* and as *they knew* theſe were taken from *the ordinary Language* of *the Roman Church*, when it ſpeaks of *dead perſons*, they fear'd they were let fall from the K. as an effect of a Reſolution already taken to *embrace the Doctrin of that Church*, or at leaſt as a mark of little zeal and affection to *the Proteſtant Religion*. This was chiefly noiſed about in the Provinces of *Poitou* and *Saintonge*, where the diſcontents began ſooneſt. They aſſembled together in order to a *conference* at St. *John d'Angeli*, where under pretence, 'twas uncertain whether *the K.* would perſevere in his Religion, they propos'd to chuſe a new Protector. It ſeem'd but a Series of certain Intrigues which had

had caus'd the trouble in the last assembly at *Rochel*, where some unquiet Spirits complaining of *the Authority* which the K. of *Navar* took in affairs, would have taken away the *power which the Protection gave him*, or limited it by *rigorous conditions*, because they did not intend to *chuse a Master* in taking a *Protector*. For this reason, perhaps, they would have chose rather to give *this Quality* to a man whom *they had a mind to honour*, than to a Prince, who seeing no body but *the King above him*, would think all *other Qualities* inferiour to *his Dignity*. Since *the Death* of *Henry* III. they had more reason than ever to renew the same Reflections, because the K. of *Navar* having succeeded him, he was thenceforward too great not to adjudge *the Quality of Protector*, as derogating from that of a *K* The Reason why they mov'd in that business, at the *conference*, was, because they talkt of suppressing *the Chambers of Justice*, to please the Parliaments; which the K. while he was only K. of *Navar*, had established in divers places, composed of Protestant Officers, before whom the Protestants brought all their Affairs; and that they had setled Royal Judges in divers places, which deprived the Protestant Officers of their ordinary subsistance. That they *had restor'd the Mass* in divers places against the expres Terms of *the Truce*, under the pretence of executing it, and that *their protector had done nothing for them* since his coming to *the Crown*. That when *the Truce* was now ready to expire, they saw nothing which tended to *the peace which the late King had promised*. They complained also, *That their Ministers, with whose maintenance the King had charged his Finances, were worse paid under the New Reign than they had been under the Old*. *Du Plessis* in Negotiating the Truce, made this a Capital Article, and carried it, after some Contradictions. The Order which was observed for the Execution of this Treaty, was, That there were sent to the Secretary of State of each Division, Rolls which certified the Names and Number of their Pastors, which *Du Plessis* was to sign. And upon these Rolls so attested, Ordonnances were delivered to *the Exchequer*, out of which it was paid to *the Neighbouring Receivers of the places of their Residence*. *Henry* IV. was willing to have continued this Order for the Provinces where the Protestants were strong, and this lasted till *he changed his Religion* after which he never setled it, notwithstanding the promise, he

Effects of the King's promises in some Provinces.

he had made. Moreover during the first tronbles of the new *Government*, this order was ill observ'd insomuch that the persons interessed were not able to support themselves; and their *condition* was more uncertain under a King of their own *Religion*, than they had ever been under any that was their *Enemy*. This made them fear the event, both for themselves and the common cause, which the King seemed to defend with no great heat, and therefore they thought they must rely upon a Protector, who might apply himself to their Affairs with less indifference.

What the Reformed understood by Protector.

But before we go any further we must explain what the *Protestants* meant by a *Protector*, for fear it should be imagined that it was a *Project* of *Rebellion* which was formed by them, under the pretence of *this Election*. The *Protestants* then having been constrain'd, after *the cruelties* and *wrongs* of more *than* 30 *years*, to unite *themselves* together for their common Defence, they put themselves at first under *the protection* of the *Prince* of *Conde*, who had the same *Interest with them*, and to *whom the Guises* owed as little *good Will*, *as to the Protestant Religion*. The natural *design of this Protection*, was to procure *security and repose to the people who had embraced the Reformation*, to carry to *the King the complaints* and *requests of the persecuted party*, by an *authorised Intercessor*; to *repress*, by the *respect* of their *Protector*, the *enterprises* of the *Cabals* of *Zealots*, or the *Intrigues* which the *Ambitious* might form for the ruin of the *Protestants*, to have a Trustee and Guardian of the *Faith* of *Treaties* and *Edicts*, which might be obtained for *Liberty of Conscience*; so that this *Protection* gave to the person to whom it was given, nothing but the care of obtaining *tolerable conditions* for the *Protestants*, and to *procure* them to be *observ'd when obtain'd* by his *Solicitations* and his Credit; and by consequence, he could never give any *jealousy* to *any Princes* but such as had no design to keep their *Faith*, since to render the *Protector* of no use, there was no more to do but to permit the People to live *quietly* in *peace of Conscience*; the *Protection* doth then fall of it self, when there is no *infractions* to *redress*, nor any *Injustice* to *fear*: Since all the proceedings of *the Protector* aim'd at nothing else but to obtain and procure from the King a solid Peace and Tranquility unto a considerable part of his Subjects, whom the other Disaffected Party designed to oppress.

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The *Royal Authority* was always reſpected, and indeed under that *Protection*. Since if any thing was *reſtrain'd* or *limited* by this *Protection*, it was not the *Royal Authority* which the *Proteſtants* deſired rather to encreaſe than diminiſh: but the *Inhuman Zeal* of the *Catholicks*, which after all the *Proteſtant Blood* they had ſpilt by infinite number of *Torments*, talk'd of nothing but the utter *deſtruction* and *extermination* of the reſt. And if that *formed a party* in the Realm, Equity and humanity will blame them leſs for it, that had but that one way left them to defend themſelves, than thoſe that by a *thouſand Violences*, *Wrongs* and *Frauds*, forc'd them to have recourſe to that Remedy. It is true, this Protection has ſometimes produced *War*, but it was by accident, becauſe the *infidelity of the Court*, the *ambitious cruelty of the Guiſes*, the *violations of Treatys, and Edicts*, conſtrain'd the *Proteſtants*, with whom no meaſures were obſerv'd, to *defend* themſelves by *Arms* againſt ſuch unjuſt and odious ways of *oppreſſion*.

Protection reciprocal between the K. of Navar and the Reformed,

Furthermore the Proteſtants had had no Protectors, but what were Princes of the Blood; nay, and their Protectors have not been always Proteſtants neither, for the Duke of *Alenzon*, who had that Quality, never renounced the *Roman Religion*. *Henry* IV. while he was yet King of *Navar*, was Protector in his turn, and one might well ſay, that between him and the Proteſtants, the Protection was in a ſort reciprocal, and if he ſerved them for a good *General*, others alſo furniſht him with ſtrong Holds, and brave Troops. He then had done them the good Offices of a *Protector* for many years, managed Wars, obtained Edicts, and Treaties, purſued the reparation of the injuſtices that were every where done to the *Proteſtants*; for which Reaſons they often uſed to tell him ſince his coming to the Crown, that he knew their neceſſities better than any body, for that he had often preſented their Papers, and their Requeſts, and purſued the reparation of the infractions and Violencies of which they had reaſon to complain; But when he was mounted on the *Throne*, the complaiſances he immediately ſhew'd for the Catholicks, and the little care he ſeemed to take for the Security of the Proteſtants, inclin'd ſome of them to believe that his Protection was ended, and that ſince he could be no longer the Solicitor of their Affairs, it was needful to look out another, who might do that office to him on their be-

behalf They began to foresee he would by little and little alienate himself from *their Religion*, and justly fear'd at the same time, that if the *Catholicks* could once influence him to change, they would inspire him with *the spirit of persecution*, which is essential to *the Romish Church*, and prevail with him to strike up a Peace to their cost, with *the Pope* and *the Leaguers*; and that insensibly from a *protecting Prince*, they would make him become *their capital Enemy* and *destroyer*. *The Protestants jealousies, and their grounds.*

And *the Conduct* of *the Catholick Royalists* still more confirmed those Jealousies; For at the very time they were daily receiving signal services from *the Protestants*, and but 6 or 7 months after they had rescued them from *the revengeful power of the Leaguers*; by receiving into their *Arms* the late *Henry* III. and *his Court*, when oppressed by the Forces of *that prevailing party*; The *Catholicks* had the confidence to demand of *Henry* IV. the Interdiction of *the Protestant Religion*, the *exclusion of Protestants* from all Offices, and in some sort *the exclusion of the K. himself from the Crown*, unless he embrac'd *the Romish Religion* within 6 months. Nay, 'twas not without some visible reluctance, they suffer'd *the Protestants* to have access to the *Kings* person, they wrongfully engrossed all business from them into their own hands, so that they could not enjoy their former *freedom* and *privacy* of converse with him. And in all sorts of *Affairs* whatsoever, there appear'd *manifest proofs* of the *Catholick's ill will* towards them. For they endeavour'd to *ruin the Garrisons of the Protestant Towns by cutting short their pay*, and putting them to more trouble than 'twas worth to get the rest. They could not endure any *business* should succeed well that *was managed by Protestants*; and therefore when *Du Plessis* being employed to *treat* with *Chavigny*, to get out of his hands the *old Cardinal* of *Bourbon*, whom they had a mind to have *under a better guard*, had promised him certain sums *of mony*, for which he himself stood security, and had besides made other *advances* out of his *own purse*, for the better effecting that important business, they paid him *both of them in bad Assignments*. This made *the Protestants* think they had reason to fear all things from such *people* that shew'd so much *ingratitude to their deliverers* in the midst, as 'twere, of the *action* it self, and whilst their *deliverance* was yet fresh. What then might not they do one day, when they should once have made themselves as much *Masters* of

the *K's Conscience*, as they were already of his *person*? It was impossible but such *considerations* must needs give a *seasonable alarm* to a *distressed people*, that after above 50 years *sufferings under their cruelty and perfidiousness*, could not be ignorant, that the *Roman Church* changes neither her *Humours* nor her *Maxims*; and that by consequence, her *hard headed Zealots* would always be *prosecuting their ruin* by the same *pious measures*.

The King offended at the proposition of taking another Protectour.

But on the other side, the *K.* would not suffer the *Quality of Protectour* to be given to another, as not thinking it extinguisht by his *accession to the Crown*, but rather *confounded* in him with the *quality of K.* who ought to be the *natural Protectour of all his Subjects*. For he well foretaw (that once admitted) that if the *Protestants* obtain'd any tolerable *conditions*, 'twould not be to him they *would owe the obligation*, since they would be granted them by the *credit*, and at *the solicitation* of another. And indeed, 'tis the *nature of men* in the matter of *favours done by a Prince to his Subjects*, to attribute less to the *good will* of the *Prince that grants them*; than to the *Authority* of the *Mediator that obtains them*, and to have more *respect*, as we may say, to the *channels* by which they are *derivd* to them, than to the *Fountain-head from whence they spring*. And therefore the K. was not *willing* another should together with the *quality of Protectour*, rob him of the *Love and Confidence of his Subjects*, or to seem to grant at the *solicitation* of another, what he *knew to be justly due to the Protestants*, either by a *natural right*, or as a *recompense for their faithful services*. Nay, and the *wisest heads* among the *Protestants* were likewise of opinion, *That proposition was made without reason, and at a very improper time*. Because the choosing of a *Protectour*, would necessitate the K. to *engage the further in the interests of the Catholicks*, when he should see himself suspected by his *antient servants*, of whom by *consequence*, he would have good *reason to be reciprocally Jealous*. Besides, the *injuries* they complain'd of seem'd to them not so great, but that they well deserv'd to be excused by the necessity of the time, and of which they might not very well hope for a *speedy redress* whenever his *Majesty* pleased. It was likewise *suspected*, that *proposition* was suggested by the *Artifice of the Catholicks*, who had represented objects much bigger than the *life*, purposely to create *jealousies* between the K. and the *Protestants*, and to *divide them*, that so they might the more *assuredly* pos-

And the Wiser Protestants find it both unjust and unseasonable.

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ſeſs the K. alone, and without any *rivals*; and influence him upon the firſt fair opportunity, to deſtroy the *Proteſtants*.

That project therefore was backt but by few Perſons, and was not very hard to break, eſpecially upon the ſight of a *Letter* written by the K's own hand, to *Du Pleſſis*, as well to give the more *force to the thing it ſelf*, as becauſe a *Catholick Secretary of State* was not ſo fit to *expreſs th K's ſenſe* upon that *ſubject*, as a *Proteſtant*. He there complain'd of the *propoſition* made at the *Conference*, which I have already mention'd, and of the motives upon which it was grounded; and accuſed ſome male-contents, whom he would not ſeem *to know*, of endeavouring to advance their own *private intereſt* under that pretence; he reminded them of ſome ſlie *practices at the laſt Aſſembly* at *Rochell*, which had been, as 'twere, the *ſeeds* of this *new attempt* He likewiſe *recited at large*, what had paſt between him and the *Officers of the Old Court*, in order to *remove the ſcruples of Religion*, that hindred them from declaring for his *ſervice*, in which he *proteſted* he had done nothing, of which the *principal Proteſtants* that were preſent, as *Chartillon*, *la Noue*. *Beauvais*, *la Nocle*, *Guitri* &c. had not been both *Witneſſes and Counſellors*: He aſſur'd them, that he had with his own hand, *blotted out of the Original of the Act*, he had ſign'd to the *Catholicks*, the words, *whom God Abſolves*, which were inſerted again into the *Copies*, either by the *Zeal of the Copiers*, or of the *Printer*. He attributed the *complaints* of the *Proteſtants* to the *ſuggeſtions* of ſome *Mutineers*, and complained likewiſe on his ſide, that they who boaſted ſo much, *that had expoſed their lives, their labours, and their whole fortunes for him, were now the very men that endeavour'd to diveſt him of that quality they themſelves had confer'd upon him*. After which he made great *proteſtations of his conſtancy* in the *Reform'd Religion*, excuſing what he had done, that might give them any ſuſpicion to the contrary, by the *Broils that hapn'd upon his acceſſion to the Crown*; which he confeſſed had obliged him to do many things to gain upon the *Spirits of the Catholicks*, who were *jealous of him*, as being perſuaded *he wheedled with them* only at preſent, till being ſetled in *the Throne*, he might afterwards at pleaſure deſtroy *their Religion*. He further remarked, that he had the *Swiſſers* to retain, who had *engaged themſelves only to the deceaſed K.* that he had the *Peoples affections to gain*, which had been debauched from *their Loyalty* by *their preachers*, and that he was moſt of all *perplex'd* to find out *expedients* to keep *the Nobi-*

A Letter written by the King's own hand upon that Subject.

lity and Gentry from *Deserting him*, who inclin'd to *the Leaguers*. He likewise modestly complain'd, *that he had been deserted by some of the Protestants*. He excused all things that *gave them any jealousie* by the necessity he lay under in *that difficult juncture*. He gave them an account of his constant *attendance on the exercise of his Religion*, which he had ordered to be continued in *his Army with that diligence, that his Chaplain* D'Amours *had sometimes preached seventimes a week at* Diep. And lastly, He complain'd a little roughly of those who by their unconsiderate Impatience, went about *to rob him of his Protestant Subjects*, who ought to be his by a double acquisition, *whom he tendred with a paternal Love*, and whose preservation could not *possibly* be so dear to any *other person as to himself*.

That *Letter* so temper'd with *complaints, excuses, protestations*, and *expressions of a tender affection*, much helped the wiser sort to *repress the Impetuosity* of the rest; and the *Protestants* became thereby so *case-harden'd* to endure the tedious *delays of the Court*, that 7 or 8 long years of *excuses* and *demurs* could not afterward tire *their patience*. The rest of the years past in this perplexity betwen hopes and fears: But however, before we meddle with *the events of another*, it will be necessary to *represent* in a few words, the state of the two *parties* that thus rent the Kingdom. The *Leaguers* were extreamly strong, as having on their side the *greatest Cities*, and all *the Parliaments*, except that of *Rennes*, which remain'd under the K's obedience, and that of *Bourdeaux*, which *Mabignon* made a shift to keep in a kind of *Neutrality*, the better to preserve there his own *Authority*, and which he brought not fully over to the service of *Henry* IV. till a year after, nor then neither, without some cost to the *Protestants*, by the *suppression of the Court of Justice* they had within the limits of *that Parliaments Jurisdiction*, in which it made a great breach. Besides those, the whole *Ecclesiastical Order* was still of *the Leaguers party*, which was further *supported by the Authority of the Pope*, the whole Force of *Spain*, and of all *the Catholick Powers*, except that of *Venice*, which was the first *that acknowledged the K's Title*; and *the great D. of Tuscany*, who was so well inclin'd, as to offer *him Mony* upon condition to procure *his Niece* to be *Married* to some *Prince of the Blood*, and effectually obtain'd more *than he demanded*, since *the K.* was pleas'd to *Marry her himself*. The K's party was compos'd of *the major part of the Nobility* and *Gentry*, of almost all *the Lords of the old Court*, and of all *the Protestants*, who were

The state of the Forces both of the Leaguers, and of the King's party.

were ready to *hazard their All for his service*; it was likewise considerably Fortified by *the Allyance with England, and other foraign Protestants*, which *Du Plessis*, who studied all means imaginable to *fix him fast to the Protestant Religion*, had propos'd to him, and prevail'd *with him to solicit*, in spite of *the opposition of the Catholicks*, who fear'd it *might divert him from that Instruction he had promised to receive.*

But tho' the *League* was very powerful in Respect of the parties that composed it, yet it was otherwise weakned by the Division that Reigned among its *Chiefstains*, who had every one their particular aims and Interests. Neither was the *Kings* party without the same Defect: For the *Catholicks* and *Protestants* could not agree, the former not being able to master the prejudicate conceit they had of their own *Religion*, which cannot brook the toleration of any other, and the latter still Retaining strong Jealousies of the *Catholick sincerity*, as being by so long and cruel Experiences convinced, they were but too well grounded. The one had for the *protestants* a hatred which nothing could appease, and the other a *patience* so much spent, that it was ready each moment to turn into Desperate fury. There were among the *Catholick Royalists* very few, or perhaps none at all that were Reasonable enough to suffer the *protestants* to live in any equality with the others, as Children of the same family, and as having the same Right as others, to the *Liberties* and *priviledges* of their *common Country*; no, They studied nothing else but how to put them by all offices, and posts of publick business, for fear if they were once received into such places their *Religion* would make such a considerable progress, that the Catholicks would by little and little be debarr'd of all employments. The *protestants* likewise on their side, had the same thoughts, and hoped, that if things were once setled upon an equal foot between the two *Religions*, in respect of the establisht priviledges and tranquillity of a *Civil* life, they should soon see their party strengthened by a numerous accession of *Catholicks* whose conversion was obstructed only by this consideration that the condition of the *protestants* was yet uncertain, and that it would not quit their cost to embrace their *Religion*.

The division reigning in each party.

There *were some* then among the *Catholicks*, who for all their high pretences to *Equity* and *Moderation*, would have thought they had done a wonderful favour to the *protestants*, in exempting them only from *Capital punishment* and *suffering* them to live privately among them

The Catholick Royalists not willing the Protestants should have the free exercise of their Religion.

them after their own way, without indulging them any publick exercise of their *Religion*, or admitting them to any share in honourable or gainful offices: Some others again more superstitious, or more hotly prejudiced, would willingly have sacrificed them to the *League*, had there wanted nothing but that advance, to have broken it, and were afraid of nothing more than of Granting them any favour. And *Montholon* himself, who was called the *Aristides* of his time, and to whom *Henry* the 14th had Given the seals, yet was so far from a Reasonable temper in matter of *Religion*, that he fairly return'd them again to the new *King*, for fear he should be obliged to seal any thing under that *Reign*, in favour of the *Protestants*. By which example, we may Judge how strongly besotted those devout men were with their mistaken *Zeal*. But there were another sort, who tho' they harboured no better intentions towards the *Protestants* than the others, yet were willing to comply a little with the exigences of the times, that they might thereby gain advantage to make use of the same artifices that *Henry* the 3d had before practis'd for 5 years together; and with this design, they Readily inclin'd to grant the *Protestants* peace, the better to disarm them, to make them effeminate, and to seduce and divide them, and were against proceeding to the extremity of war, or to any violences, by which the *Romish Religion* was more likely to lose than get; But yet they would have had a peace of so little advantage to the *Protestants*, that there was small appearance they would be contented with such low proffers, or be persuaded to place any security in them. The *Catholicks* of this last *party* made the gaining of time, and putting off, as long as possible, the *peace* so much desired by the *Protestants*, to be the main spring and moving principle of their whole design, Because they saw that in the present *Juncture*, it was impossible to grant them any but what must needs be too advantagious to them. And there were three things they desired first to obtain, viz. First, the Reduction of the *King* to the *Romish Religion*, Secondly a peace with the *Leaguers*, and Thirdly a firm *Alliance* with *Spain*; for then they thought their Credit would be strong enough to oblige the *King* to close with their advices, and that, all the force of the Kingdom being by that means united, the fear of being totally oppress'd would force the *Protestants* to be content with such an *Edict* as they should please to give them. This *party* was the strongest in the *Council*, where it began

to

to insinuate it self, even in the last *Reign*, and all the wearisome delays used to spin out that business for 8 or 9 years together, proceeded from that politick principle. Thence came all those Reasons of *state* with which the *protestants* were amused every time they importun'd the *King* to do any thing for them, viz. The fear of hardning the *Leaguers* in their obstinacy, of offending the *Pope*, and of Scandalizing the *people*, with which specious pretences they likewise amused the *King* himself.

From thence came that *Maxim* which past almost for a *Law* at *Court*, viz. *That no Edict ought to be Granted in favour of the Protestants, till all the Catholicks were first Reduced and satisfied by Treaties*; It being but Reasonable, said they, the *Children* of the *Church* should be fully provided for, before the least favour were done for those which were *Excommunicated* and declared *Heretick* by the same *Church*. Lastly from thence proceeded all those Cavils which were started to elude all their demands, and to defraud them of the benefit of those Favourable *Declarations*, which the fear of making them Desperate, obliged the *Court* sometimes to grant them.

From thence also partly proceeded the infidelity of several *Catholick Royalists* that thwarted, as much as they could, the course of his *Majesties* prosperities, and made him lose the fruit of his most advantagious successes; for they were afraid, If the *Leaguers* were once subdued, or a peace made with their chief *Leaders*, before the *King* were turned *Catholick*, there would be no way left after that, to oblige him to change his *Religion*; and therefore they made it their whole business, to drill on the war, till they had brought the *King* to *Mass*. And letters were several times intercepted, especially during the siege of *Roan* and the negotiation of *Duplessis* with *Villeroy*, that unfolded that whole mystery, and sufficiently evidenced, that some of the greatest *Lords* of the *Kings party*. writ to the *principal* of the *Leaguers* to advise them not to make a *peace*, for fear they should thereby *loose* the opportunity of obliging the *King* to Quit the *Reformed Religion*. These artifices were not without some mixture of private Interest. For there were several *Catholicks*, who tho' they warmly prest the Kings conversion, yet in their hearts desired it not, because they lookt upon it as a thing that would hasten a *peace*, after which they should be *discarded*, as of no *further use*, and therefore would not *have been* sorry if *the K. had* made a little more *resistance* against *the importunities*

tunities of those that pressed him to change, so that both Religion *and the State serv'd those Zealous Catholicks but as* Play-tools to manage the game of their own *private fortunes with the better Advantage.*

The disposition of the Protestants in regard to same matter

Neither was *the Protestants* party without its faults: Some of them dissuaded *the K.* from changing, because they heartily lov'd *their Religion*, and these urged him *with motives of Conscience*, remonstrating to him, how exceedingly he was oblig'd to God's goodness for so many signal favours, and so many glorious *Victories*; And what a fearful vengeance he must expect would attend him, if he should Quit his Service under pretence of facilitating a *peace*, to *which* it would be much more *honourable* for him to force his enemies; And they which acted by this principle, were considerable in number, and as constant to the service of *the King*, as to the interest of *their Churches*; But they were not the most pleasing *Courtiers* and accordingly had but small share in the *gifts* and *Recompenses* of *the Court*, as appeared sufficiently by the little that was done for *Duplessis*, De *La Noue*, and some *others*. *Lesdiguieres* and *Roni* were none of the number of those Zealous opposers, and we shall have occasion else where to speak of the *Character* of their *piety*; *Roni* especially, was not at all nice upon the matter of *Religion*, and tho' he at first started some difficulties against *the Kings* change, yet he afterwards shewed more complyance with it than any man. For He thought, whilst the war continued, his fortune would be Retarded, and that he should have more to do after *the peace*, at what price soever *the King* obtain'd it. There were some others again, that Doubted not that *the Kings* change of *Religion*, would make them be lookt upon afterwards as the heads of *their party*, and that by consequence, they should meet with more Honour from *the Protestants*, and more *Respect* at *Court*, than before. But however all of them agreed at least in this one thing, In that they did no violence as did *the Catholicks* to *their Princes* inclinations, nor imposed any laws or conditions upon *him*, to put any force upon his thoughts. So that even after his *Change*, the most Zealous among them, never passed the bounds of a *whispering* murmur, and upbraided *him with nothing so much*, as that in an action of *such mighty* Importance, he had not observed *the* measures becoming his *Dignity*. They forbore not after that, to serve and follow him *without* any condition, and the most part of *them* at *their* own expences, *without* any supply or Recompence from

from him. Upon due consideration of which, he confesses himself by publick Acts, and the Catholick Historians publish from his words, That the Protestants had done him *most signal services*. And 'tis probable they would have yet made greater efforts for him, could he have forborn giving them just grounds of Jealousy. But at least they were so moderate as to make no separate Parties, nor to thwart his Prosperities by any under-hand practices with his Enemies, nor to offer to obstruct the conclusion of a Peace, for fear their Religion should be oppressed by it. That is in general, as much as is necessary to be known of the disposition which both the Spirits of Affairs of those times were in for the better understanding of the causes of the following events.

Writings about the point of taking up of Arms. for Religion 1589.

About the beginning of this Reign, several writings appear'd upon the Subject of the times. But the most remarkable were those that maintain'd *the Arms* of *the Leaguers* to be lawful, because taken up against a Prince, who making profession of a different persuasion, could not be acknowledged without indangering the Catholick Religion. So that according to them, Religion was a sufficient cause to *authorise subjects* to *take up arms* against their *Sovereigns*. Whereas the *Low-Countrey Writers* maintain'd the *down right* contrary, against those Provinces that had withdrawn themselves from the obedience of the K. of *Spain*; nay, and in *France* it self when the Protestants finding themselves driven to the utmost limits of Passive Obedience, by the cruel and perfidious treatment of the Catholicks, took up Arms to defend themselves: the same Adversaries publisht other writings that moved upon quite contrary Principles, and proved that even Religion it self could not authorise *subjects* to take *up* arms against their Prince; but that they were always indispensably bound to obey him, tho he were a *Heretick*. Thus the *Roman Church* makes Laws for others, and exceptions only for her self; and her Divinity and her Faith change according to her necessities, and the alteration of her Interests alters likewise to her advantage the rules even of Conscience it self.

In the mean while the *Sorbon* let fly against *the K.* and condemned as *Heretical*, all propositions that could be made in his favour; 1590. nay, and so far did their zeal out-shoot it self, that they decided, he ought not to be obeyed, no, not tho he should come to obtain *absolution from his Heresy*, which prov'd a flow of mischievous consequence, because of the great reputation of that renowned *Faculty*, and made the K. afraid of giving any pretence to the *Catholicks of his*

Party, and that were not over ſtrongly devoted to his ſervice, to do worſe. About that time he won the famous Battel of *Yvry*, a-
The battel of Yvri. gainſt the *D. of Mayenne*, upon which occaſion it may be *Remark't* as a thing that ſhews the ſtate of the *Proteſtants* at that time in the Kingdom, that *Du Pleſſis* marching with all diligence to joyn the Army, to which he arriv'd but juſt the evening before the *Battel*, paſſed through *Chataudun*, where he ordered a *Proteſtant* Sermon to be preacht. At which liberty of his, the *Magiſtrate* being offended, *Du Pleſſis* was fain to appeaſe him with a kind of excuſe, and to pretend, that it being one of the conditions of the *Truce*, that the *Reformed Religion* might be freely exerciſed in the K's Army, he had a right to exert that priviledg, as commanding a part of it, and being upon his March to joyn its main Body; and beſides, that the Army of a K. of *France* was always conſtrued to extend 30 Leagues round his Camp. And yet the K. himſelf had not ſo perfect a liberty in his own Army, but that he was ſometimes under a conſtraint in the exerciſe of his Religion, for fear of offending the *Catholicks*. For tho he had made *D'Amours* his *Proteſtant Chaplain*, to Pray after the Proteſtant way, at the head of
1590. his Squadron, before he gave Battel; yet after the Victory, he durſt not give publick thanks for it in the field of Battel, as he had done at *Courtras*, but was fain to defer it till he came to *Roni*, where he lay the night after the Fight, and then it was done only in his Privy Chamber, and in the preſence but of a few People.

It was thought that Victory muſt needs have been a fatal blow to the *Leaguers*; but the Marſhal of *Biron*, and the Marqueſs of *O.* who had thoſe Aims, which I have Remarked, made the K. loſe the fruit of it, by hindring him from following the advice of *De la Noue*, who adviſed him to march directly to *Paris*, of which it was very probable he would make himſelf maſter, if he would immediately March, and preſent himſelf at their Gates before the *Leaguers* were recover'd out of their preſent amazement. Afterwards, they would fain have Proſecuted that Advice, and vain endeavours were uſed to get poſſeſſion of that Town, when 'twas too late, and the Citizens had taken new courage, ſo that a reſo-
the Siege of Paris. lution was taken to reduce it by a Siege. But before that undertaking, the *Proteſtants* labour'd hard with the *K.* to obtain ſome favour of him, for their better ſecurity; but the *Catholicks* ſtill diverted him from it, by their ordinary objections drawn from the conſideration of *the preſent State of Affairs*, and of *the Leaguers*, and adviſed

adviſed him to put off *that Debate till* Paris were reduc'd, becauſe by the taking of that, the whole force of the League would in all likelyhood be cruſht. And accordingly the K. made uſe of that pretence to put off a Negotiation of that tickliſh nature, which he found ſo full of thorns and perplexing difficulties. Upon which occaſion, 'tis ſaid, that *Du Pleſſis*, who could ſee no ſolidity in the Reaſons alledged for that delay, anſwer'd the K. who would needs maintain them to be good, that ſince his Majeſty was pleaſed to Poſtpone God after *Paris*, he was afraid God would not give him *Paris* at all. And indeed, after he had loſt a great deal of time before that great City, and ſlipt many occaſions of gaining it, he was forced to raiſe the Siege, and give ground a little before the *Leaguers*, whoſe throats till then he had in a manner under his foot.

After *Paris* was reliev'd, and the D. of *Parma* retired, the propoſal for ſatisfying the *Proteſtants*, was again taken into Deliberation; and the K. moving towards *Normandie*, ordered a project of a Declaration to be drawn up for the procuring of *Peace* among his *Subjects*, notwithſtanding the difference of *Religion*. In which, *Du Pleſſis* who fram'd it, laid open at large the K's Intentions in order to the reuniting of all his *ſubjects* into one fold, if 'twere poſſible, by the means of a General, or at leaſt a *National Council*, or if neither of them could be had, of a conſiderable *Aſſembly* of Select *Church men*, ſuch as ſhould be judged the fitteſt to conduct to a happy iſſue, ſo holy an enterpriſe; and in the mean time while ſuch a reunion ſhould be endeavouring, the *Catholick Religion* was every where reſtor'd, with an entire liberty to uſe the *publick ſervice* practiſed by that *Church*, whereas nothing at all was done for the Proteſtants but what was before granted them by the Truce, except only that all thoſe *Edicts* were recall'd, which had been extorted to their prejudice, by the *Leaguers*. And that one would think was very little for thoſe people who were of the K's Religion, and who had ſo uſefully and faithfully ſerv'd him from his Infancy. And indeed, after ſo long patience, and after they had run through many dangers, and toilſome labours, to obtain nothing elſe of a K. that had been a long time their Protectour, but what they had already obtain'd from another that had been a great while their Perſecutor, was e'en to get juſt nothing at all. But the Catholicks took the alarm as ſoon as ever any propoſal was offered, to grant any new favour to the *Proteſtants*, and were much more diſpoſed to make retrenchments

A new project of peace for the Proteſtants.

from, than additions to the *Edicts* of *Toleration*, and all they could hope to obtain from the equity of the most moderate of them was that the Terms of the precedent Edicts, should be strictly observed, without extending or diminishing any of their Concessions. So that the Protestants were fain to be content with what they could obtain, and all the pretences they could make to any new favours in recompence for their long services, were sacrificed to the K's Interests who could not do any thing for them without imbroiling himself with the *Catholicks*; and therefore they reduced all their demands to these three heads, viz. *A security for their lives and consciences.* 2. *A liberty for the publick exercise of their Religion.* And 3. *An equal share in the Distribution of places and employments.* By the consideration of which, it's easy to judg, which were the most equitable, the *Catholicks*, or the *Protestants*. The *Catholicks* would have both the K. and the Protestants at their Discretion, and thought these latter obliged to serve him without any recompence, nay, and without any security too; but yet had the face to demand a recompence for themselves, before any service done, and would be assured of the K's Conscience, before they would give him any assurance of their Allegiance. Whereas the Protestants on the contrary, demanded only such tolerable conditions as were fit to be granted to honest men, and *good French men*; and to be treated like other Members of the State, of which they were a considerable part.

The reasonableness of their demands.

And the passion of the Catholicks

It was then enough to satisfy them, to restore them the Edict of Toleration granted in 1577, with the Explications of it contain'd in the Treaties of *Nerac* and *Fleix*; and to revoke the Edicts put out against them only in compliance with the furious humours of the *Leaguers*: So that the Edict that *Du Plessis* had drawn up, would certainly have contented them, tho no other security were given them for the performance of it, but the K's protection, who was himself their security. But whilst those matters were in debate, This new suit of theirs was traversed by those whose old custom it was to thwart the good Dispositions of those that were inclined to let the *Protestants* live in quiet. *Biron* was one of those, and one of the most fiery of them too: He would needs have but one Religion suffer'd in the *Kingdom*, and yet what is most remarkably extravagant in one of that hot headed temper, is, that he himself lived peaceably with his *Lady*, who was a *Protestant*, and had permitted her for some time to bring up his Son in her *Religion*; which made *Du Plessis* take occasion one day to tell him, he wondred why he could

1590.

not

not as well find means to make two *Religions* agree together in one *Kingdom*, as he had found the ſecret to make them agree together in one *Bed*. This Remark is proof enough, that paſſion and prejudice had a much greater ſhare in the oppoſition made againſt the *Proteſtants*, than either good Reaſon, or true Zeal.

However, the project of the *Declaration* after it had been examined at *Pont St. Pierre*, in full *Council*, was found ſo reaſonable, that it was reſolv'd it ſhould be publiſht; and the K. ordered the *Chancellour* and *Du Pleſſis* whom he had made *Councellour of State* ſince the Battel of *Yvri*, to go to *Tours*, to get it approv'd by the *Parliament* and part of the *Council* that reſided there, of which the *Cardinal of Vendome* was *Preſident*; but the *Catholicks* baffled that attempt too, as ſoon as the two *Commiſſioners* were gone, and procur'd the *Chancellour* to be recall'd. Their true reaſon was becauſe they concluded, that if the *Proteſtants* were once confirmed by an *Edict*, and cured of all the jealouſies they had of the *King*, it would be a great obſtacle to that *Prince's* return to the *Roman Church*, becauſe then they would ſtickle the more vigorouſly to keep him in theirs; and beſides, would thereby get ſuch footing in all poſts of buſineſs, under the favour of a K. of their own *Religion*, that they would ſoon overtop the *Catholicks* in power; but however their pretence was as it uſed to be, *viz. For fear of alienating the Affections of the People, and authoriſing the Jealouſies of the Leaguers.* *Du Pleſſis* made vigorous Remonſtrances to the K. concerning the Equity of that *Declaration*; telling him freely in writing, that 'twas a ſhame for him to let the *Edicts* of the *Leaguers* remain ſo long in force, thoſe *Edicts* that had been extorted by unjuſt Violences, that had thrown the State into confuſion, and caus'd the Death of *Henry* III. which had declar'd *Henry* IV. uncapable of the *Crown*, becauſe of his *Religion* and in ſome ſort degraded the *Princes of the Blood*; that the reinforcement of the *Edict* of *Toleration*, granted in 1577 was in full ſenſe of *Law*, included in the *Revocation* of thoſe others; that it was ſolemnly granted with the conſent of the *Princes* of the *Blood*, and of the moſt zealous *Catholicks*; that it had brought *Peace* to *France*, and contented the *King's Subjects*; that it had maintain'd the *Catholick Religion* in its honour and dignity, and yet at the ſame time provided for the neceſſities of the other; that in a word, it had paſt as a thing finally determin'd, and which was no more to be debated; that by the re-eſtabliſhment of the *Roman Religion* in the places where it was not at the time of the *Truce*, its publick exerciſe was reſtored in more than 50 Towns where it was not before, ſo that the *Catholicks* reapt more preſent benefit from that *Edict* than the *Proteſtants*; he further preſſed them to ſtand to it by a motive of gratitude for the many mercies they had receiv'd of God; and to remove the difficulties the Adverſaries made him afraid he ſhould meet with in the execution of the *Edict*, he repreſented to him; that he had already ſurmounted greater than thoſe, to aſcend the *Throne*: and that it was a much greater leap from the *fundamental Law of the Kingdom* to the *Throne*, than

The Project is at firſt approved.

And afterward recalled.

Remonſtrances about it.

1597.

from

from the *Truce* to the *Edict* of 1577. And becauſe the *Proteſtants* were told in anſwer to their Complaints, That they muſt have patience, and that they ſhould be treated with at the ſame time when the *Leaguers* were; he remonſtrated by way of reply, That the *Proteſtants* had already exerciſed that patience above 50 long years; that it was not at all for the K's ſervice, to let them ſuffer any longer in things of that nature; and that tho they were willing to ſuffer, it was not his duty to let them, becauſe *Religion* is like a fire that goes out, if it be not nouriſh'd and fomented; that it was the K's part rather to rekindle and ſtir up in his Subjects that warmth of Affection they were obliged to have for *Religion*, than to ſuffer them to fall into any coldneſs or indifference in matters of Piety; that it was not juſt to treat the *Proteſtants* as the *Leaguers*, ſince their Cauſes were very unequal, the *Leaguers* having always made War againſt the K. and *the Proteſtants* always for him; That to deliver them from the oppreſſion of *Conſcience* they labour'd under, they wanted nothing but a due regulation between them and the *Catholicks*, without being put off to expect the Iſſue of a tedious Negotiation of uncertain Peace; that there were ſome things that would admit no delay, ſuch as are the *Baptiſing of Children*, *Marriage* and *Burials* which occaſion'd every day new *Scandals*, *Law-ſuits*, and *Inhumanities* for want of a regulated *Liberty* to celebrate them; that *Warants* were daily given out, to take up ſuch as were found together, praying to God for the proſperity of the K. or ſinging a *Pſalm* in their ſhops, or ſelling a *Bible* or *New Teſtament* in *French*, which proceedings were grounded upon the laſt *Edicts*; that they who pray'd for the K. modeſtly in their Chambers, and they which preach'd ſeditiouſly againſt his perſon and his actions in their *Pulpits*, were treated both alike; that ſuch *Grievances* as thoſe required ſpeedy *Remedies*; that it was a point of prudence, to prevent the demands of a *People* preſſed with neceſſity, becauſe it was not good to give them occaſion to learn how to complain, and yet leſs policy to reduce them to ſeek a remedy, becauſe in ſeeking one, tho from the K. himſelf, there was danger that in the *Aſſemblies* held for drawing up their *Remonſtrances*, there might ariſe *Cabals*, and that ſeveral other changes of ill conſequence might daily happen; That a *Foreign Proteſtant Army* being expected in *France*, there were ſeveral inconveniences to be fear'd, if they ſhould come before the *Proteſtants* were ſatisfied, becauſe 'twas not to be doubted, but their *chief Commanders* would importune the K. to do ſomething for them, which would be ſecretly to upbraid him, as a *Prince* that needed to be ſolicited in behalf of his own *Subjects*, which would be but little for his honour, and would make him looſe all the credit and thanks of his Favour; and that the *Catholicks* would not fail to take occaſion from thence, to pretend thoſe favours were extorted by a *Foreign Force*, and upon that ground to demand one day their *Revocation*.

1591. *The effect of theſe Remonſtrances.*

Theſe vigorous and pertinent *Remonſtrances*, were not altogether unſerviceable, becauſe *Gregory* XIV. who held at that time the See of *Rome*; and abetted with all his Power the *Spaniſh Faction*, unſeaſonably

ably let fly a *Bull* of *Excommunication* againſt the *K.* and all his *Adherents*, and ſent it into *France* by his *Nuntio Landriano*; which ſo extraordinarily nettled the *K's party* that was moſtly compoſed of *French* that had never fail'd to oppoſe the Inſolent attempts of the *Court of Rome*, that the *Parliament*, part of which reſided at *Tours*, and the other at *Chalons*, anſwer'd it with moſt terrible *Decrees*, and gave out an *Order* to ſeize the *Nuntio's Perſon*, and to have the *Bull* burnt by the *common Hangman*, and prohibited all *Correſpondence* with *Rome*. But the ſmall *Party* of the *Romiſh Clergy* that follow'd the K. were not ſo fierce, and when the K. aſſembled them at *Mantes*, and afterwards transfer'd them to *Chartres*, they obſerv'd more meaſures with the Pope, than the *Parliament* had done. 'Tis true, they declared the *Bull abuſive*, becauſe the Clergy of the K's Party was therein Excommunicated as well as the reſt of his Adherents, but yet were ſo far from conſenting to have no more Correſpondence with *Rome*; that this deſpicable little Body reſolv'd to ſend Deputies to the Pope, and askt the Kings leave ſo to do: And yet the whole Clergy that followed the K's. Party were able to furniſh to this Aſſembly, but 2 Cardinals, 7 Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and a very inconſiderable number of Church men of the ſecond Order. It may be judg'd by that, of how little ſtrength ſo ſmall a number could be, in compariſon of the reſt of the Clergy, which was able to furniſh at that time 120 Prelats of the firſt rank. And yet alas, this feeble Aſſembly would needs eſpouſe a ſeparate Opinion, and thwart by that ſingularity, the Intentions of the Parliament that vigorouſly maintained the Intereſts of the Crown. The Proteſtants were likewiſe alarmed at this *Bull*, and ſided with the Parliament, whoſe vigour was always pleaſing to them, when they employed their Authority to aſſert the Honour and Prerogatives of their K. And accordingly they took this occaſion to labour for their own ſafety, and to preſs the K. to ſecure them in the quiet enjoyment of their Lives and Conſciences. Neither did the K. on his part forget himſelf in this rencounter; for he called an *Aſſembly* at *Mantes* of all the *Lords of his Privy Councel*, and of his whole *party*; and in order to give ſatisfaction at the ſame time to all the World, he put out there two *Declarations*; the one renewed that publiſht about two years before, wherein he proteſted, he deſired nothing more than to be better inſtructed, and was ready to ſubmit to the *Deciſions* of a *General Council*, or at leaſt, of ſuch an *Aſſembly* of *Church men* as might be able to terminate the depending *Controverſies*; and in the mean while promiſed to alter nothing in the *State* of the *Catholick Religion*; and he gave them ſoon after very convincing proofs of the ſincerity of his Intentions in that matter, by granting the Town of *Chartres* upon its ſurrender to him after a long Siege, the power to ſuppreſs the *exerciſe of the Reformed Religion* both in that *City*, and within the whole extent of its *Juriſdiction*. In which he ſtretcht his complaiſance for the *Catholicks* to as high a pitch as it would bear: ſince to pleaſure them, he was content to exclude the exercice of his own *Religion*, out of the precincts of a conquer'd place.

Gregory the 14th's Bull.

1591.

The

The Edict of Nantes. The other *Declaration* was in favour of the *Proteſtants*, to whom it granted the *Revocation* of the *Edicts* that were contrary to that of 1577, which was thereby reſtored to its full force and vigour, by way of *Proviſion*, till the *Differences* in *Religion* ſhould be agreed by the conſent of all the *Orders* of the Kingdom, when they ſhould be reduced to the Kings obedience.

1591. It was thought an *Edict* ſo very reaſonable as that could not but paſs without contradiction, ſince it made no new conceſſions to the *Proteſtants*, reſtor'd to the *Catholicks* the exerciſe of their *Religion* in a good number of places, out of which it had been baniſht during the laſt War; that it was in effect, nothing but an *Interim*, or *Temporary Proviſion*, in expectation of a *Definitive Peace*; and ſince, laſtly, it reſerved to the *Leaguers*, a power to make new demands in *behalf of their Religion*, the whole matter not being to be concluded without their conſent when they ſhould be reduced. Yet the Cardinal of *Vendome*, who had taken the name of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, could not forbear making ſome feeble oppoſition againſt it in full Council. But after he had ſhewn his malicious intentions, to that degree, as to make an offer to go out of the Council, rather than conſent to an *Edict* of that Nature, he was glad for all his huffing, to ſit down again tamely at a ſmall diſdaintul nod the K. made to him. But the *Parliaments* were more ſurly an l difficult to be won; for thoſe of *Reunes* and *Bourdeaux* abſolutely rejected the *Edict*, and tho that of *Tours* accepted it, yet it was with a *Modification* by which *Proteſtants* were excluded from all *publick Offices* and *Employments*, and out of all *Aſſemblies of States* in moſt part of the Kingdom. The pretence abuſed by ſome to that purpoſe, was taken from a *Clauſe* in the *Edict of Mantes*, which ordered, *That the laſt Edicts of Pacification ſhould be reſtor'd and obſerv'd as they were in the life time of the late K.* now they knew well enough, that *Hen.* III. never gave any places to *Proteſtants*, and that he found out tricks to exclude them in ſpite of the *Article* in his *Edict* that declared them capable to hold them; and therefore by virtue of thoſe words, which were either unwarily uſed, or foiſted, by the Artifice of the *Catholicks*, into the *Edict of Mantes*, they would ſtill have them remain Excluded from all *Employments*, becauſe they had been ſo treated by the *deceaſed K.* and they thought it favour enough to let them enjoy Offices in *Rochelle*, and ſome other places where the artifices of *Hen.* III could never prevail to exclude them. And the *Cardinal* of *Bourbon* maintain'd that *Banter*, and openly declared, that the Proteſtants did but deceive themſelves, in pretending to be admitted to *Offices*: and they were fain to ſpend many years in patience, and continual ſolicitations, before they could ſurmount that obſtacle, tho there was nothing more unjuſt than that pretence. For *Hen.* III. had violated his own *Law*, in excluding them by diverſe Tricks from thoſe *Employments* to which they were rightfully admittable, according to the expreſs terms of his own *Edict*, ſo that they could not take any advantage againſt them, from the *deceitful conduct of that* P. without

Civil Wars raiſed about its Verification.

wranglings

wranglings not very ſuitable to Royal Majeſty, to the prejudice of the Publick Faith.

The Reformed made no great complaints of the Edict, tho' the proviſional Clauſe, which differed the Deciſion of their Affairs till after the Reduction of thoſe of the League, ought to have ſeemed intollerable unto them, becauſe it did leave them in an uncertain condition, which could alter as Time and Intereſts ſhould ſerve. But they could not endure to be deprived of the Benefit of their Birthrights *, or the Rewards of their deſert, upon the ſole conſideration of their Religion: whether becauſe this Injuſtice beſpattered their Religion and their Perſons, or becauſe it did treat them as the Canon Law orders Heretics to be, who are by this Law excluded from Dignities and Charges: whence it followed very evidently, that they were put into the number of ſuch as the ſame Canons give over to the ſecular Judge, and whom the Catholick Kings oblige themſelves to deſtroy by their Coronation-Oath. They further conſidered as a particular reaſon of maintaining themſelves in the right of partaking publick Employs; that the King had ſuppreſſed the Courts of St. *John d' Angeli*, of *Bergerac*, and of *Montauban*, wherein Juſtice had been rendered till towards the end of the foregoing Year, by Judges of their own Religion; for which they pretended that the King ought to give them ſome Recompence; and for which they only deſired to be admitted to the ſame Employments; that they being of the Companies of Judicature, might have ſome of their own Religion to take care to ſee Juſtice done to their Brethren. Therefore they made heavy complaints of the wrangling that I have juſt now ſpecified, and omitted not to ſet forth, that the Injuſtice done them reflected on the King himſelf; ſince thoſe could not be deprived of Employments for the ſake of Religion that followed the ſame Doctrine with him, without ſilently declaring him uncapable of the Crown. But they did not require the King to give an expreſs Declaration for the ſolving of this Equivocation, for fear the ſcrupulous Catholicks ſhould look upon it as a new Grace, and ſhould take occaſion to grumble at it. They only inſiſted that the King ſhould verbally expreſs his Intentions to the heads of the Soveraign Courts, but ſo as to cauſe them to be executed. The King to ſatisfie them, ſent Commiſſioners for

* *Wherein the Reformed complain.*

1591. the executing of his Edict, in the Parliaments that acknowledged his Authority: but this remedy was not sufficient to hinder new occasions of Complaints to be given every-where.

Meanwhile the Clergy being assembled at *Chartres*, to the small number that I have mentioned, were drawing up Articles which lay open their unfaithful and ambitious Mind. As the Ecclesiasticks have always been for making the Preservation and Safety of the Kings to depend on themselves, this small Assembly undertook to take from the Parliaments, the right of watching over it: and in this design required that they should be prohibited taking any Cognizance of what should pass betwixt the King and the Pope. They presented to the King some other Articles, upon all which *Du Plessis* sent a vigorous Memoir to the Parliament of *Tours*, which that Senate approved; and it was upon these grounds, that he advised the King by delays to frustrate the Pretentions of the Clergy. Besides the honour of the Parliament that was concerned to maintain its Possession, to preserve the Authority and Dignity of the Kings against the Bulls of *Rome*; there was moreover a reason of Interest that obliged it to withstand the demands of the Bishops. There had been since the death of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, seen to grow a new Cabal amongst the Royal Catholicks, which was termed *the Third Party*. The pretence of those that formed it was to put the Catholick Religion in safety, whose ruine they thought could not be hindered, if *Henry* IV. came to reign peaceably without changing his Religion. This Prince was growing suspected to them, because he seemed to them too long to put off the Instruction that he had promised them; and that they feared, by reason of the Prosperity of his Affairs, that he would soon be in a condition to make his own Religion to reign, in spight of the Rebels. The new Cardinal of *Bourbon*'s Tutor, and *David du Perron*, who had been of the Reformed Religion, and who was, even as they say, a Ministers Son, were the Authors of this Faction; and they pretended to make it a way to the advancement of their Master, who was the Idol of that Party. They casted for a Foundation, that it was necessary to have a King who had always been a Catholick, and that consequently would not be suspected: but that he must be taken out of the Royal Family, that the fundamental Law of the Crown might not be violated.

The third party and its designs.

So

So that they could caſt their Eyes on none elſe but the Cardinal of *Bourbon*. This Party grew eaſily, becauſe two ſorts of Catholicks joyned in it; to wit, thoſe that miſtruſted *Henry* IV. and who above all things were for the ſafety of their Religion: and thoſe, who, tho' they would not leave him, yet were willing to make him afraid of loſing his Adherents, if he did not ſpeedily embrace the Catholick Religion. *Villeroy* and *Janin*, who gave him both advice and the example of it, tho' they both were deeply for the intereſts of the League, joyned, or at leaſt made a ſhew of joyning to this Cabal, to weaken the King by dividing his Party, or for to force him to change his Religion, thro' the fear of ſeeing himſelf abandoned, for another. This Faction became ſo potent, as that mention of it was made to the Pope, they deſiring to have his Authority for a Prop: So that the King was wonderfully troubled at it, and held him for a long time in grievous Alarms. Therefore the moſt paſſionate Hiſtorians, and who ſeem to have writ for no other end, but for to perſwade that the Catholicks had reaſon on their ſide in every thing, have not dared to juſtifie this Conſpiracy; and do confeſs that the Royal Catholicks deſigned *to put the Royalty at a Compromize*. *Du Perron*, the moſt ambitious and unfaithful Man of his time, revealed unto the King the ſecrecy of that Party, altho' he had been the Promoter of it himſelf: and 'twas by that means he gained that Prince's Confidence, whoſe Favour ſome years after made him a Cardinal. 1521.

The Aſſembly of *Chartres* did favour this Cabal, and it was reſolved there to preſent the King with a Petition in their Names, to exhort him to become a Catholick with all ſpeed, becauſe otherwiſe ſeveral who had been faithful to him as the Lawful Heir, would take other Meaſures, and ſhould be forced to abandon him. This Petition was Printed at *Angiers* without the Printer's name; but not preſented. Notwithſtanding the Cardinal of *Bourbon* made, or according to others, cauſed to be made to the King a Speech in the ſame ſenſe, and with the ſame threatnings. It was endeavoured, for the authorizing this Party, to eſtabliſh under the name of Chamber, a kind of Parliament at *Moulins* or at *Clermont*: and it was ſo publick, that they ſought to compoſe it of ſuch as were affected to that Cabal, and that it was called publickly the third Parties Chamber. The Parliament ſitting at *Tours* was very much

1591. much concerned at the erecting this Chamber because it could not be done without dismembering from that Court, the Countries that should be made to hold of this new Jurisdiction. But as it was profitable for the third Party to ruine the Parliament, whose constancy, when the rights of the Crown and Succession were to be treated of, concurred not with these new Pretentions; those that entered into this Faction, and the Clergy as well as the rest, did favour the setling of this Chamber, that they might have at their devotion a Soveraign Court of Justice. Therefore the Parliament and the Reformed, to whom the Creation of this Chamber gave an umbrage for different reasons, mutually opposed the Enterprizes of the Clergy. It was only the business of Employments that the Parliament and the Clergy did agree in. The Clergy complained that there were twenty six *Hereticks* in the Parliament of *Tours*; and the Parliament stuck fast to the excluding the Reformed from lesser Offices. Wherein they all manifested their aversion for Protestants, and the same repugnancy to their being in profitable or honourable Imployments. The King being urg'd by the Cardinal *de Bourbon*, on behalf of the Assembly of *Chartres*, to give him an answer to three Articles, followed the advice of his Parliament, and got clear of this Instance by general Answers. The first of these Articles was concerning his coming over to the Romish Church. He defended himself from it by the ordinary Protestation of being ready to receive Instruction, and to procure the end of the differences that divided the Church; adding that he found it less honourable to turn into it alone, than to bring back the rest with him; and excusing himself for not being able to hearken to the Instruction which he had promised, by reason of his Military Distractions, during which the Voice of the Canons of the Church was stifled by the Noise of the Canons of the Arsenal. The second was touching the Peace, which the Clergy desired might be concluded, by his Intermission. Upon which the King was content in general to testifie that he desired a Peace. The third was for obtaining permission to send to the Pope, as the Assembly of *Chartres* had resolved, directly against an Act of Parliament of *Tours*, which prohibited all communication with the Court of *Rome*. The King answered it was a matter of State, complain'd of by the deceased Pope, and the Pope-regent declared,

Propositions of the Clergy that displeased the King.

That

That he thought it contrary to his Reputation to court him, whilſt he did what he could againſt him, excuſed himſelf upon the Parliaments being of a contrary Advice, which he had conſulted about it, and upon that he deſired the Affair ſhould be debated in a full and ſolemn Company: Mean while he ſent the Biſhops into their Dioceſſes. The Clergy paſſionately deſired to ſend to *Rome*, to engage the King by that means into a Negotiation with the Pope, the Succeſs of which would oblige him to change his Religion, or elſe would deprive him of the Service of the Catholicks, if he refuſed to turn. They would alſo have him ſometimes for the ſame reaſon to write himſelf to the Pope, for to tye the Party the more ſtrictly. The Reformed oppoſed both, becauſe they diſpaired of their own Safety, if the King ſhould engage in any Commerce with *Rome*. Their Reaſons for to hinder him were drawn from Conſiderations of State, and from the Kings Reputation, which would be in hazard thereby, what-ever Succeſs it ſhould meet with; becauſe that in that Juncture of Affairs he could make no Offers to the Pope, but what wou'd be a prejudice to his Dignity. So that for that time they had the Advantage over the Paſſion of the Catholicks. 1591.

This was the year that the Viſcount of *Turene*, being ſupported by the Recommendations of the Queen of *England*, rais'd for the King a gallant Army with the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, with whom, from that time forward his Merit got him ſuch Ties as he kept all his Life-time. This Service, added to ſo many others that he had rendred the King a long time, was the Cauſe that he was pick'd out to be the Man, to eſpouſe the Heireſs of *Sedan*, whom it was of the King's Intereſt to marry to a Man of Truſt, by reaſon of the important Places ſhe held: And it was by this Marriage, that this Principality entred into the Houſe of the *Tower* of *Auvergne*, in as much as the Princeſs, who died without Iſſue a little while after, left it by her laſt Will to her Husband. The King for to bind more and more to his Service this Lord, made him a Marſhal of *France*, tho' the Catholicks were mad to ſee a Reformed rais'd to ſo high a Dignity. This new Grandeur augmented much the Credit he had already amongſt Proteſtants, and which ſometimes had appeared ſo great, as to give ſome Jealouſie to his Maſter. But this Army ſet the Catholicks very much upon

A Foreign Army.

Viſcount of Turene *marries the Heireſs of* Sedan.

And is made Marſhal of France.

1591. on thinking, they fearing leaſt the King with theſe new Forces ſhould eaſily conquer his Enemies, and afterwards forget the Promiſe of getting himſelf inſtructed. They therefore did their utmoſt to hinder it's entring into *France*, or to diſperſe it after it ſhould enter there: So as that they us'd all their Endeavours to divert the Fund which was kept for the payment of theſe Troops. But *du Pleſſis*, who was the Maſter of this Fund, becauſe it proceeded from the Alienation of the Dominion of *Navarre*, managed the buſineſs ſo well, that he kept the beſt part on't, notwithſtanding the hard and ſevere Letters the King ſent him upon that Subject. There was that ſame year a kind of a *Pragmatick* drawn by form of an *Interim*, for the diſtributing and adminiſtring Benefices. The Reformed were ſatisfied with it, as with a Preparative for a general Reformation: The Parliaments upheld it, as profitable for the good of the State: The Archbiſhop of *Bourges* did accept it, becauſe he hoped to be made a Patriarch: And if all the Clergy had been ruled by this new Diſcipline, they had eaſily induc'd the Pope, who thereby would ſee that he could be diſpens'd with, to make the King the Offers which they would fain oblige the King to make him. But the Clergy choſe rather not to ſerve the King, than to diſoblige the Pope; and never would conſent not to depend upon *Rome*.

1592. The following Year paſs'd, as the former, in Military Expeditions, and in Negotiations, that availed nothing, if we except the Reformed, who always loſt ſomewhat thereby, thro' the Inſtances of the Catholicks for what they called the King's *Converſion*. For that they ſpared neither Cabals nor Artifices: They attributed all the ill Succeſſes to his Religion, whereof for the moſt part they were themſelves the Cauſe, becauſe they were not willing to ſee things ended, before the King had accompliſhed the Catholicks Deſires. They ever-more repreſented unto him, that his Religion alone was the Pretence of the League, and the third Party's Obſtinacy: Tho' in truth, it had been better for the Ring-leaders of the League to treat with *Henry* IV. a *Hugonot*, than when a Catholick, for to have better Conditions from him. It appear'd even in time that it was not his Religion that held them, ſeeing after that Pretence was remov'd by his turning, they grew more difficult than ever, and held out the War for Four years longer

The Catholicks Artifices to gain the King.

longer. The Queen of *England* had unthinkingly ſaid, and to ſome Catholicks too, That the King had not done well to give the Edict of *Nantes* in favour of the Reformed, and that that was out of ſeaſon. This Princeſs's Intention was not to blame the King for doing ſomething for thoſe ancient Servants of his; but becauſe ſhe did not doubt of the King's Conſtancy in matter of Religion, ſhe thought he could take a more convenient time for to content them, than that wherein his Favours to them were neither ſufficient for to reward them, nor pleaſing to the Catholicks, who mortally hated them. But the Queens Words were wreſted, as if they had intimated that ſhe did not ſtick at Religion, and that ſhe blamed the King for preferring it to Policy: Whence it was concluded, that tho' the King ſhould change his Religion, he wou'd not be a whit the leſs in her Favour. This Craft was dangerous, becauſe it took from the King one of his chiefeſt Reaſons to perſevere in his Religion, next to thoſe of his Conſcience, to wit, the fear of offending Foreign Proteſtants, whoſe Succours were ſo neceſſary for him. He fear'd likewiſe the alienating the Hearts of his Reformed Subjects, who with the reſt of the ſame Religion, made at leaſt the two Thirds of his Army. But for to cure him of his Fears, they did repreſent what the Character of the Reformed was; Men eaſily ſatisfied, provided they had Liberty of Conſcience given them; and ſuch as never had blotted the Names of Kings out of their Prayers, at the very time that they were perſecuted by them. *D' O.* made the beſt he cou'd of theſe only Conſiderations, and made uſe of them from the very firſt Speech that he made to the King, after the Death of King *Henry* III. 1592.

But that which moſt annoyed the Reformed, was a joint Diſcourſe between *du Pleſſis* and *Villeroy*, which indeed ended without concluding any thing, by reaſon of the Inſolent Propoſitions of the Heads of the League; yet notwithſtanding it prepared things for the changing the Kings Religion, which happened the following year. The Heads of the League, whereof *Janin* was the Interpreter, did not intend, ſaid he, to be treated *after the Huguenot faſhion*, nor to accept of an Edict of Abolition and Amneſty, in that all Edicts of that nature do preſuppoſe Crimes; whereas they intended to preſuppoſe as a Foundation to their Treaties, that their Arms were juſt. *Fruitleſs Conferences between du Pleſſis and Villeroy.*

They

1592. They ſcorned an Edict as from a King to his Subjects, but a Treaty by which they would acknowledge him but upon certain Conditions; they preſuppoſing they had no reaſon to acknowledge him during the old Cardinal of *Bourbon*'s Life, or all the time that he was not a Catholick. *Du Pleſſis* was far from hearkning unto any ſuch Conditions, and pretended before all other things, that the King's Authority and Dignity ſhould be acknowledged and preſuppoſed. Therefore the Negotiation cou'd not take effect in his Hands: notwithſtanding it went on very far towards the King's Inſtruction, which the Leaguers reſolved to be ſure of before mention was made of any thing elſe. The two Negotiators eaſily agreed upon a Conference between the Doctors of both Religions, tho' each of them upon this Subject had particular Proſpects. Therefore all the difficulty betwixt them conſiſted in the manner of the thing. *Villeroy* would have the King to be inſtructed, with a Promiſe of making himſelf a Catholick: For he took the Words, *to get himſelf inſtructed*, in the ſence that the *Romiſh* Church has always given them; to wit, for an irrevocable Ingagement to enter into their Communion, after a Conference in ſhew, which in his Language is called *Inſtruction*. *Du Pleſſis* on the contrary, would have them to be ſatisfied, that the King ſhou'd teſtifie a deſire to embrace the *Romiſh* Religion, if he cou'd do it without wronging his Conſcience. They agreed at laſt on an expedient, which was, that the King ſhould get himſelf inſtructed at a limited time, with a Deſire and Intention to be joined to the *Romiſh* Church, provided a Method for his inſtructing was found out that ſhou'd anſwer his Dignity, and be able to ſatisfie his Conſcience.

Their different proſpects upon the King's inſtruction.

Du Pleſſis thought that this Inſtruction might turn to the advantage of the Reformed Religion, in obſerving two things. The firſt was to hold a ſerious Conference, where the controverted points ſhould be throughly diſcuſſed, and wherein he made no doubt but the Miniſters and the Truth would carry a compleat Victory. His deſign was to aſſemble the moſt learned Proteſtants at *Saumur*, there to ſtudy the controverted Matters; and to give to each apart a queſtion to be examined with all poſſible care, to diſcover the beginning, the progreſs, the changes of every particular thing; and with the Hiſtoricall underſtanding of the

Matters

Matters, desired each one to seek such for Arguments in Law, as were proper for the explanation of the Turth The King himself seemed to approve of this expedient; and commanded him to prepare that Conference: to which he invited *du Jon*, a famous Divine at *Newstadt*, and afterwards at *Leyden*. But the Catholicks wou'd admit of a Formal Conference only: and by little and little, brought the King over to their Opinion. The second thing that *du Plessis* had an eye upon, was, that before the stated time of the Conference should fall out, the Catholicks shou'd have assurances given them of having nothing innovated in Matters of Religion, there would then be two things to be regulated; the one in supposing the Kings Conversion happened; the other in expecting till it came to pass; and he hoped that on the latter point such advantages should be granted to the Catholick Religion, for its Honour and Safety, that after this the Catholicks would give over the *Conversion* it self: Whence it would follow, that the King being less urged to change his Religion, could continue in the Reformed. In effect he had easily remained in it, if it had not hindred him to reign in Peace: But he loved Rest and Pleasure, from which he met in the War and the confusion of his Affairs with too tedious Interruptions; and the unseasonable seeking whereof made him sometimes lose favourable occasions of carrying great advantages over his Enemy. 1592.

The Negotiation therefore went on so fast, that *Villeroy* beginning to abate of the high Pretentions of the League, it seemed that Peace would be concluded: and that the King having heard the Report of *du Plessis*, *Revol* and he were charged to draw up an Edict conformable to the Articles agreed upon in the Conference. But this Secret was smell'd out, it not being known well by whom the matter was revealed; the Reformed imputing it to the subtilty of *Villeroy* and the Leaguers, who had feigned to hearken to the Treaty, but for to draw more Succours and better Conditions from the *Spaniards*; and *Villeroy* on the other hand accusing *du Plessis* of Perfidiousness. The Royal Catholicks took care to encourage the Leaguers to stand more stedfast to the Religion, foreseeing well that it was intended by the Peace to free the King from the necessity of changing, which could never be imposed upon him, but by the Tediousness of the War, and the

1592. Fears of ill Successes. Moreover they imagin'd they could never have sufficient Securities given them, if they consented that a Reformed King shou'd be establish'd on the Throne; seeing he wou'd leave the Crown to an Heir of the same Religion. Chiefly in the manner that the Succession then stood, they saw nothing that cou'd ease them of their Scruples. The Prince of *Conde*, who was the next Heir to *Henry* IV. was then at *St John de Angeli*, in the Hands of the Reformed, and under the Tutoring of his Uncle *Trimouille*, a Lord, whose Zeal and Valour caused already Jealousies at Court, and acquired him the Confidence of those of his Religion. There was a likelyhood that this Prince, after such an Education, should tread in the Footsteps of his Father and Grandfather; and that so the Catholick Religion being no more the ruling one, it should fall of it self. Besides the Catholicks finding out, that they themselves did not design to grant any Favours to the Reformed, but because they could do no otherwise under a King that was their Favourer; but that they would cause them, if it were possible, one day to be recall'd, when they should have a King more depending on their Counsels; they feared the same thing should happen, if the King did not change Religion, to the Securities that necessity should give the *Roman* Religion. The Catholicks nevertheless obtained in these Conferences the freeing the King of the fear of offending the Reformed, by taking the Measures for his Instruction; forasmuch as he of all the Reformed, who was the least suspected in matter of Religion, was very willing of this Instruction to make an Article of a Treaty of Peace. The Hope of the approaching Fall of Popery dazled this Sage Politician as well as others; and he did reckon a little too fast, as did most of the Ministers, upon the assured Victories of Truth, so soon as it would be brought to light by serious Disputes.

At the same time the Catholicks shewed their Aversion for the Reformed in what they possibly could. Nothing could overcome the Obstinacy of the Parliaments, always bent to exclude the Reformed from the Charges, how great soever the cause was to fear, that the Indignity of that Denial, after so many Services, should bring them to a Resentment thereof. The Leagued Catholicks were more tractable in that than those that followed the King

King. They consented that the Reformed should continue as the Edict of 1577. and the Conferences of *Nerac* and of *Fleix* had prescribed them; and to take away all Disputes with them concerning the number of Places that they could fill up, they were ready to grant, that the quarter part should be held by them. *Du Plessis* was even in hopes to make them agree to a third part. He chose rather to regulate the number of Places, than to leave it indifferent and arbitrary, fearing lest the King, who had an extraordinary Complacency for Catholicks, being oblig'd to nothing, should do nothing for the Reformed; whereas the number of Places that should be given them being fix'd upon, he would in some wise be necessitated to put into places as many as were contain'd in that number. He saw that else they should have but a little share in them; that all the Governments were given unto Catholicks, to the prejudice of the Reformed that deserved them: That *Roni* himself, a Favourite of the Kings, found always his Pretensions cross'd, when he asked for any thing. It was therefore necessary that a Regulation should be made, which by necessity should give Employments to the Reformed, seeing Catholicks could not suffer that they should obtain them by their Deserts. It is true, that the Court of Aids made an Act, by which the Reformed were admitted to the Offices of their Jurisdiction; but neither the Parliament nor the Chamber of Accounts could be wrought upon to do the like. 1592.

The Patience of the Reformed was try'd in other things, and particularly a thousand Indignities were offer'd upon the occasion of their Sepulture. The Inhumanity of Catholicks on this Subject, during the Siege of *Roan*, surpasses almost all Belief. There were Persons of Note amongst the Reformed that dy'd in that Siege. *Piles* amongst others, one of the valiantest of the Army was slain there; but it could not be obtain'd of the Catholicks, that his Body should be buried in any place of their Churchyards. It happened besides that many Reformed having been slain in the great Sally that the Marquess of *Villars* made on the 25*th* of *February*, whilst the King was observing the Duke of *Parma*, they were buried pell-mell with the Catholicks that perish'd on the same occasion; but the Catholicks finding it out, were so cruel as to dig them out of their Graves, and to leave

Rigors on their Burying.

their Bodies to the mercy of Wolves and Ravens that commonly follow Armies.

1593. *Continuation of the artifices to shake the King's Conscience.*

On the other hand, the King was eagerly sued to hearken to his Instruction; and no Artifice was omitted which Converters make use of on such occasions. At one time the Abuses of the *Romish* Church were extenuated, which they represented to be too slight for to be the cause of a lawful Scruple. At another time they granted him that they ought to be corrected; and he was made to hope that they should be look'd to, when he became a Catholick. He was sometimes desired only as a shadow of a *Conversion* towards the satisfying the People, and was permitted the Liberty of his Opinions on divers things, provided the People could see him at Mass. It was offer'd him, that a Vail should be drawn betwixt him and the Ceremonies, that he might be the less scrupulous to be present at it. The Commodity that his Change would give him of humbling the Pope was magnify'd, and of lessening his Authority, by putting an end to the Schism by a National Synod, when the whole Clergy would be brought under Obedience. Mention was made of a Patriarch that should be established, for to render the Churches of *France* Independent on that of *Rome*: An Allusion which at all times has dazled the Protestants, the simplest of which think, that for to make Truth triumph, there only needs a Rupture with the *Roman* See. But nothing made a more dangerous Impression on his Mind, than the Artifice that was us'd, for to perswade him, that the Controversies which make the difference of both Religions were of small consequence. *Roni* was one of those that inclin'd him most to this indifferency, and would even tell him now and then, that a *Catholicity* would be to his Advantage; and that it would be the most efficacious means to quell all Conspiracies. He would reduce the whole Religion for him to the Symbol of the Apostles, to the Ten Commandments, to the Love of God and our Neighbour, to the Confidence in the Merit of Jesus Christ; and that being supposed, all the differences of Religion seemed to him of small consequence. In a word, he so dispos'd his mind, as that the *Romish* Religion appeared to him as useful for Salvation as the Reformed, by not being possess'd with the Abuses which corrupt the Worship and Maxims thereof. Moreover they omitted not to

Political Interests that tended to the same end.

gain

gain ſome Miniſters, whoſe Ambition or Intereſt rendred them tractable. Sometimes they were made to confeſs in the King's Preſence, that one could be ſav'd in the *Roman* Communion. Sometimes they were made to diſpute, as by Rencounter with *du Perron*, to whom they would yield ill-diſputed Victories. And that what they ſhould ſay might appear the leſs intereſted, or of greater weight, they were not obliged to change their Religion; their Prevarication being eſteem'd more beneficial than a publick Profeſſion of the *Roman* Doctrine. By theſe Artifices it was that the King was ſupplied with the Argument, whereof Converters have ſince made great uſe; That the Reformed granted that one may be ſaved in the Catholick Religion; and the Catholicks on the contrary maintaining, That there is no Salvation in the Reformed Religion, Prudence would have us ſtick to the ſureſt, and to take to that Communion wherein the two conteſting Parties grant Salvation to be poſſible. Theſe Miniſters had been prepared of a long time, whereof *Morlas*, *Rotan*, *de Serres*, *de Vaux*, were the moſt noted; and the latter of whom being troubled at his own Remorſes, revealed, they ſay, the whole Myſtery. *Cayer* was alſo of thoſe that were to act this Comedy; but ſome Books not very modeſt that he wrote, and amongſt others, a Treatiſe for the reconciling of Religions, having rendred him ſuſpected, he was depoſed in a Synod; and for a Revenge he turned Catholick. *Roni* for to make his Opinions take, ſaid, he had for Authors *de la Roche*, *Chandieu*, *d' Eſperien*, *de Vaux*, *de Gardeſi*, and *de Nord*, very famous Miniſters, yet whereof the greateſt part had quite different Thoughts. 1593.

Du Perron, whom *Roni* had got to be named Biſhop of *Evreux*, and whoſe Eloquence in Converſation dragged along the minds, dazled the King by the vehemency and rapidity of his diſcourſe; but his reaſons of Divinity did not perſwade him ſo much, as the motives taken from Time and Political Prudence. Theſe reaſons had a great empire over the mind of a Prince, that was weary of the toilſome trade he had followed near twenty years, and who ſaw that his labours were not as yet like to come to an end. The Miſery of the People that could hold out no longer, was repreſented in order to move his Compaſſion. By ſetting forth the heads of the Proteſtants as reſtleſs and ambitious, and he was made

1593. made to fear them. He had cause to complain of several Catholicks, that treated him after an insolent manner, of whom he desired to be in a condition of making fair riddance. Conspiracies were carried on against his Person, that caused him to fear; nay he complain'd to *du Plessis*, that the Catholicks of his Party had plotted with the Duke of *Mayenne* to seize on him at *Mantes*. He was under apprehensions, least the States of the League then assembled at *Paris*, should chuse the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and that the *Spaniards* should uphold him. Most of the Courtiers were weary of this laborious Life, where there was nothing but pains to be taken, and as little to be gained. The fair *Gabrielle d' Estree*, the Kings Mistress, shared in these Intreagues. She hated not the Reformed, whom she judg'd to be faithful and honest Men; and even had many of them in her Service. But the Protestant Lords had no great complyance for her; and they never wou'd have favour'd her ambitious Designs. On the contrary, she was put in hopes that if the King changed Religion, she shou'd have more reason to pretend to Marry him, because he could get the Pope to make void his Marriage with *Margaret* of *Valois*, and be at liberty to contract another; whereas the Reformed Religion debarr'd him from such easie means of making that rupture: And to assure the Crown to the Children that should come of this new Marriage, she therefore added her reasons to those of the rest, and the King who appeared more than half resolv'd upon this unworthy Marriage, suffered himself thus to be overcome, partly by the Prevarications of his Confidents and Ministers, partly by the advices of Policy, and partly by the Illusions of Love.

Nevertheless, he dared not as yet to declare his Intention, whether he was asham'd of this timorous Conduct, or that he feared that the Reformed, whereof some spoke of cantoning themselves, and of abandoning the King if the King forsook them, should strike some desperate Blow. This was not the language of all those that professed the Reformed Religion, the greatest part of whom, and even some of the most authorized, preach'd Patience and Loyalty to the rest. It appear'd in process of time, that those who were of this Sentiment were the strongest, seeing that after the Kings turning, there was none that formed a Party

against

againſt him; and that all of them remained four years more not only in Obedience, but in his Service: there were therefore but a few men that uſed theſe Menaces. They did not do it ſo much through a formal Inclination of cantoning themſelves, but thro' a knack of Policy, for to oppoſe a kind of a Counterpoiſe to the threatnings of the Catholicks, and thus to put in ſome meaſure the Kings Mind in an equal Ballance. The Catholicks often renewed to the King their Threats of quitting him for another, if he did not change his Religion. It was therefore requiſite that the Reformed ſhould do the like, fearing leaſt that the King having nothing to fear but on one ſide, and finding on the other compliyance and gentleneſs, ſhould with more eaſe ſuffer himſelf to be conquered by the threatning Party. The Mind is govern'd as the Body, and when either the one or the other ſinks under an effort that makes it lean on one ſide, there muſt ſtrength be put on the other for to raiſe it up, and to reſtore it to its natural Scituation. So that for to put a ſtop to the King, who was dragged on the Catholicks ſide, thro' the fear of being abandoned by them, it was neceſſary to oppoſe him with the like fear from the Reformed, if he quitted their Religion; but there was a vaſt difference betwixt the conduct of the one and the other. The Catholicks Threatnings were followed with ſad Effects: Intelligences with the Leaguers, Cabals amongſt themſelves, and voluntary Obſtacles to the Kings Proſperity. There was alſo the third Party, whoſe Head was known, and whom moſt of the Catholicks threatned to acknowledge for their Soveraign. But the Threats of the Reformed conſiſted only in bare words, dictated rather by Prudence, than thro' an Intention of doing ill, and which hindered them not from remaining Loyal. 1593.

Marvil. Pa-
ralel of the
Catholicks
and the
Reformed.

Yet the King concealed his Thoughts from them upon that matter with a deep diſſimulation, tho' his deſigns was ſo well known to the Catholicks, that the very *Spaniards* miſtruſted it: therefore they inſinuated to him, that they would treat with him without touching his Religion: This they did for to benefit themſelves with the Leaguers by the Kings ſteadfaſtneſs, if he ſuffered himſelf to be dazled with this deceiving Propoſition. But in order to diſſipate the Suſpicions of the Reformed, the King already reſolved to quit their Religion, teſtified that he was deſirous to provide

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for

1593. for their Safety. Therefore he came to *Tours* as they desired him, for to cause the Restrictions to be taken off, wherewith the Edict of *Nantes* had been Registred: He went thro' *Saumur* in his way thither, and the Ministers having the honour to salute him, upon his departure he assur'd them, that he would dye in the Reformed Religion; and declar'd unto them, that if they heard that he was fallen into some Debauch, they might believe it, because he had many such like Frailties: but that if the noise should spread that he was to forsake his Religion, they should give no credit thereunto. But when he arrived at *Tours*, there fell out things that made it visible he had other Intentions. He dared not to keep his Bed of Justice, as 'twas thought he would, because the procuring an advantage to the Reformed being in agitation, he might have given cause to the Catholicks to murmur, for as much as at his first sitting in the Parliament, he should have constrained that Senate to receive into the Charges those that were called *Hereticks*. He for that reason Assembled only the Heads, to whom he declared his will, and ordered them to consult thereupon: But this weak means advanced not Affairs; and the result of this debate made it evident, that the King had promised to turn Catholick. He made a shew of being irritated at the Parliaments resistance, and spake very angry terms to the Attorney General: But it was all the satisfaction the Reformed had. The Restrictions remained as they were; and it appeared that the King had ingaged to do nothing for them, before he had embraced the Roman Religion.

It seemed, that if the Catholicks had consented to what the King demanded, they would have drawn him out of a great perplexity; and would have put him in a way of quitting the Reformed Religion with more decency, because he should have prevented their Complaints, by making their condition sure. But the Catholicks passion was so great, that they did consider nothing; and that they would have perhaps desired no better, than to drive the Reformed to some Mutiny, for to agree with the League at their cost, and upon condition of turning against them their united Forces. But the Reformed lost not patience for all these Injustices. The King was forced to take other measures for to enduce them to see his change by fair means, and without making

Preparations for his change.

making a ſtir. In order whereunto they made uſe of the Pretence of Conferences. Ten or twelve Conferences had been already held with the Leaguers, without doing any good: a new one was renewed amongſt the Royal Catholicks and them; and that they might not be thwarted by *du Pleſſis*, they agreed for a Preliminary, that no *Heritick* ſhould be admitted thereto. The pretence of it was to concur with the States of *Paris* to put a Catholick King on the Throne; and to reunite the Suffrages in the Perſon of *Henry* IV. in caſe of his *Converſion*. Therefore from the very opening of the Conference he publiſhed a Declaration, that he had prepared, for to aſſure the Catholicks of his deſire to receive Inſtruction. At the ſame time the Reformed of the Court were ſollicited not to hinder the Kings *Converſion:* and the Duke of *Boüillon* was chiefly intreated, becauſe his oppoſition would give the greateſt difficulty: *De Thou* wrote to him upon this Subject, to perſwade him that it would be advantagious for the Reformed to have a Catholick King, of whoſe good Intentions they might have full aſſurances. The Duke was deeply obliged to the King, and his Mouth was ſtopt with ſuch a heap of Promiſes, that it would have been very difficult for him not to have been overcome: The King himſelf promiſed by a Writing that was ſigned by the Princes, and the chief Lords of the Council, that the profeſſion which he was about to make of the Romiſh Religion, would cauſe no change in the Edicts which the Reformed had obtained, and that no reſolution would be taken in the Conference to their Prejudice. 1593. *Preparatives for his Change.*

In the mean time, for to baffle the Reformed of the Provinces, another ſort of Conference was propoſed, under pretence of inſtructing the King: but as his change was reſolved upon, that ſerious and grave Conference ſo much ſpoken of was no more to be expected: It was only a Conference in ſhew; to which the King invited thoſe that he pleaſed by expreſs Letters, aſſigning their Convention at *Mantes*, on the 20*th*, of *July*. 'Tis true, *du Pleſſis* altered the Superſcription of the Letters; and that inſtead of ſending them to ſome private Perſons as the King had ordered; he obtained of him that they ſhould be ſent to the Churches, that they might appoint fit perſons for that matter. No outward action of the King could as yet diſcover his deſign of changing:

1593. and he continued in his Court the Exerciſes of the Reformed Religion as he had accuſtomed: Nay he deſired that all the Reformed throughout the Kingdom ſhould betake themſelves to Faſting and Praying, for to implore of God a happy Iſſue of this pretended Conference, as if he had been ſtill dubious which Party to cleave to. But at laſt the Maſque was taken off, and it was evident that the whole Inſtruction would be reduced to the hearing of the Biſhops, without admitting any Miniſters in order to anſwer them. The Clergy had deſired that the buſineſs might thus go on, becauſe they never ſet Victory at a compromize; and that they were not ſo ſure of the King's *Converſion*, as that an orderly Diſpute, where theſe Paſtors ſhould be admitted, might not make him have quite contrary Thoughts. Notwithſtanding the King thought to make uſe of his Compliance to the Clergy, for to perſwade the Reformed that he yielded but to Neceſſity; that he abjured his Religion but in Words; that he would hear but Catholicks, becauſe that he being forc'd to turn, it was more to the advantage of the Reformed that he ſhould do it without hearing them, than otherwiſe; that they might have it to ſay, they were not vanquiſhed; whereas if the King ſhould turn after a Diſpute of both Parties, this Change of his had been a real Triumph for the Catholicks. But the Myſtery was revealed by a Letter from the Chancellor to the Biſhop of *Chartres*, which was ſeen by the Reformed, wherein he advertis'd that Prelat, That *he might come with a full aſſurance, without troubling himſelf with Divinity.* Hereby it was ſeen, that a ſet Conference was not agreeing to the Biſhops Palat, and they choſe rather to overcome without fighting.

But tho' this kind of Inſtruction ſeem'd very ſtrange to the Reformed, and that they judg'd it a very ſingular thing, that the King ſhould be as 'twere the Judge of ſo great a Cauſe, after having only heard one of the Parties: They notwithſtanding thought they ſhould not omit to ſend their Deputies to *Mantes*, either to obtain by their Preſence ſomething in favour of their Religion, or to take from the Biſhops the Pretence of Boaſting that the Miniſters had ſhunn'd the Conference. Time has declar'd how neceſſary this Precaution was, ſeeing that not only in our days, but almoſt at that ſame time, and in the Preſence of thoſe

those who knew how things had been carried on, they published 1593.
that the Ministers had fled before them, and had not the Courage to come to the Dispute. It is true, that the Ministers of the Court entred not into Conference: But that we may not repeat over, that the King's Instruction was agreed upon to be without them, I shall at least say, that none should admire, That either those who were gained to favour the King's Design had feigned to give way, or that the rest seeing the Snares that were laid for them, and knowing the King's secret Intentions, had requir'd that all the Deputies of the Churches might be expected, before the broaching of a business of so great consequence. However they took another Precaution more formal against the vain Reproach of the Prelats; and they engaged by a Publick and Authentick Writing, to maintain in the Presence of what Persons soever in a set Conference, the Doctrine that the King had learned in the Reformed Religion. It was *du Plessis*'s desire, that the Ambassadors of the Protestant Princes, and some learned Ministers should be at *Mantes*, that the Presence of these Ministers might delay, if it were possible, the King's Change; or at least, that it might more forcibly oblige him to give the Reformed tolerable Conditions. But the precipitation of the Clergy gave not time for all these Measures. They waited neither the coming of the Deputies of the Churches, nor of the Strangers: And after an Instruction of half a day, where only such were present as were not willing to hinder it, the King appeared to be satisfied with the *Roman* Doctrine, and the very next day abjured at St. *Denis* the Reformed Religion. It's true, he never would promise to ruine the *Hereticks* of his Kingdom, which the Clergy would have him Swear to. Whether he acted thus only through a sincere Affection for the Peace of his Subjects, or that it was a premeditated Denial, to take away the Fears his Change might give the Reformed. Neither would he by any means sign a Formular, which had been prepared for him; by which he was to Swear, one after another, to all the Articles of the *Romish* Faith; and in like manner to abjure all the pretended *Heresies* of the Reformed. They were forc'd to draw up one on purpose, where *Roni* interven'd, and where without an express Profession or Abjuration of any Article, he in sum submitted

The King's Conversion.

A Formular that the King refuses.

1593. himſelf to the whole Doctrine of the Catholicks. But as there was a neceſſity of ſatisfying the Pope, the firſt Formular was ſent him in the King's Name, which was counterfeited by *Lomenie* Secretary of State, who had us'd to Sign for him, and who imitated his Writing pretty well. The King agreed to this Writing, which could neither ſet his Conſcience at reſt, nor pleaſe the Court of *Rome*, where the Craft could not be long kept hidden, nor make the Reformed believe that he kept their Religion in his Heart, tho' he had theſe different Proſpects in this Artifice.

The End of the Second Book.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Edict of Nantes.

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of a Re-union. The Duke of Nevers *obtains nothing at* Rome. *The Fears that the King's and Pope's Reconciliation give the Reformed. A Truce prejudicial to the King. The Reducing* Meaux *and other Towns. Clauses in the Treaties that are to the prejudice of the Reformed. The Coronation Oath. The power of the Jesuits. Injustices done to the Reformed. The Characters of the Chief of the Reformed. A Synod at* Montaubon ; *Orders Prayers for the King's Prosperity, and for his returning to his Religion : Disclaims the Province of the Isle of* France *in several points. Assembly at St.* Foy. *Propositions and Regulations for the General Council ; and for those of the Provinces. Secret Articles. Sedition of the* Croquans. *Deputies amused at Court. Pretensions of the Duke of* Mercoeur. *Overtures of Reconciliation with the Pope. The King wounded by* Chatel. *Jesuits banished. Pyramid. Testimony that* d' Ossat *renders the Reformed. The Courts Thoughts upon the Union of the Reformed. The King's Thoughts upon this Subject. Causes for which it is resolv'd to declare the Reformed capable of Employs. The Prince of* Conde *drawn from under their hands. Methods for to succeed in it. The Article of the enabling the Reformed to be in Places passes with much adoe. The Attorney General's ill-grounded Wrangling, and the reason of new Mistrusts. Assembly at* Saumur ; *at first displeases the King, who at at last authorizes it : Reasons for the permitting it. Necessity of importuning the King. The Assembly demands a new Edict, and Securities. The King's desired Absolution : His Reasons for yielding the first. Commissaries chosen for to treat about it.* Du Perron *and* d' Ossat. *The Popes high Pretensions. Precise Instructions to the Attorneys for the contrary. Testimony rendred to the present and past Services of the Reformed. Prevarications of the Attorneys in the Words and thing it self. Articles of Penitence : Complaints of the Reformed : The Excuses of the Attorneys. Punishment of two Protestants at* Rome. *Secret Articles believed to be promised to the Pope.*

1593. *Mistrusts proceeded from this change.*

THis Conduct of the King changed once more the Countenance of Affairs. The Reformed Religion, which the Death of *Henry* III. had put upon the Throne, was on a sudda'n removed far from it ; and the Heads of that Party began

gan to fear, That ſeeing it had been poſſible to make the King by ſo many Artifices quit his Religion, he ſhould by little and little be diſpos'd to deſtroy them. Which was ſo much the more probable, that it being impoſſible for the King to be ignorant of the mortal Grief they had for his Change, he was likewiſe to conſider them as Men, who perhaps for the future would conſult only Deſpair, and who at leaſt would live with him in continual Diffidence. Thence he on the other hand muſt take occaſions of Suſpicions and Jealouſies; and perhaps according to the natural Inclination of Man, who never fails to hate thoſe of whom he no more deſerves to be belov'd, to paſs from the fear of their Reſentments to the reſolution of ruining them. Men look upon the Preſence of thoſe that have rendred them too good Services, and whom they for a Recompenſe have manifeſtly injur'd, as a perpetual upbraiding, of whom they think to rid themſelves by deſtroying theſe troubleſom Accuſers: And the Reformed ſeemed to be in a caſe of excepting no other Uſage, ſeeing the ſight of them could not but trouble the King's Conſcience, by continually upbraiding him with their Services, their Miſery and his Change. They ſaw moreover, that a Negotiation with *Spain* was on foot, which ought to make them fear that the Alliance ſhould be made, but at their Coſt. *La Varenne*, a Man of Fortune, who notwithſtanding had a ſhare in the King's Confidence, becauſe he was one of the Miniſters of his Love-tricks, took a Journey into *Spain*, under certain Pretences, but in effect to propoſe a Peace, and the Marriage of *Henry* IV. with the *Infanta*; for to ſee that Princeſs in the King's Name; for to bring him her Picture, and to promiſe to ſend a Lord of Note, if the King of *Spain* would hearken to it. It is not known whether the King's Intention was really ſo, or if he endeavour'd by the Overture of that Propoſition to make *Spain* abandon the Intereſts of the League. But his Voyage alarm'd the Proteſtants both at home and abroad; tho' *England* and the *United Provinces* had been included in the Project of this Peace, becauſe they feared leſt at one time or another their Ruine to be the fruit of that Alliance. But in *France* the Reformed changed not their Conduct. They were content to ſhrug their Shoulders through Aſtoniſhment, to exhale their Grief in bitter Complaints, and to expect the Iſſue of their Deputation, 1593.

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1593. whose Members were on their way to wait on the King, who had given them fine Promises for their Comfort.

As to the Catholicks, those that follow'd the King's Party lost the Pretence of their Broils, when they could no more reproach him with his Religion. But his Affairs with the Leaguers fared in nothing the better for it. From the very beginning of the Conference that was again taken up with them; they pretended to treat not as Subjects, but as Equals; and even as Superiours, that gave Laws unto the rest. They would not treat with the King, but with the Catholicks that were of his side: They disputed with them whatever can be disputed amongst those that are equal; Precedency, the Wind, the Fire, and the Right Hand; and would have the Houses to be drawn by Lot; and after all, they made still such Demands, as were impossible to be granted. Amongst other Propositions, they made that of granting to the Reformed an Edict of Toleration for a time. Thus they were forced to part, without coming to any Conclusion; the King refusing to consent to such hard Conditions, and not very suitable to the Condition of his Affairs; and the Catholicks themselves that were of his Party being asham'd to desire it of him. Some days after the King's Abjuration, the League renewed the Union-Oath, to rouse the Spirits of those that this Action had shaken. A Copy of this new Oath, which the Cardinal of *Plaisance* had Signed, and which he was sending to *Rome*, fell into the King's Hands, who clearly saw that his Change had not freed him of his Troubles. Even *Villeroy* and *Janin*, who had most assured him that his Religion alone kept these Catholicks from rendring him Obedience, temporized as well as the rest. The reason of this was, that every one was resolved to sell his Reduction; and that private Interest was more valued than that of Religion, which they had given out to be their sole one. There were but very few Examples of an unconcerned yielding; few Towns or Governors surrendred without bargaining; all the rest got themselves to be bought at the dearest rate they could. Therefore whilst the Reformed bewailed the change of their King, and groaned under the Oppression of their Enemies, the Catholicks sold him his own Goods, and obtained from him great Sums or great Places, as a Price at which they set their Obedience: And whilst

Boldness of the Leaguers.

A renewing of the Oath of Union.

whilſt his ancient and moſt faithful Servants enjoy'd neither their Conſciences nor their Lives in Safety, the Rebels, who had ſo often conſpir'd againſt his Service, receiv'd all the Favours and Rewards. Notwithſtanding all this, about a Month after he had embrac'd the *Romiſh* Religion, a Plot againſt his Life was diſcover'd. *Peter Barriere*, a Diſciple to the Jeſuits, had undertaken to kill him. He was apprehended and puniſh'd as his Crime deſerv'd. The Pretence of theſe new Difficulties was, that his *Converſion* was not ſincere, and that before he could be acknowledg'd a true Catholick, he muſt be reconcil'd to the Pope, and receive his Benediction. 1593.

Barriere's Conſpiracy.

The Rebels Pretence.

Mean while the Deputies from the Churches were on their way to *Mantes*. The King was not willing to ſee them, becauſe he expected nothing but Reproaches from them. And Q. *Elizabeth* upbraided him more bitterly then he expected. They of *Geneva* wrote to him after the ſame manner; and he queſtion'd not but his own Subjects would talk to him in the ſame Language. Therefore he took all Precautions poſſible to ſecure himſelf againſt the free and bold Diſcourſes that he expected from them. Whereupon he commanded *du Pleſſis* to let him know what the Reformed did ſay of his Change, as if he had a mind to accuſtom himſelf to ſuch Remonſtrances. This *du Pleſſis* did in a pretty long Letter; but yet more ſharp and ſmart, wherein he plainly ſet forth their Thoughts upon all the Circumſtances of this Affair. He told the King, that the Reformed had hopes that he would have taken care for them, without putting them to Trouble about it; but that inſtead of giving them an aſſured Settlement, he had not ſo much as *taken the Rope from their Necks*, ſeeing the Edicts of the League were ſtill in force in ſeveral Parliaments: That notwithſtanding the Reformed did not deſire, as the League, that the Law of the Realm ſhould be alter'd for their Profit, or that of a Foreign Prince; nor as the Royal Catholicks, that the King according to their Pleaſure ſhould change his Religion; and much leſs, that the Kingdom ſhould be torn into pieces, to ſatisfie a ſmall number of Men: That they deſir'd Peace only for their Conſciences, and the Security of their Lives, every one according to his Quality and Birth; which is a common Right, and not a private Priviledge, they being reſolv'd to obey their Prince with-

The Deputies of the Reformed on their march.

The King's Precautions againſt their reproaches.

1593. out excepting againſt his Religion; That they complain'd that their Petitions, granted by ſo many Edicts of his Predeceſſors, and maintain'd by himſelf, could not be hearkned to under his Reign; which had they not expected, and had it not been for the Affection they bare him, they might juſtly and profitably have uſed the Methods they had been forc'd to make uſe of under the former Reigns: That after a long Patience, they ſaw him quit his Religion, without providing for them in any manner whatever: That the Vulgar thence concluded, that whether he had turn'd of his own free accord, or thro' neceſſity, there was no good to be expected from him any more: That the wiſer ſort were in hopes he would never have forgot the Favours God had ſhow'd down upon him, nor the Services of the Reformed; but that they feared at the ſame time, that he having forgot them in the midſt of his Proſperities, and not having ſet them at liberty, when ſo many Victories gave him Authority to do it, would for the future want reſolution to do them good; and that thoſe who had been able to ſhake his Conſcience, would likewiſe force him to make an ill uſe of his Power. To which they added the Examples of the paſt, and the preſent Diſcourſes of ſeveral Catholicks: That they doubted of his Conſtancy of protecting them, having ſeen what he had done; more eſpecially finding that there was a greater diſtance betwixt pure Religion and Idolatry, then betwixt Idolatry and Perſecution; becauſe a Man muſt meet with Difficulty to paſs from Good to Evil, but to grow worſe and worſe is ſo eaſie, that it is ſcarce perceptible. *Du Pleſſis* moreover obſerv'd, that the King had been impos'd upon their Inſinuations to bring him to Maſs; which having fully diſcover'd, he told him, that it was evident the Catholicks intended to carry him on further; that he would be oblig'd to ſend to *Rome*, where no Abſolution would be obtain'd without Penance; that Popes had ſometimes enjoin'd that of making War againſt the Infidels; that after the ſame manner the Conſecrated Sword would ſoon be ſent him, to fight againſt the Hereticks, meaning the Reformed, the Loyaleſt of his *French-men* and the ſincereſt Subjects; and that he ſhould be brought thereto by little and little under divers Pretences, to overcome his good Diſpoſition. Then he ſhew'd the King the Progreſs of the Conference begun with the League, the Delays of thoſe that had made him change, the Inconvenience

conveniencies of the Truce; the cauſe of fearing, that as he was thereby treated as Head of a Party, he might be oblig'd by the Peace to become the Captain General againſt the *Huguenots*: that the Peace without them could not be manag'd without injuſtice, nor without giving them lawful Suſpicions: Whereupon he repreſented what Extremities the Catholicks were delivered from under *Henry* III. by the Reformed; and how the latter had reaſon to ſuſpect, that if a Peace was concluded without them, all the Difficulties of it ſhould be removed to make them ſmart; that the convocating the Deputies of the Churches was a Cheat, ſeeing that without waiting their coming they debated on their Condition, and that of their Poſterity; and that they made the King give ſuch Promiſes, as one day would be us'd to make void all that he ſhould grant them; that there were effects that corroborated theſe Suſpicions; that Proteſtant Sermons were already baniſh'd the Court and Armies; and conſequently the Reformed; ſeeing it was impoſſible for them to live at Court without ſerving God, or to expoſe themſelves in the Army without any hope of Comfort, and without aſſurance of Chriſtian Burial; that they were contriving to debar them from all places in the Exchequer, Courts of Juſtice, and City Magiſtracy, for which they had never yet been importunate with him; that it was not juſt they ſhould injure their Poſterity to that degree, as to leave them in the Kingdom to be rank'd among *Jews* and *Leapers*, inſtead of what was owing to their Services; that they could better endure to live under the late King's Truce, that granted 'em the Exerciſe of their Religion at Court and in the Army, the Salary of their Miſters out of the Exchequer, Places of Safety in every Bailwick or Seneſcalſhip; and that beſides had promiſed them a reſtitution of the Edicts before the year was ended. Finally he added by way of Advice, That theſe Conſiderations had weaned the Patience of the King's Servants, who knew not what anſwer to make; that now there was no time for Delays; that their minds were tyr'd, yet heaving and toſſing, and upon ſeeking Remedy from Deſpair; that to take off their deſire for a Protector, it was requiſite the King ſhould free them from that neceſſity, by being himſelf the Perſon, by preventing 'em, and taking 'em into his Care; that he knew what would benefit or annoy them; that he needed no more then only call to mind the Petitions 1593.

1593. that he had presented for them to his Predecessors; that they had lost nothing of their Justice; and that they ought to have gained somewhat by the Increase of his Authority, seeing it was in his power if he pleas'd, to be the Judge and Advocate, the Obtainer and Donor all at once.

Insults of the Catholicks.

The Catholicks seemed to fear, lest these different Motions should not make an Impression deep enough on their Minds; therefore they exasperated them by insulting Language. Some of them call'd the Reformed Sots and Blockheads, that knew not how to take hold of the occasion, and had suffer'd the time to slip that was fit for their purpose. This sort of Drollery was so much the more nipping, because that when they press'd the King to think on them, it was cast in their Teeth, that they had mistaken the time; and were threatned, that one day they might very well lose what they should obtain this way. And they have ever since been thus dealt with. All the Methods they have taken or propos'd for their Safety have been accounted punishable Rebellions; as also whatever they have done to keep their Enemies from destroying them: And when they suffered without muttering one Word, all the ways that have been undertaken to oppress them, they were styled Stupids and Rusticks, that knew not how to defend themselves.

Du Plessis's Letter having prepar'd the King for such Discourses as the Deputies were like to assail him with, He desir'd again to see him at *Chartres*, to accustom himself to the Presence of the Reformed, as well as to their Remonstrances; perswading himself that if what he should say made any Impression on his Mind, it would suffice to perswade the rest, who put an extraordinary Confidence in that Gentleman. He saw him therefore, and excus'd himself the best he could, striving to make him believe, that his Change was altogether feign'd and forc'd, so far as to detest those that had done the like in imitation of him; and protesting that he had Sacrificed himself for his People, and chiefly to procure with more ease the Peace of the Churches, which he then call'd as he did a long time after, *our Churches*, as if he had still held some Communion with them. These Reasons were the Satisfaction that he gave the Reformed of his Court, to whom his Change seemed inexcusable; and would tell them, even before

he had put it in execution, that he made himſelf an Anathema for his Brethren, whoſe reſt he well ſaw could not otherwiſe be procur'd. *Du Pleſſis* ſeem'd not to be ſatisfied with theſe Excuſes, nor to build upon the hopes the King gave him of reforming Religion: but the aſſurance which he gave him that his affection for the Reformed was not alter'd, might be a greater ſatisfaction to him. 1593.

In the mean time the Royal Catholicks having made themſelves Maſters of the King by his change, were nothing the juſter towards the Reformed; they omitted no occaſion of rendering them ſuſpected or odious, in which they ſpar'd not Calumny itſelf. It was for that purpoſe that a Rumour was ſpread amongſt the People, that *duPleſſis* had intended to murder all the Catholicks of *Saumur* on the Eve of St. *Bartholomew*, to revenge the Reformed that had been ſerv'd ſo twenty years before at *Paris*. He underſtood very well the malignity of this Artifice, which tended to render all the Reformed ſuſpected of a like deſign, in all the places where they were the ſtrongeſt: becauſe it was more than probable, that a Lord of that Wiſdom and Authority would not alone undertake the project of this Vengeance, which would be too ſmall for to extend only on the Catholicks of *Saumur*: Therefore he was willing to refute that Calumny in due Form. He complain'd to the Parliament of it; information was made againſt the Authors of this Report, which was eaſily convinc'd to be falſe: but the party impeach'd was not puniſh'd as *du Pleſſis*'s expected. On the other hand, the Catholicks ſtrove with great vigour, to keep the Deputies of the Churches from coming into the King's Preſence: whether they fear'd that their light might ſhake him, he being as yet not well grounded; or that they ſtrove to hinder the Favours he was prepar'd to grant them, to make them forget his change. But the King being very loath to ſend back the Reformed Deputies without hearing them, the Catholicks endeavour'd to keep him at leaſt from ſeeing them all, and would fain have admitted no more then ſix into his Preſence: But *Du Pleſſis* got the King to reſolve the contrary. However the Catholicks without loſing courage, endeavour'd to weary the Deputies at *Nantes*, amuſing the King near *Fecamp*, and other places of *Normandy*, to give them occaſion to Believe that the King ſhund 'em, and was not

Artifices to hinder the Deputies from ſeeing him.

1593. not willing to come to the ſpeech of 'em: and moreover they put him in ſome fear of the Pope, who would be offended if he gave ſo ſoon, and ſo publickly, any token of affection to the Reformed. But *du Pleſſis* ſtill got the better of theſe Artifices; the King went to *Mantes*, ſaw all the Deputies, heard their Complaints and Reproaches, they wanting neither Strength nor Courage, made them fair Promiſes, heard Preſident *Feydeau* that ſpoke for them, received the Memorial of their Demands, charged the Chancellor to examine it, and made them hope he would give them ſatisfaction.

Project of an Edict. The Catholicks not being able to hinder him from ſeeing them, endeavour'd at leaſt to hinder his ſatisfying them; and adviſed him to ſend them home with a promiſe to anſwer their Memorial in three Months. But the Marſhal *de Bouillon* and *du Pleſſis* ſhewed ſo many inconveniencies in that advice, the ſuſpicions ſo lawful, that the Deputy's return would give the Churches, without carrying back any thing but words; ſo many ſad Conſequences of deſpair that ſuch a conduct would caſt the Reformed into, that the King took a contrary advice. And becauſe they always alledg'd the Pope, who had not as yet approv'd the King's abſolution, and how the Edict that would be given the Reformed would hinder his approving it; they reply'd, that there was no heed to be given to the Pope, when their affairs were in agitation, becauſe they knew but too well that he would never be pleaſed that any thing ſhould be done in their favour. But to teſtifie that the King's Service was as dear to them before as after his change, and that they were not willing their Precipitation ſhould bring him any prejudice, they did agree that the publiſhing of the Edict which would be granted them might be deferr'd, provided the Memorial was preſently examined, and the Edict drawn up in order to its Publication at a leſs tickliſh Juncture. They therefore obtained that ſeven Catholick Commiſſaries ſhould be named, that what they ſhould conclude might be the more authorized: and in this very number were ſome of the moſt rigid, to take away all cauſes of murmuring if the buſineſs ſhould be carried on without them. But theſe Commiſſaries knew not where to begin; whether their deſign was to fruſtrate the perſuits of the Reformed, and to put them off to a time that the King's *Converſion*

version ſhould not be a new thing; or that out of their zeal for Religion they were not willing to grant any thing to thoſe that they held for *Hereticks*. So that after ſeveral Conferences, wherein time was ſpent, the Marſhal Duke *de Bouillon*, and *du Pleſſis*, were added to the Catholicks, who ſoon agreed with them upon ſeveral Articles. 1593.

The chief of them were, that the Edict of 1577 ſhould be revived with the Interpretations given it in the Conference of *Nerac* and *Fleix*; that the Edicts extorted by the League to the prejudice of the former ſhould be repealed: That by reaſon of the changes cauſed by the diſturbances of the League, and the damages that the Reformed had ſuffered thereby, a new Regulation ſhould be made by way of amends for their Loſſes, conformably to which the Chancellor and Secretaries of State ſhould govern themſelves upon occaſions, and give the neceſſary advices to the Parliaments, in the Affairs that ſhould be Tranſacted by them; That the Catholick Religion ſhould be re-eſtabliſh'd in all places that the War had baniſhed its Exerciſe from, which ſhould be performed without Fraud, and without Prejudice to the Reformed: That the Reformed ſhould exerciſe theirs in the Cities under the King's Obedience, Becauſe the War hindered them from aſſembling with ſafety in the Country; which however the King ſhould order according to the places: That when the King's Siſter was at Court, the exerciſe of the Reformed Religion ſhould be in her Houſe; and in her abſence, only in the Families of Lords, amongſt whom were reckoned, namely, the Duke *de Bouillon*, *la Trimouille*, *Rohan*, *du Pleſſis*, yet with that reſervation, that no Pſalms ſhould be ſung there: That it ſhould alſo be in the Army, whether the King was preſent or abſent, in the Quarters of the Captains of the Gendarms, and Camp-maſters: That no Oath made, or to be made, ſhould be a prejudice to the Article agreed to: That a Fund ſhould be appointed for the Salary of their Paſtors, according to the Rolls certified by the Provinces, and that it ſhould be charged upon the Provinces under the name of Madame: That the Legacies and Gifts that might be bequeath'd to the Churches and Poor ſhould be valid, and that the Reformed ſhould be admitted to ſue for the Payment thereof after the ordinary ways: That the Children of the Reformed

And to hinder him from ſatisfying them.

1593. formed ſhould be brought up in the Religion of their Parents, tho' the Fathers and Mothers of them ſhould not order the ſame in their laſt Will. They added verbally to all theſe Articles that were written down, that the Reformed might build and rent Colledges for the inſtructing their Youth.

Precautions againſt the Oaths of the Order of the H. Ghoſt, and the Coronation.

The Reformed Commiſſaries got an Article to be inſerted againſt the Oaths, under pretence of which all the Promiſes that ſhould be made might be evaded; becauſe they knew very well that the King was to take the Oath of the Order of the Holy Ghoſt, and that at his Conſecration he would be made to take another, whereby he ſhould be obliged to extirpate the *Hereticks*. In like manner they obtain'd, that the Fund appointed for the maintaining their Paſtors ſhould be charg'd upon the State, under the name of Madame, by reaſon the Catholicks look'd on it as a very grievous thing, that the States of a moſt Chriſtian King ſhould be charged with the Maintenance of Heretical Miniſters. But when theſe Articles were communicated to the Deputies of the Churches, they were not ſatisfied with them for two principal Reaſons. The firſt was, That there was no care taken, that Juſtice ſhould be adminiſter'd to them as well as to Catholicks; whereas the Parliaments and other Judges did them great Injuſtices in Civil Matters, and great Cruelties in Criminal ones, as if the Protection of Laws and Common Right had not belong'd to them. Add to this, That the reviving the Edict of 1577. which ſeemed to provide for that, did not free them from their fear of being deprived of its effect, by the ſame Frauds of which they had a Tryal under the Reign of *Henry* III. The ſecond was, that the Securities given them did not ſeem ſufficient againſt the Animoſities of the Catholicks; of which they had a freſh example by the peeviſhneſs of the Commiſſaries that had treated with the Marſhal *de Bouillon* and *du Pleſſis*. It had appeared by all their former Behaviour, but ſtill more by their ſharp and unjuſt Conteſtations which they had upon each Article of the Memorial. So that the remembrance of paſt Cruelties and Treacheries, ſuffered not the Reformed to rely on the goodneſs of Enemies whoſe hatred nothing could aſſwage. Therefore they repreſented to the King the inſufficiency of the Articles, granted them: but

all was in vain. The Council permitted not that any addition should be made to the things agreed on, and the King who had reason to manage the Catholicks more then ever, durst not incense 'em by giving the Reformed too much Satisfaction. The Deputies of the Churches were therefore forc'd to retire, as if it were to give those that sent 'em an account of their Negotiation: and they carri'd into their Provinces the Articles granted, without either accepting or refusing 'em, as if they were to consider 'em more at large with their Brethren. 1593.

The Reformed dissatisfi'd of the Project, neither accept nor refuse them.

'Tis true, the King gave them leave to call a Provincial Assemblies, there to make a Report of their Deputation; and to prepare them for a general Assembly, which they held at St. *Foy* the ensuing year. They also obtained leave to call a National Synod to regulate their Ecclesiastick affairs, which were in some confusion. But that which most favoured them was, that even before the King's face and with his Approbation, they renew'd at *Mantes* the Union of the Churches, to live and to dye in the maintainance and defence of their Confession of Faith, as they had already sworn at the Assemblies of *Nimes*, *Millaud*, *Montauban*, and *Rochelle*. But these former Oaths had been made under the authority of a Protector of their own Religion: That of *Mantes* was the first they made with the consent of a King that had embrac'd a contrary Communion. *Du Plessis* put this Notion in their heads, and advis'd them to let the King know it. They did so, and the King, whether in that he follow'd his own Inclinations, which favour'd 'em in the main, or that he judg'd it was not a time to disapprove it, not only permitted them to renew their Union, but exhorted 'em to it, as a thing necessary for their Preservation; and said nothing to them that might make 'em think he believ'd their Oath was prejudicial to his Service. For this clause was always inserted in the Acts of the Union, that it was made *under the Kings Obedience*, and without quitting the fidelity that was due to him. It would have been difficult, I grant, but on t'other hand, it would not have been just to oppose such an Union, seeing that in effect to hinder people from uniting themselves for their own safety, when they have formidable Enemies to deal with, would be a direct Declaration that they were resolv'd to destroy 'em; therefore this Union of the Churches which has made so great a noise,

Assemblies permitted. Union renewed with the King's approbation.

1593. and which has serv'd *Lewis* XIII. for a pretence to ruine the Reformed, was in its beginning equally innocent and necessary: Since natural right of self-preservation grounded the necessity of it, and for that the Approdation and Exhortation of the King who authoriz'd 'em, was lawful and no way to be blam'd.

Artifices to corrupt the Ministers.

This hinder'd not, but that whilst the Deputies of the Reformed stay'd at *Mantes* great endeavours were us'd by the force of Intrigues to corrupt some of 'em, either to sow division amongst 'em, or to colour the King's Change by some new Prevarication of the Ministers. Matters had been prepar'd for it, by procuring the Deputation of some Provinces for such Persons as were judg'd most plyable to the Promises of the Court. *Rotan* a famous Minister was suspected to help on these Artifices, whether he was really charmed by the expectance of some Favours, or that he feign'd as if he hearken'd to 'em that so he might be made a Deputy; because that Commission then was of no small consequence to honour those it was given to. A Conference was therefore begun, to which *du Perron* was admitted, as assur'd of Victory, by the Collusion of his Adversary. The dispute ran upon the sufficiency of Scripture, and upon the Interpretation of the 16 verse of the 3 Chapter of the 11 Epistle of *Paul* to *Timothy*. But *Rotan* not daring, either in Honour or Conscience, to be so base as he was reported to have promis'd, feign'd himself sick, which freed him from that trouble. *Beraud* a Minister of *Montauban* took his place, but the Conference was soon at an end, when they saw that there was nothing to be expected from the fraud agreed upon with *Rotan*. The Clergy found out the means to break it, without seeming to shun it; and the Ministers on their part offer'd to take it up when ever occasion should offer: But by reason these offers hinder'd not the Clergy to boast that they had made the Ministers give ground, *Berand* and *Rotan* got the National Synod held at *Montauban* the following year, to approve what they had done at the Conference. *Beraud* perswaded *Rotan* to lay all upon himself; and this approbation stifled mens suspicion, that the latter held any fraudulent Correspondence with the Adversaries: and to shew that they did not stand in fear of the Bishops, the Synod nam'd one and Twenty Persons of their Body, to whom they gave authority of chu-

sing

ſing Twelve of their own number to continue the Conference, whenever the Catholicks would re-aſſume it. Amongſt theſe Electors were three Foreign Miniſters; one from *Geneva*, one from *England*, and one from *Holland*. 1593.

The departure of the Deputies put an end to theſe dangerous Intreigues; but the Reformed ſoon after were ſet upon by new Artifices: And ſecret Orders were ſent into the Provinces, to hinder their Miniſters from uſing in their Sermons too hard Expreſſions againſt the King's Change, and they were forbid to call it a *Revolt*. Thus whilſt on the one hand the Suffrages of ſome Preachers of the League were bought off with ready Money, to engage 'em to ſpeak advantagiouſly of the King's *Converſion* in their Pulpits, the ſame means was moſtly us'd to ſtop the Miniſters Mouths, and to make 'em ſpeak modeſtly concerning the ſame thing. Hereby it was expected that the Reformed People coming to hear this Action of their Prince ſpoken of with ſo much Moderation, might be the more eaſily inclin'd to imitate Him. Moreover there aroſe a World of Reconcilers of Religion, who looking upon the Accomodations as very proper to flatter the King's Conſcience, by theſe unworthy means aſpir'd to Rewards and Salaries. Theſe Reconciliations wrought upon ſome Miniſters; but that which was moſt ſurprizing, was, that a whole Province was taken with theſe illuſory Projects, and had the Boldneſs to charge their Deputies to carry a Propoſal of the ſame to the Synod of *Montauban*. Theſe Artifices corrupted many People, and occaſion'd much trouble to ſeveral wiſe and honeſt Men, that were for preſerving the advantages of Religion and the Rights of Conſcience, without diſturbing the Peace of the Churches. *A deſign of re-uniting.*

On the other hand, the King's Negotiations with the Pope gave new Alarms to the Reformed, who fear'd leſt they ſhould pay the Expences of the Reconciliation betwixt theſe two Potentates. The Duke of *Nevers* being ſent to *Rome*, ſeem'd fit for the ſpeedy concluding of this buſineſs, becauſe that as a zealous Catholick, and originally an *Italian*, he would be acceptable to the Pope; and as affectionate to the King, he would mind his Intereſt. In effect he was very intent upon the matter, and ply'd the Pope in a moſt ſubmiſſive and earneſt manner: But he got nothing by his

1593. Importunity. The Pope believ'd the League to be ſtill ſtrong enough to hold out a long time againſt the King's Power; and according to the Maxims of *Rome*, he continu'd inflexible, as long as he thought things could not be done without him. The Duke of *Nevers* has thought fit in his Memoirs to make a particular Obſervation of the little knowledge that Court has of the Goſpel; where nevertheleſs, the Name of Religion ſerves for a Cloak for all things. He relates, that as he was one day remonſtrating to the Cardinal of *Toledo*, how juſt it was that the Pope ſhould kindly accept the Offers of the King that courted him, ſeeing his Duty oblig'd him, like the good Shepherd that ſeeks for the ſtray'd Sheep, to have courted himſelf that Prince, were he ſtill ſtray'd from his Flock; This Cardinal, one of the moſt learned and famous of the College, anſwer'd him, *That it did not ſtand with the Dignity of Jeſus Chriſt to run after the ſtray'd.* And continuing the ſame Diſcourſe, he nam'd the Apoſtle St. *Andrew* in a thing that the Evangeliſt St. *John* attributes to St. *Philip*; wherein the Duke, who knew more then he, made no Scruple to ſhew him his Error.

The Duke of Nevers obtains nothing at Rome.

Theſe Rigours of the Pope, and the bad Succeſs of the Embaſſie of the Duke of *Nevers*, who was not a little griev'd to ſee that they did but laugh at the Miſeries of *France* in *Rome*, and in whoſe Preſence this ſame Cardinal had preſum'd to ſay, ſmiling at the Deſcription he made of 'em, *That he did not know how to help 'em*; All this, I ſay, made ſome of the Reformed take heart, in hopes to ſee a Schiſm that might happen to their Advantage. But thoſe who underſtood better the *Roman* Policy judg'd otherwiſe, and believ'd, that all theſe Scruples were rais'd only for to enhance the price of the King's Reconciliation, and to draw more advantageous Conditions from him; amongſt which they highly fear'd, leaſt deſtroying the Hereticks, as one of the chiefeſt, ſhould be inſerted. It is true, the King had charg'd the Duke of *Nevers* to let the Pope know, if he were capable of hearkning to Reaſon, that conſidering the preſent poſture of Affairs, he ought not be oblig'd either to deſtroy the Reformed, nor to promiſe the compaſſing of it one day, becauſe they were ſtrong enough to ſtand in their own Defence, and had well fortify'd Holds to retire to. In conſideration of which he beſought the Pope not to take it ill,

ill, that ſome other more moderate Courſe might be taken for the good of the Catholick Religion, without mentioning the Deſtruction of the Reformed. *Piſani*, who had made a Voyage to *Italy* before the Duke, had alſo been charg'd with the like Inſtructions. But the Reformed were not ignorant of the Artifices of the Court of *Rome*, that takes her Meaſures afar off to bring about her Deſigns, whereof ſhe never loſes ſight. The Pope alſo explain'd himſelf clearly enough upon this Subject; and tho' he had reſolv'd to give no poſitive Anſwer to the Duke of *Nevers*, when he ask'd him, what he would have the King do in order to obtain his Abſolution; yet told him, to be rid of his Importunities, that the King ſhould do the contrary of all that he had done till that time. The Reformed underſtood well the meaning of thoſe Words. They were not obſcure to thoſe that knew with what earneſtneſs the Court of *Rome* had, and ſtill did endeavour throughout all *Europe*, to deſtroy the Proteſtants: They ſaw well, that the Popes meaning was, that the King who to that time had been the Protector of the Reformed, muſt for the future perſecute and deſtroy 'em. They were moreover well informed, that divers Advices were given the King to divert him from favouring them; and that it was ever-more repreſented to him, that that was the only means to bring back all the Catholicks into his Service, and bind the Pope to his Intereſts. 1593.

The fears that the King and Popes reconciliation gave the Reformed.

Mean while the Truce which the King had made with the Heads of the League immediately after his *Converſion*, under pretence of re-uniting their Minds, and to wean them from the War, ended with the Year. It was at firſt made for Three Months, and then was continued. The Reformed of the Council oppos'd it with all their might, and endeavour'd to make the King ſenſible, that this Truce would prove the Ruine of his Affairs; becauſe it would delay the good Intentions of thoſe that were inclinable to return to their Obedience, and give the Heads of the League time to re-encourage their Party that began to ſhake, and an Opportunity of treating more advantagiouſly with the *Spaniards*. But this Advice was rejected by them who foreſaw that the deſign of a Peace would throw the Reformed into deſpair, who found more ſafety for themſelves in the Continuation of the War. Yet time convinc'd the World that their Counſel was both wholſom and un-

Truce to the King's prejudice.

1593. unbyaſſed. The particular Heads of the League ſtuck cloſe one to another whilſt the Truce laſted, hoping that All together ſhould obtain better Conditions then ſeparate and divided; and the Heads made a bad uſe of it to draw more Succours from the *Spaniards*, who were deſirous to continue the Troubles in the Kingdom. The King therefore publiſh'd a Declaration, ſetting forth his Reaſons for diſcontinuing a Truce ſo hurtful to his Intereſts. But the face of things chang'd as ſoon as ever the Truce was expir'd, and moſt of the Cities treated. *Meaux* was the firſt that ſubmitted, following the Example of *Vitri* the Governor. She drew great advantages from her ſubmitting, and the Edict that was given her ſerv'd for a Model to the reſt under the ſame Circumſtances.

Reduction of Meaux and other Towns.

All theſe Surrendrings gave new Jealouſies to the Reformed, againſt whoſe Liberties there were always ſome Clauſes inſerted in the Treaties of the Governors and Cities. The very Articles that were agreed upon at *Mantes* were almoſt all violated by theſe new Edicts; and the Reformed after all theſe Infringments, found themſelves in as bad a poſture as at the beginning. All the Towns did not ſhew an equal Averſion for them; but they all agreed, that no other Religion then the Catholick ſhould be exercis'd within their Walls *Meaux* was content to exclude out of her Cities and Suburbs the Exerciſe of the Reformed Religion. Others baniſh'd it their * *Banlieve.* Several reduced it to the Limits of the Edict of 1577. fearing leaſt the Services of the Reformed ſhould get 'em a more extended Liberty. Several deſir'd that the Exerciſe of the Reformed might be remov'd from the Juriſdiction of their Bailiwick. Some added pain of Death to thoſe that ſhould break the Conditions. *Paris* remov'd the Liberty deſir'd by the Reformed Ten Leagues round. *Villars* baniſh'd it *Roan*, and all the Towns and Places that he caus'd to ſubmit to the King's Obedience; and added, That there ſhould be neither Judge nor Officer that was not a Catholick employ'd therein, and did not live according to the Conſtitutions of the *Romiſh* Church. But to temperate this rigorous Clauſe, it was ſubjoyned, that this ſhould only laſt till the King had otherwiſe order'd it. *Poitieres*, beſides the removal of the Exerciſe of the Reformed from the Town and Suburbs, and from all the places that the Edict of 1577. did not permit, demanded that the Catholick Religion

Clauſes in the Treaties that prejudice the Reformed.

* *The Circuit of a League from any Town, being within the Precinct or Juriſdiction of it.*

Religion might be reſtor'd in divers places of *Poitou*. *Agen* limi- 1593.
ted her Bonlieve to half a league round, where the Reformed Religion ſhould not be exercis'd. *Amiens* prohibited it in the City and whole Bailywick, without having reſpect to the Edict of 1577. *Beauvois* obtain'd that it ſhould be no nearer then three Leagues about, nor in any places of the Bailywick, but where it had been in the late King's time. S. *Malo* treated after the ſame manner. The Towns and Lords that return'd lateſt to their duty, follow'd the example of the reſt, and got what they cou'd from the King againſt the Reformed Religion.

Some of the Edicts were publiſh'd before the Reformed had formed the Aſſembly they were permitted to hold at St. *Foy*; ſo that they had time to ſee what they were to expect from the Reconciliation of their old Enemies with the King, and to be confirm'd in their fears of ſeeing the Kingdom pacifi'd at their coſt. They ſaw even ſome of thoſe Cities, which having held for the King, revive their zeal after the example of the Towns of the League; and pretended that their fidelity ſhou'd not deprive 'em of the Advantages granted to Rebels; whence they drew this conſequence, that they ought not to be forc'd to ſuffer the exerciſe of the Reformed Religion, ſeeing ſuch were free'd from it as had for a long time ſtood out againſt the King. But their allarums ſtill encreas'd by the Ceremony of the King's Coronation, which was celebrated at *Chartres*, becauſe *Rheims* was as yet in the hands of the League. The Clergy that never forgot their intereſt in Ceremonies of this kind, which they have introduc'd rather thro' Ambition then Neceſſity, inſerted a Clauſe in the Oath that was then taken by the King, whereby he was bound in expreſs words, to root out Hereſie. He is made to ſwear, after ſome other things that concern Juſtice and publick Tranquility, *I ſhall to the utmoſt of my power ſincerely endeavour to drive from my Juriſdiction and Lands of my Subjection all Hereticks declar'd by the Church* The Reformed knew well what ſhare they had in this Article of the Oath, they to whom what Catholicks call the Church, had ſo often declar'd their meaning; they againſt whom the Popes had rais'd ſuch cruel Perſecutions; and they to whom the French, and even thoſe of the King's Party gave every day the odious name of *Hereticks*. But part of the Suſpicion which this Clauſe

Oath of the Conſecration.

1593. Clauſe might give, was remov'd by granting the Reformed a Brief, wherein the King aſſur'd 'em that he did not mean Them in that Oath: And they had in ſome meaſure provided a Remedy againſt this fear, by one of the Articles that were agree'd on at *Mantes*.

The Jeſuits Anſwer. Another cauſe of jealouſie was the Favour into which the Jeſuits had crept a little after the King had chang'd his Religion, and chiefly after the Reduction of *Paris*. The Cardinal *de Bourbon* had undertaken to eſtabliſh 'em, in ſpight of the oppoſitions of the Univerſity. The Duke of *Nevers* upheld 'em with his whole Credit; and many Lords openly protected them. Part of the Parliament was for 'em; the King himſelf, who was brought to any thing in hopes to ſoften the Pope, favour'd 'em. Their cauſe was pleaded *pro* and *con*; the Rights of the Univerſity were maintain'd with utmoſt vehemency. *Arnauld* ther Advocate, enlarg'd much upon the Inclination, altogether *Spaniſh*, of that Society, whoſe Founder had made a vow of mortal hatred againſt *France*; and ſhew'd how formidable their power was. They had encreas'd in fifty years to the number of ten Thouſand men; they hadalready two Hunder'd twenty eight Houſes; two Millions of Gold Revenue; great Lordſhips; Cardinals in their order: all which cleerly ſhew'd that they ow'd this propagation to their unquiet, covetous, and ambitious Diſpoſition. But it appear'd at that very time that they had a great credit in *France*, ſeeing their Cauſe was pleaded privately to avoid Scandal. That is to ſay, theſe Refin'd Politicians by means of their Friends, prevented their being told their own in a publick Audience: Whence the wiſe might perceive, that it was not ſafe to offend 'em. The Reformed beheld the Settlement of the Jeſuits as an ill omen for them, becauſe they were their ſworn Enemies; born on purpoſe to oppoſe the Reformation; and the ordinary Inſtruments of all their Perſecutions. Moreover the Society was altogether *Spaniſhly* affected; and conſequently engag'd to perſecute the Reformed, whoſe ruine *Spain* ſought with all the ſtrength of her Policy. But this terror did not go far; the matter was not decided; and e're the year was ended, there fell out things that found the Jeſuits other Intrigues to diſintangle.

Injuſtices done to the Reformed.

The

The Reformed were ſtill deny'd any places of truſt; and there were Catholicks ſo unjuſt upon that matter, that they choſe rather to ſee the King loſe a place, then to ſuffer a Reformed to have the Government of it. *D' O.* publickly ſaid, that it were better *Catelet*, a Frontire place of *Picardy*, ſhou'd be taken by the *Spaniards*, then that a Proteſtant ſhould have the keeping of it, becauſe it wou'd be eaſier to retake it from the King of *Spain*, then to drive a Reformed Captain out of it; But what made the Reformed more ſenſible of the injury of this denial was, that whilſt they were depriv'd of leſſer Offices, the chiefeſt places of the State were given to the Leaguers, that demanded them for returning to their Obedience: As if Rebellion had given more right to the higheſt Dignities, then long Service, and tryed Loyalty to the leſſer ones. Nay at *Tours* itſelf wou'd they make Recorders and Notaries take an Oath, of living and dying in the Catholick Religion; which if it were not done, the place was declar'd vacant and free for the purchaſe of another. This ſo unequal a diſtribution of Recompenſes mortally offended the Proteſtants, who not without a juſt Reſentment, found that the Parliament made no Scruple to Regiſter the Patents for Admiral or Marſhal of *France*, granted to the Heads of the Rebels; yet would not admit an Uſher or a Procter of the Reformed Religion, without obliging him to ſwear that he wou'd live a good Catholick. Nor was this all; the Governments and Places were taken from the Reformed, and at the ſame time beſtowed upon their Enemies. Divers pretences were contriv'd, either to hinder them from fortifying the places they held, or to perſwade them that the keeping 'em was not worth while. *Valognes* in *Normandy* was taken from 'em, under a pretence that it ſignifi'd nothing to keep it, becauſe two or three uſeleſs Forts about it were ras'd. Mention was made of demoliſhing all the places that kept *Poitiers* block'd up, as ſoon as that great Town wou'd be reduc'd. The Baron of *Courtomer* alſo was depriv'd of the Government of *Argentan* to put *Medavi* in his place: and elſewhere many the like Subjects of Complaint were given. The King to appeaſe the Murmurings that were occaſion'd by ſuch Acts of Injuſtice, pay'd the Reformed with the Parable of the Young Man, at whoſe return, after a ſhameful waſting of his Wealth, 1594.

1593. his Father kill'd the fatted Calf, for Joy of his Repentance. But they answer'd, that they ought at least to be treated as the Son that had always been faithful, and to whom his Father said, *Son, all that I have is thine.* That if they were resolv'd to spend the revenue of the Family, in favour of a Prodigal to reclaim him, it was but just at least to make him a sharer, to whom it was said, *Son, thou hast always been with me:* That certainly the obedient Son was not to be Sacrific'd for the return of the other; nor to be despoil'd of his Rights to confer 'em on him that trampl'd under Foot the Authority of his Father.

Besides these general affairs, there happen'd others particular in many places, which were enough to weary the Patience of the most prudent and moderate. The Lieutenant *Civil* of *Paris* put out an Order, commanding the Reformed to bow to Crosses, Images, Banners, and Shrines, when they shou'd meet 'em in the streets. This seem'd to be of consequence, because it was done as 'twere in the very Presence of the King, who seem'd to Authorize, seeing he did not hinder it. An order of the Judges of *Lyons* drove from the City and its Jurisdiction, upon pain of Death, all those that shou'd not profess the Catholick Religion. The Parliament of *Rheims* prohibited on pain of corporal Punishment, the selling, reading, or keeping Books for the use of the Reformed Religion. That of *Bourdeaux* had made an Act, that authoriz'd the digging up of the Bodies of the Reformed, which in the space of fifteen years had been buried in the Churches or Church-yards of the Catholicks. The orders taken with those that had the management of the King's Exchequer for the payment of Ministers, were of no effect. The Courts that were promis'd for the Administration of Justice in *Guyenne* and *Languedoc*, were not set up, though the Passion of the Parliaments of *Bourdeaux* and *Thoulouse*, against the Reformed wanted but little of Fury. At *Orleance* the Officers already receiv'd were deposed. The Parliament of *Roan* caus'd the Proctors and Advocates to make a publick Abjuration, before they were permitted to plead or argue at the Bar: And even at *Tours*, the Parliament before it's return to *Paris*, had caus'd a Judge Assistant of *Saumur* to make his Abjuration

juration, afore his Pattents could be regiſter'd; which appear'd ſo much the more ſtrange, that *Saumur* was a Town of Safety. 1594

Among the Reformed Lords, there were ſome that took no great Care of the Affairs of their Party. *Leſdiguieres* minded no body but himſelf in *Dauphine*, where he was very powerful. His manners were irregular, and his Life not very edifying. He was covetous, ambitious and debauch'd; and he had join'd himſelf to the Reformed in his outward Profeſſion, rather becauſe their Religion had been the raiſing of his Fortune, then out of any real Piety. There was a Propoſal alſo of marrying his only Daughter with *la Trimouille*, or the Marſhal *de Bouillon*, which would have very much advanc'd the Affairs of the Reformed. But the Court prevented thoſe Alliances; and a little after that, *Leſdiguieres* marry'd her to *Crequi*, a zealous Catholick. Neither was *Roni* leſs cold in the matter of Religion. He was one of thoſe wary Blades that will be always ſerving God on the winning ſide; ſo that his Religion conſiſted only in Appearances, and thoſe but very ſuperficial too. There were alſo Governours both of the Provinces, and of ſtrong Towns, whoſe Character was much the ſame; who though in the main they were perſwaded that their Religion was right, nevertheleſs were ſo ſtrongly engag'd with the Court, that 'twas not very probable they would break with Her to ſerve their Brethren. But there were ſeveral others who laid things more to heart, and who us'd all their Endeavours to prevent the Reformed from falling into any Snare upon the account of fair Promiſes, and would not permit 'em to loſe the Opportunity of ſecuring their Perſons, and the Exerciſe of their Religion. The Mareſchal *de Bouillon* was one of theſe, and in greateſt Authority: A Perſon of great Merit and great Ambition. He had the Reputation of a good Head-peice in the Council, and of a great Captain in the Field, in Credit with Foreign Princes, and capable to be the Head of a Party. His Eſtate was conſiderable, and he had Places of Strength in his Hands. More eſpecially *Sedan*, which, as he ſaid, belong'd to him by the laſt Will and Teſtament of his Wife, who dy'd but a little before without Children, and was a Place of great Conſequence, as being an Inlet for Foreign Armies into the Kingdom. *La Trimouille* was next to him: Neither had Competitorſhip made 'em ſo jealous of each

1594. other, but that they aim'd both at the same Mark. Besides they were united afterwards by a more strict Alliance, in regard they married two Sisters of Prince *Maurice*, to whom the *United Provinces* had granted part of that Power, which *William* his Father had exercis'd until his Death. *La Trimouille* was Young, Brave, Resolute, Daring, Courteous, Generous, Powerful in *Poictou*, and drew a great Train of Nobility after him. The Court accus'd him of being a Lover of Quarrels, and of being Head-strong. But others gave him a better Character; That he was one who would listen to Reason, understood it, and was capable of good Counsel; and look'd upon him as a Person endu'd with great Qualities, happy natural Parts; and one who only wanted a little Age and Experience to ripen him for a perfect Heroe. The Honour he had to see the Prince of *Conde*, his Nephew, Presumptive Heir of the Crown, because the King had no Legitimate Issue, and was by no means to be reconcil'd to Queen *Margaret de Valois* his Wife, somewhat lifted up *Tremouille*'s Heart, and made him look'd upon with more Respect by the Reformed, who despair'd not one day to see him their Masters Governour. But on the other side it render'd him suspected and odious to the Court, where his Genius was dreaded. Some Proceedings of his at St. *John d' Angeli*, where the Prince of *Conde* was brought up, were much disgusted; of which I shall tell the reason in another place. And his vivacious and couragious manner of supporting the Heretieks afterwards, render'd him still more suspected. The King hated him, because he thought himself despis'd by him, tho' he had done him great Services: And if he let fall any Word at any time that carried with it the least Aire of a Threat, it was always taken in ill part, because they thought him capable of doing more then threaten.

These two Lords communicated their Mistrusts one to another, and laid before each other the King's Easiness, the Tricks and Artifices of *Rome*, the Hatred of the Reconciled Leaguers, who sufficiently shewed by the Articles of their Treaties, their eager desires to reduce all *France* to one Religion. There were also a great number of Lords, Governours of Places, Captains and Persons in Authority, who lay under the same Terrors; among whom there were some, who having seen the times wherein Massacre

and

and Treachery were ſo riſe, made no queſtion but there was a de- 1594.
ſign to deſtroy the Reformation, as ſoon as they could meet with a favourable opportunity. The Catholicks did thoſe who were thus Character'd the Honour to call 'em *Brouillons*, *Troubleſom*, *Reſtleſs Diſturbers of the Publick Peace*. As if People, with whom they had ſo often broke their Words, were to blame in diſtruſting thoſe whoſe Violation of Faith they had ſo often experienc'd, and ſecuring themſelves againſt their wicked Intentions. *Du Pleſſis*, who made a Conſcience of Religion, was one of the moſt zealous for the Eſtabliſhment of it; and a great part of the Affairs, that tended that way, were manag'd by his Counſels. But in regard he was a Perſon of known Probity, the King ſtill put a Confidence in him, and follow'd his Advice in many things, becauſe his Enemies themſelves acknowledg'd 'em to be both prudent and ſincere, tho' they were often utter'd with great Boldneſs and Liberty. He it was that reunited thoſe who were like to be divided by their own Jealouſies; who appeas'd thoſe who were over-hot and furious; who put a ſtop to thoſe that ran too faſt, and found out all Expedients proper to procure the Good of the Churches, yet never fail'd in his Obedience. There was no body that labour'd ſo much as he to keep the Reformed within the Bounds of due Patience, during Negotiations for Four years together, at what time their Fidelity was put upon cruel Trials, through the Severity, Delays and Artifices of the Court, before they could obtain but tolerable Conditions.

Theſe various Inclinations appear'd in all the National Aſſemblies, both Temporal and Eccleſiaſtical, which were held for naming of Deputies, and to draw up Memoirs that were to be ſent to the General Aſſembly which was to meet at *St. Foy*. There were ſome of thoſe particular Aſſemblies, wherein it was debated whether a Protector ſhould be choſen within or without the Kingdom: or whether there ſhould be a Form of Government erected, to ſtand upon their own Legs without Protection. But the whole was referr'd to the General Aſſembly to be there conſulted. Thoſe Propoſals came from the Duke of *Bouillon*, who was for conferring the Title of Protector upon the *Palatine* Elector, or ſome other Prince of his Houſe, and naming under him Four or Five Lieutenants within the Kingdom, ſetting aſide the Princes

of

1594 of the Blood, whose Interests were such, that the Common Cause would suffer too much prejudice by 'em. He was in hopes by this means, that the Chief Authority would rest in his hands; that others would permit him to exercise it with less Jealousie under a Superiour, then if he enjoy'd it in his own Name. But the Reformed, more especially they who were call'd *Consistorials*, were weary of Personal Protection; and the Authority pretended by Protectors had caus'd 'em to murmur a long time ago against that which they called *Protectoral Tyranny*.

Synod at Montauban.

There could be no National Synods assembl'd since the Year 1583. But that which was held in the Month of *June* at *Montauban*, a City far remote from the Court, and passionately zealous for Religion and the Common Cause, made amends for that long Interval of lost Time, and handl'd Affairs of great Importance. The first of all their Cares was to order Publick Prayers for the King's Prosperity; to the end it might appear, that his changing his Religion had not disingag'd 'em either from obeying or serving him. And this tended yet farther to make the Passion of certain Orders of Monks more evidently strange, who refus'd to pray for the King, tho' he were a Catholick, and Crown'd with the usual Ceremonies. This Diametrical Opposition of Duty in the one, and Contumaciousness in the other, plainly made it apparent, on which side the Law and Spirit of Peace was to be found. And prudent Men might easily know where the good Subjects were, when they heard those, whose Religion the Prince had relinquish'd, pray to God, according to the usual Custom, for the Success of his Arms; while they whose Doctrine he had embrac'd, refus'd to name him in their Supplications to Heaven. But least this Mark of the Synod's Affection to the King's Prosperity should be taken for a tacit Approbation or Dissimulation of the change of his Religion, the same Assembly order'd that Prayers should be said at the same time, that God would vouchsafe to bring him back to the Religion which he had quitted; that the Ministers who were sent to the Court should lay before him his Duty in that Particular to God; and that Letters should be written to those that were usually about his Person, to make him some Remonstrances.

Orders and Prayers for the King's Prosperity.

And to bring him back to the Reformed Religion.

After

After this, the Synod fell for a ſhort time upon Political Affairs, the occaſion being given by the Province of the Iſland of *France*. The Neighbourhood of the Court had waſted a good part of that Province, and either by kindneſs or by Favours done 'em, the Reformed in thoſe Quarters had been oblig'd to be content with the Edict of 1577. the Verification of which they afterwards moſt importunately ſu'd for. This Proceeding was diſown'd by the Synod, as being contrary to the Reſolutions taken at *Mantes*, where they had obtain'd a Promiſe of a new Regulation, which ſhould enlarge that Edict; and the Society gave in charge, that their Complaints ſhould be carry'd to the General Aſſembly at *St. Foy*, which was conven'd the Month following. The Reaſons why they were not contented with that Edict, were, becauſe the Force of it was eluded by ſo many Frauds, that they could no longer be aſſur'd of having any Advantage by it; that ſomething was par'd off every day by the Treaties granted to the Cities of the League. That the Reformed, ſince that time, having perform'd many faithful and important Services, it was but juſt, that in ſtead of cutting off any thing from their Priviledges, they ſhould grant 'em new ones in recompence for their loſs of Blood, and Hardſhip undergone. That, in ſhort, that Edict was granted at a time, when they had for their Leader and Chieftane the firſt Prince of the Blood, who was their Guarantee for the Obſervation of it: But now that Prince having quitted their Party, the face of Affairs was ſo chang'd. that they had no Aſſurance of Security in an Edict, without Warranty; and therefore they wanted another Guarant, or that their Lives and their Conſciences might be provided for by ſome other way more ſolid. 1594.

Diſowns the Province of the Iſland of France in ſeveral particulars.

The ſame Province had alſo fallen into another Snare of the Court. They had giv'n 'em a taſt of a Project of Accommodation with the Catholicks, under pretence of uniting with 'em in defence of the Liberty of the *Gallican* Church, againſt the Enterpriſes of the Popes. Theſe Deputies came to the Synod with Injunctions to make the Propoſal; and withal to add another for the naming of competent Judges on both ſides, to whom both Parties ſhould refer themſelves for the Deciſion of Controverſies. And becauſe the Court was affraid of theſe frequent Aſſemblies, they ſo order'd it, that the ſame Deputies deſir'd that Synods might

1594. might be but rarely held, and only upon important Occasions. The Mischief proceeded from hence, that they who carry'd the sway within that Province, were every day with the Courtiers, who lost no opportunity of laying before 'em the King's Power, who gather'd strength every day more then other; and therefore if they were over nice to day, they might be forc'd to repent to morrow. They gave 'em farther to understand, that when the season ceas'd to favour 'em, it wou'd be in vain for 'em to wish back those opportunities of securing themselves which they lost; and that in regard they were not so numerously strong in the Provinces about *Paris*, they would be the first oppress, as being the most easily destroy'd. The Promises and Favours, of which the Court were prodigal, to those that turn'd their weak side to the Enemy, afforded also more Strength and Weight to the same Illusions. But the Synod, which sat in a place of security, was not so weak as to relish those Proposals, which were therefore utterly rejected. Nevertheless, this was the Ground and Beginning of a strange variety of Opinions and Prospects, the effects of which have continu'd ever since. The Southern Provinces of the Kingdom, either as being the remotest from the Court, and consequently less dazl'd with the marks of Grandure; or else as being the strongest both for Number and Quality of the Reformed, or for the Number and Strength of the Places which they possess'd, were generally inclin'd to more vigorous and resolute Opinions; whereas the Provinces adjoyning to *Paris* have follow'd the Example of that Metropolis, whose Counsels have always recommended Submission and Patience. Posterity will judge better then we, whether the aptness of the one to learn were an effect of Prudence or Weakness; or whither the vigour of the other proceeded, as the Persecutors give out, from a Spirit of Rebellion, or a constancy no less laudable then just.

In the mean time the Deputies of the Political Assembly met at St. *Foy*, to the number of thirty: nor had the Reformed taken out Letters of Permission for the forming of that Assembly. But the King who fear'd the Consequence, and was not willing to give 'em to so much liberty, which was prejudicial to his Authority, nor desirous to vex 'em by an unseasonable Severity, sent 'em

a *Brevet* which authoriz'd their meeting. Every one brought the Grievances of his Province, and Memoirs conformable to the Hopes or Fears that prevail'd among 'em. There was one too among the reſt, who propos'd the ſettling a Penſion upon one of the Secretaries of State, to make him their Friend at Court: As alſo to provide another Penſion for the King's Miſtreſs, who ſeemed to have ſome kind of Inclination and Kindneſs for the Reformed. To this he added, that 'twas requiſite there ſhou'd be a certain number of Deputies maintain'd at *Paris*, who might conſult with the Miniſters of the Place, and the Lords that were then at Court; and ſome Officers of the King's Houſhold, if any buſineſs fell out that requir'd a more then ordinary Conſultation. That Expedient no way diſpleas'd the Catholicks, becauſe it would have broke the Union of the Reformed, and lay'd 'em at the Diſcretion of their Enemies, who would not have had above three or four Perſons to manage, eaſily frighten'd or as eaſie to be corrupted by ordinary Artifices. Others brought ample Inſtructions, to take it into their Conſideration, of what importance it was, not to loſe the benefit of an Aſſembly, for which they had ſo happily obtain'd a full permiſſion from the King. Long Diſcourſes were made about what might create Diſtruſts for the future: and Opinions were added concerning what was proper to prevent evil Intentions. Upon occaſion of which, they were earneſtly advis'd to inſiſt upon the ſecurity which they were to demand, for the performance of things that might be promis'd 'em. 1594.

The Aſſembly took all theſe things into conſideration, as far as it was thought needful for the diſpoſing of the Minds of Men to take good Reſolutions: but the principal Affair was to lay a ſolid Foundation of Union. 'Twas thought the King could no longer retain the Title of Protector of the Churches, ſince he had quitted their Religion, and that it was a perfect Contradiction to take upon him the Protection of the Reformed Religion, while he profeſs'd another, which oblig'd him in reaſon of Conſcience to deſtroy what he pretended to defend. Neither would the Catholicks endure that the King ſhould think it an Honour to him to wear that Title, and would be ſcandaliz'd that a Catholick King ſhould take upon him to be the *Protector of Hereſie*. It

1594. behov'd 'em therefore to unite under other Auſpices: However they did not think it proper to commit themſelves again to the Diſcretion of a new Protector, but rather choſe to take ſuch meaſures, that their Religion might ſtand ſupported by its own Weight, and upon its own Leggs. They therefore created a General Council, which was to have all the Authority in the Affairs of Religion, and by their Order all the Provinces were to be govern'd. To this purpoſe there was a Regulation drawn up, comprehended in Eight and Twenty Articles, which Ordain'd how the Aſſemblies of this Council ſhould be form'd for the future. And this Platform was obſerv'd in all the Aſſemblies afterwards with little or no Alteration, only that the number of Provinces and Deputies was augmented. Under the Direction of this Council General it was, that the Affairs of the Reformed began to re-ſettle, and that it appear'd to their Enemies, that it would be no eaſie thing to ruine 'em. Then 'twas that they began to uſe the Word *We*, whereas while they were under the Government of Protectors, the Common Cauſe was frequently the Pretence to ſhadow the Intereſts of the Head of the Party, whoſe Name alone, and Authority only appear'd in all Treaties and Edicts. And it was by the Inſtances and Importunities of this Council that they obtain'd the Edict of *Nantes*: And in regard that after they had ſet up this new Order among themſelves, they were forc'd to make uſe of all their Dexterity, Vigour and Patience, before they could procure any firm Peace to themſelves; it may be rationally conjectur'd that they had never obtain'd it had they taken any other Courſe. This Regulation reduc'd the Number of the Provinces to Ten, every one of which was to ſend a Deputy to the Aſſembly. It was decreed that there ſhould be a Diſtinction of *States* among the Deputies, according to the Model of the States General of the Kingdom; ſince they were deſirous that the Deputies ſhould be choſen, ſome out of the Body of the Nobility, ſome out of the Body of the Miniſters, and ſome out of the Third Eſtate. But the Miniſters were not allow'd the ſame number as the other two Eſtates; whether it were for fear, that if they had as equal a Voice as the other two, they would get all the Power into their own Hands; or whether it were, that they thought that the Deputies from the Nobility, or

Propoſals and Regulations for the General Council.

or from the Third Eſtate, being in a Capacity to be alſo Elders of ſome Church, tho' they were not Deputies under that Title, the Conſiſtorials would be always ſtrong enough in the Aſſemblies. So that in the number of choſen Deputies, there were to be Four Gentlemen, Four of the Third Eſtate, and but only Two Miniſters. The Provinces were to ſend Perſons of theſe diſtinct Qualities, every one according as they were in degree; and for the better regulating of what Eſtate the Deputy of every Province ſhould be for the firſt Aſſembly that ſhould be held, they had recourſe to Lots. 'Twas alſo agreed that the Deputies ſhould be chang'd every Year: So that every Six Months the Five Seniors quitted the Service, and gave way to Five others. It was likewiſe agreed, that Dukes, Lieutenant Generals, or other qualify'd Perſons, ſhould have Voices in the Aſſemblies, tho' they were no Deputies, provided they were ſuch as might be confided in. 1594.

Provincial Councils.

By the ſame Regulation Provincial Councils were erected, compoſed of Five or Seven Perſons of the Three Eſtates, and of which one Miniſter at leaſt was to be a Member, and one Governour of a Town in a Province. Theſe Councils were to anſwer the General Aſſembly, and to have the ſame Authority in their ſeveral Juriſdictions, as the Council General had over the whole Kingdom; and particularly to collect, digeſt, communicate Opinions and Memoirs; maintain Concord among the Grand ones, and appeaſe their Quarrels; make the Diſtributions of Money that was to be rais'd for the Common Cauſe; to have a watchful Eye upon the Garriſons, and to take care of the Fortifications and Stores of the Strong Towns: And there was alſo a Regulation of the Time that every Deputy was to continue in Service: of the manner of electing Preſidents and Secretaries in all Aſſemblies General and Particular; and of the Signing of Acts and Diſpatches. All the Deputies were oblig'd to take an Oath, and all the Reformed to have a venerable Reſpect for the Perſons thus employ'd; and they reſolv'd before the end of *September*, that there ſhould be a Council of this Nature ſet up in every Province. Meaſures were alſo taken there for preſerving the Places of Strength, whether the Court went about to take 'em away from the Reformed Governours, or whether the Governours happen'd to die when the Lord Lieutenant chanc'd to be a Catholick. It was order'd, that none

1594. ſhould be receiv'd into thoſe Towns but Soldiers, whoſe Religion was atteſted by ſufficient Teſtimonies; and to provide for their Maintenance according to the Model of the laſt Settlement, in caſe that any thing were retrench'd from the Strength of the Garriſons. Others advis'd the ſtopping of the Money call'd the *Deniers du Tablier*, and the Money ariſing from the Impoſitions and Tax for the *Genſdarmes*, to the value of the Sum ſufficient for the payment of the Garriſons, if they could not be paid otherwiſe; and if there happen'd any Proſecutions upon theſe Proceedings, the Churches were to join together to ſave harmleſs thoſe that ſhould be put to Trouble upon that account. They likewiſe ſettl'd a Fund of Five and Forty Thouſand Crowns for General Affairs, of which every Province to the South of the *Loire* was to pay Five Thouſand, and the reſt Two Thouſand Five Hundred. This Sum was to be rais'd partly upon the Garriſons, detaining one of Fifteen Pay's; partly upon the Benefices poſſeſs'd by the Nobility, of the Revenues of which they were to take the Sixth or Seventh Penny; partly by voluntary Contributions, to which the Miniſters were to exhort the richer ſort. This Sum was different from thoſe that were ſet aſide for the payment of the Deputies that were to attend the Councils; and the way to raiſe thoſe Sums was left to the particular Provinces. Some Regulations were made as to thoſe that were willing to advance any Money, or to beſtow any thing of Free Gift. The particular Councils were permitted to look after the laying out of that ſame Sum of Five and Forty Thouſand Crowns, reſerving to the Aſſembly General to take Cognizance of the Expence, and to diſpoſe of the Intereſt as they ſhould ſee moſt beneficial for the good of the Churches. There was alſo Order taken about the manner of communicating Intelligence, which was to be imparted to every particular Flock: Particular Councils were oblig'd to be aſſiſting to each other for their mutual Defence; and they referr'd back to the firſt Aſſembly, which was order'd to ſit at *Saumur*, certain Affairs which that at St. *Foy* had not determin'd; particularly concerning the Maintenance of Paſtors, Scholars and Colledges.

To

To theſe were added eight other Private Articles, the firſt of which imported the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; in order to which, they demanded Chambers half one, half t' other, Catholicks and Reformed in all the Parliaments but that of *Grenoble*, where the Reformed, who did what they pleas'd under *Les Dignieres*, were well enough contented with their Condition. And if they could not obtain thoſe Chambers, they took a Reſolution to appeal from all Parliaments, Preſidial Courts, and all other Royal Judges, in Affairs of which they have the Power to determine without Appeal. And that they would ſet forth the Cauſes of Appeal from all thoſe Courts. The Second was, That they would apply themſelves to the Mediation of the Queen of *England* and the States of the *United Provinces*, becauſe they found the Affairs of the Churches in a deplorable Condition. The Third, That the Grandees ſhould be written to, and exhorted to Piety and Union. The Fourth gave Liberty for that one time, to double the number of Deputies that every Province was to ſend to the next Aſſembly, by reaſon of the Importance of the Affairs which were there to be handl'd. The fifth order'd, That the Exerciſe of the Reformed Religion ſhould be forborn in ſuch places where it had been introduc'd by Surprize, provided it might be done without Tumult or Sedition, and that Maſs ſhould be re-eſtabliſh'd in ſuch places where it had been us'd before the War: Which was done to bereave the Catholicks of that Pretence which they took for not obſerving the Edicts, becauſe the Reformed broke 'em themſelves, in not permitting the Maſs to be ſaid in certain places of which they had made themſelves the Maſters. The ſixth put off, till the return of the Deputies that were to be ſent to Court, the poſitive Determination, whether they would admit the Catholicks to Offices and Employments in the Cities kept by the Reformed. That is to ſay, they were willing that the Catholicks ſhould underſtand, that they ſhould have the ſame as they brought, and that if they would not ſhare Employments with the Reformed, they would exclude the Catholicks in thoſe places where they were ſuperiour in Strength. The Seventh diſown'd all that one Province might have done to the Prejudice, and without conſulting the reſt; which was done to prevent Proceedings like thoſe in the Iſland of *France*, of which we have already ſpoken. The Eighth 1594.

1594. Eighth approv'd the Union of ſeveral Contiguous Provinces in one Provincial Council.

Sedition of the Croakers. While this Aſſembly was ſitting, *Perigord* and ſome of the Neighbouring Provinces were over-run with certain Troops of thoſe Seditious People, commonly called *Croakers*. Their pretence was to deliver the Country from the Exactions and Violence of the Court; tho' themſelves committed the greateſt Havock and Spoil, and did the Peaſants the moſt miſchief. Theſe Mutineers were above Forty Thouſand Men in Arms, of which above a Third part were of the Reformed Religion. One of the Artifices therefore which they made uſe of to diſperſe this Multitude, was to infuſe it into the Catholicks, that they were not to join themſelves with *Hereticks*; more eſpecially not to ſhare with them the Honour of labouring the Reformation of the Kingdom. Which was the reaſon that the Catholicks, upon a Signal given, withdrew, and retir'd apart by themſelves; ſo that the Reformed found themſelves of a ſuddain ready to be aſſail'd by them that had been their Comrades but a little before. But in regard they were better Arm'd, and better Soldiers then the Catholicks, it only put 'em into a little Fear. Now during the greateſt Heat of theſe Commotions, the Reformed, who had a ſhare in the Sedition, ſent certain Deputies to St. *Foy*, to know whether they could be any ways ſerviceable to 'em at that ſame juncture of time. But the Aſſembly would not ſo much as liſten to 'em; only they adviſ'd 'em under-hand to make their Peace, and to get good Aſſurances from the Court never to be proſecuted for their Sedition.

Deputies amus'd at Court. This Aſſembly having order'd that the next ſhould be at *Saumur*, where the Deputies were to meet the Firſt of *December*, ſent their Deputies to the Court, which was then at St. *Germans*, where they were amus'd by many Delays before any real Satisfaction was given 'em. The main thing which they inſiſted upon, was, the Verification of the Edict, as had been agreed upon at *Mantes*, and the new Regulation which had been promis'd 'em, to render their Condition a little better then it had been, under the Benefit of the Edicts. The King ſhews a great deſire to content 'em, and every day renew'd to 'em the Promiſe which he had made. Nevertheleſs nothing went forward; however to pay

pay the Reformed with ſome Reaſon for the Delays which had almoſt quite tir'd 'em out of their Patience, the Obſtructions of the Verification were all thrown upon the Tricks and Contrivances of the Factious. But notwithſtanding this Excuſe, the Reformed were exaſperated, and were apt to believe that the principal occaſion of the Delay proceeded from the Court. And this Suſpicion was confirm'd by the Offers that were made to the Duke of *Mercoeur* on the King's behalf, to treat with him in favour of the Catholick Religion for the Towns he held in *Britaigne*, and other places; all which tended to exclude, for the King's ſake, the Exerciſe of the Reformed Religion out of a great part of *Britaigne*, and ſeveral places in the neighbouring Provinces. But the Duke, who thought himſelf ſtrong enough to preſerve *Britaigne*, inſiſted upon higher Demands; and he pretended that the Exerciſe of the Reformed Religion was forbid in *Normandy*, in *Maine*, in *Anjou*, *Touraine* and *Poitou*, becauſe there were ſome Caſtles in thoſe Provinces that held out for him; but which in the main were rather Neſts of Robbers then real Fortreſſes of War. The Reformed were therefore afraid, that whatever he demanded would be granted him; becauſe they had ſeen by preceding Treaties that nothing was refus'd the Heads of the League, to the end they might reclaim 'em to Obedience. 1594.

Pretenſions of the D. of Mercoeur.

On the other ſide, the Decay of the League began to be perceiv'd at *Rome*; and in regard the rigorous Demeanour of the Pope had ſomewhat ſhogg'd the King, and the Catholicks of his Party, who had *French* Hearts; they began likewiſe in *France* to neglect the Affairs of *Rome*. They diſcour'd afreſh in *France* of drawing up a Pragmatick for the conferring of Benefices, and of creating a Patriarch, to preſide over all the Clergy. Theſe Diſcourſes caus'd great Diſturbances at *Rome*, and the King's Proſperity made the Pope believe, that that great Prince might one day make a ſhift without him. This was the reaſon that he began in his turn, to make the firſt forward ſteps himſelf, and that he gave ground by degrees in the buſineſs of the Abſolution. But he forbore not at firſt to make ſuch ſtrange Propoſals, that meer Diſdain refus'd to hearken to 'em. Thoſe the *Spaniards* had ſuggeſted to him, to prevent his Reconciliation with the King; And the Pope, who was a great Politician, tho' he well knew they were ſuch as would

Overtures of Reconciliation with the Pope.

1594. would never be granted him, was nevertheleſs reſolv'd to make 'em, that they might not preſume to propoſe him Offers too far diſtant from his great Pretenſions. But this very hotly alarum'd the Reformed, who were afraid that theſe high Demands had no other then this only aim to obtain their Deſtruction of the King, and that all of a ſuddain the Pope would condeſcend to all the reſt, provided they would but content him in that particular Point. For this reaſon they took all the Delays of the Parliaments for the Preſages of their Ruine; becauſe the Edicts not having the force of a Law in the Kingdom, till they are enregiſter'd and qualify'd to the liking of the Sovereign Courts, all thoſe that had been hitherto granted had prov'd uſeleſs for their Security; ſince the Parliaments had either abſolutely rejected 'em, or verify'd 'em with odious Limitations. For which reaſon they look'd upon themſelves as living ſtill under the benefit only of a ſimple Truce, liable to broken every day, whenever the King ſhould have a deſire to gratifie the Court of *Rome*. The very Word *Truce* made 'em tremble; becauſe Truces were never made between Fellow-Citizens and Friends, but between People that live in declar'd Hoſtility, of which a Truce does but ſuſpend the Effects; whence it follow'd, that the Reformed were ſtill look'd upon as Enemies by the Catholicks; far from being treated as Members of one and the ſame Kingdom, and Legitimate Children of the ſame Family.

1595. In this Conjuncture of Affairs the King was wounded in the Mouth by *John Chaſtel*, a Diſciple of the Jeſuits; and the Reformed had that ſlight Conſolation in the midſt of their Afflictions and Fears, to ſee that Society condemn'd to Baniſhment by the moſt Auguſt Senate of *France*. A Pyramid was alſo order'd to be ſet up in that part of the Houſe where the Parricide was hatch'd; upon one of the Faces of which was engrav'd the Decree that baniſh'd the Jeſuits out of the Kingdom, and contain'd the Reaſons for inflicting that Puniſhment upon 'em. But the Parliaments of *Tholouſe* and *Bourdeaux* would not follow the Example of that of *Paris*; ſo that the Society kept their footing, till they were again reſtor'd, in the Provinces under their Juriſdiction. In the mean while this audacious Attempt made a great Noiſe at *Rome*, where *d' Oſſat* highly aggravated the conſequence of ſuch an

an Enterprize, at a time when they were treating ſo ſeriouſly about a Reconciliation between the Pope and the King. But that which this Accident produc'd of moſt remarkable, was this, That it drew from the Lips of that Agent for *France*, altho' a zealous Catholick, and bred up in the Maxims of the Court of *Rome*, an Authentick Teſtimony, how highly the Reformed abominate all Crimes of this nature, and of the profound Reſpect which they bear to the Perſons of their Sovereigns. This Prelat giving an account of the Fact to the Pope's Cardinal Nephew, and aggravating the Horror of it, contriv'd and encourag'd by them that call'd themſelves the Support of the Catholick Religion, told him in expreſs Terms, *That if ever any body had a ſeeming juſt occaſion to make uſe of ſuch Aſſaſſinates, the Hereticks had moſt cauſe to purchaſe 'em, and ſet 'em at work againſt the King, who has quitted and abandon'd 'em, and of whom they had reaſon to be afraid; nevertheleſs they never attempted any ſuch thing, either againſt Him, nor any of the five Kings his Predeceſſors, whatever Slaughters and Maſſacres their Majeſties had made of the* Huguenots. 1595.

Teſtimony which d'Oſſat gave the Reformed.

This Misfortune did the Reformed no unkindneſs; for it put the King in remembrance that he had never ran the like *Riſco* while he was in their Hands. Whence it came to paſs, that he ſometimes declar'd to his Confidents, that as to what concern'd the Safety of his Perſon, he had a far greater Aſſurance in them, then in the Catholicks. On the other ſide, the Reſult of the Conſultations of the Aſſembly at St. *Foy*, gave the Council no ſmall occaſion to make particular Reflections; who beheld with Aſtoniſhment that numerous Body, without a Chieftain, to reunite the various Members of it; to cloſe and confederate together in their own Defence, and take ſuch proper courſes to become formidable to their Enemies. Therefore they would have had it look'd upon as a form'd Rebellion, and an inſolent ſort of proceeding, what was done by the Reformed at that time in order to their Preſervation. They call'd the Union a Deſign to ſet up a State with ſeparate Intereſts, and a diſtinct Government: And becauſe this was ſpread abroad at that time by paſſionate and violent Perſons, all the Hiſtorians that have ſince put Pen to Paper have not fail'd to exclaim againſt that way of proceeding, and to

Sentiments of the Court touching the Union of the Reformed.

1595. black'n it with furious Declamations; as if it were a Crime to be careful of Self-preservation, when People have Enemies to deal with void of Equity, Faith, Humanity, such as the Catholicks had more then once appear'd in reference to the Reformed. The King had no reason to be offended at these Precautions, since they were made use of neither against his Person, nor against his Authority; but against a sort of Zealots, who might abuse his Power to oppress the most faithful part of his Subjects; and against the Court of *Rome*, with whose cruel Intentions and bloody Maxims all *Europe* was too well acquainted.

Sentiments of the King upon the Assemblies.

Nevertheless the King forbore not to disturb these Assemblies, and to look upon 'em at least as *du Plessis* had sometimes represented 'em; that is to say, such as might degenerate, and give occasion to Factious Spirits to raise Commotions and Tumults not easily to be appeas'd. Which was the reason that sometimes he complain'd of their being conven'd, and sometimes he gave express Orders for their Dissolution. But then the King follow'd rather what his Councils peal'd in his Ears, then his own Inclinations; for as soon as others laid before him how dangerous it was to reduce the Reformed to the Provocations of Despair, by depriving 'em the Comfort of those Assemblies, he revok'd his former Orders by others, more expressly forbidding their being dissolv'd. In a word, it was more advantageous for the King to permit that Union of his Subjects, which oblig'd 'em to request his Leave for the time and place of their Assembling, then to reduce 'em to throw themselves under a Foreign Protection, by refusing 'em the means of securing both their Religion and their Lives under the Good Will and Authority of their Lawful Prince. It was also better to see them united among themselves by that form of Correspondency, then under a Protector, whose Courage might be elevated by his Power, by Foreign Adherences and Domestick Discontents, and give him fair Opportunities and Advantages to enlarge his Reputation.

Causes why they would not declare the Reformed capable of Offices.

But for the present 'twas thought, that the most assured means to disperse those Assemblies, or prevent the Mischief they might do, was to afford the Reformed some occasion of Content, to the end the first Assembly that was call'd together might have no more to do then to accept the King's Concessions, and to return him

him Thanks. For this Reason the Verification of the Edicts which had been formerly granted, was press'd for at a more then usual Rate, and the Confirmation of 'em by a new Edict, as had been agreed with their Deputies at *Mantes*. The greatest Difficulty consisted in their declaring the Reformed capable of all manner of Employments; and this was that which the zealous Catholicks were extreamly unwilling to do, who could not by any means brook the Violation of their Canons, by which the *Heretick*s are excluded from all sorts of Offices and Preferments. This Difficulty could not be remov'd by Four Years Sollicitations, nor by the express Orders of the King; nor by a new Declaration given at St. *Germans* in *November* of the year preceding. The Council consented to it, as also to several other Provisional Regulations, because they were then bethinking themselves of getting the Prince of *Conde* out of the Hands of the Reformed, either because the King was desirous to have him bred up in the Catholick Religion, to prevent the Pretences of a Civil War, which might be taken one day from his being Educated in the Reformed; or because the Count of *Soissons*, a turbulent ambitious Prince, and who look'd upon himself as Presumptive Heir to the Crown, by reason of his Nephews Religion, and for other Reasons, was very uneasie to him; or else because he had a mind to lessen his Pretensions to the Crown, by opposing against him a Prince much nearer to the Crown then himself: Or lastly, Because he would deprive the Reformed of a Chiefrain, who might one day head 'em, and demand new Favours in their behalf. 1595.

The Prince of Conde taken out of their hands.

The King told the Reformed, on purpose to make 'em willing to surrender the Prince up into his Hands, that his frequent Infirmities caus'd him to bethink himself of Death, and oblig'd him at the same time to desire that he might have his Heir always by him, to secure him the Succession, and put him in a condition to preserve themselves by ways more gentle then a War. But this Hook would not take with the Reformed, who thought it much more conducing to the Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom, that the King should dissolve his Marriage with *Margaret de Valois*, and bethink himself of another Wife, then to have a Prince near his Person, whose nearest Relations thought they had Reason sufficient to dispute with him their Right to the Crown. The King thus repuls'd on

Ways to bring it to pass.

1595. this side, resolves to assail 'em on the other, and seeks to engage 'em to put the Prince into his Hands, by granting 'em Admission into Offices of Trust; an Honour which indeed would have been dear enough sold to 'em, since it must cost 'em a Prince who might be one day the Restorer and Pillar of their Hopes. And this Consideration was made use of to perswade the Parliament to the Verification of that Article; but this Reason presently wrought another Effect then was expected: For there were some zealous Catholicks who found it so weighty, that they would have made it one of the Conditions of the Verification of the Edict, to the end the Reformed might not refuse to surrender the Prince, without the Forfeiture of all the Favours that had been granted 'em. And this seem'd so much the more reasonable, because it was thought impossible that ever the Reformed would let go such a Pledge out of their Hands: And there were many Catholicks that wish'd they would have obstinately refus'd it, that they might have had a specious Pretence to declare War against 'em. But the King had other Thoughts. He was not willing to destroy the Reformed, of whom he stood so much the more in need, that he might not be altogether at the mercy of the Catholicks, who treated him a little too imperiously. Therefore he strove to get the Prince out of their Hands by gentle means, rather then by force of Arms, or by the Authority of a Publick Law; knowing well, that they would have taken that Law for an Affront, because it would have made 'em look'd upon as Persons suspected, such as were to be compell'd to their Obedience.

The Article about Offices passes with some trouble.

'Twas therefore put to the Question in Parliament, whether the Edict should be verify'd purely and simply, or no; and the thing was debated with great Heat; more particularly the 19th Article of the Edict of 1577. which declar'd the Reformed capable of Offices and Dignities, was the Subject of the Contest; nor did it pass without a vast deal of Trouble. Nevertheless there were several who argu'd for the Verification of this Article as the rest, without Restriction or Qualification. And they insisted very fervently upon the Services which the Reformed had done the King and the Realm; and they exclaim'd against their Refusal to treat 'em according to their Merit as a high piece of Injustice and Ingra-

Ingratitude. They likewiſe maintain'd, That ſince they were equal to the Catholicks in Affection and Fidelity, they ſhould be dealt with alike in the deſtribution of Honours and Rewards. Others to theſe Reaſons oppos'd the fear of injuring the King, being a new *Convert*, and ſtill at variance with the Pope; and of hardning the reſt of the League in their Rebellion, if ſuch an important Favour were granted to the Reformed againſt the Proviſions of the Canon-Law; and that ſo ſuddainly too, after the Return of the King to the Catholick Religion. But thoſe oppoſitions ſignify'd little, in regard the pure and ſimple Verification was carry'd by the Plurality of Voices. *Servin*, one of the Advocates General, ſtrongly upheld this Opinion; and in regard he was an Enemy of the Jeſuits, he was juſt enough to the Reformed. *Seguier*, his Aſſociate, was of a quite contrary Judgment; but *Guele* the Proctor General bethought himſelf of a Cavil, which had like to have engag'd all the Kingdom in new Combuſtions; for he put the Reformed in mind, that new Traps were laying to enſnare their Sincerity, under Pretence of unheard-of Affectation. He would not ſuffer the accuſtom'd Terms to be inſerted in the Decree of Enrolment; *Heard*, and *this the Proctor-General requiring*; tho' his Father, who had ſerv'd in the Place before him, when the Edict of 1577. was enroll'd under *Henry* III. never made any ſuch Scruple. Neither would he have had the Words put in, *Conſenting to this*, as upon other occaſions where the King's Council will not move; but only, *Heard the Proctor-General*. 'Twas a very fair Scape, that ſuch an Innovation, put in practice at a time when the King was full of Jealouſies and Suſpicions, had not produc'd pernicious Effects, and call'd to memory the unfortunate Cruelties and Treacheries of the paſt Reigns. Chiefly, when they reflected upon the manner of proceeding in the Verification of the Edicts that were granted the Leaguers, which was done without Prolongations or Delays, and the Edicts unanimouſly paſt, and ſent to be enroll'd pure and without any Alterations, 'twas impoſſible but that they muſt look upon as ſtrange and uncouth, ſo much ſpinning out of time, ſo many Oppoſitions, ſo many Artifices which were made uſe of to elude the Edicts that were granted to the Reformed.

1595.

The Proctor-General's Cavil ill taken.

Cauſe of new Diſtruſts.

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1595. The more moderate Catholicks themſelves blam'd this unreaſonable Severity: Whether it were, that the Example of the Parliament of *Paris* render'd all the other Parliaments difficult; ſome refuſing to verifie the Edict at all, others not without ſeveral vexatious Limitations; or whether it were, becauſe the Reformed were juſt ready to hold an Aſſembly at *Saumur*, where it was to meet according to the Decree of that of St. *Foy*. No body queſtion'd but that the Proctor-General's Behaviour would furniſh that Aſſembly with occaſion of loud Complaints; and perhaps put 'em upon taking ſuch Courſes, as would be a great Obſtruction to Peace, ſo neceſſary for the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Kingdom. This Aſſembly at *Saumur* had put the King to a great deal of Trouble, from the very moment he heard it firſt diſcours'd of And the only reaſon why the Verification of the Edict was ſo earneſtly preſs'd for, was either to anticipate it, or that they might have a fair Pretence to hinder the ſitting of it, or to diſſolve it. It was to have met upon the firſt of *December* of the preceding year, but there was not a full appearance till about three Months after. There were ſome Provinces, the Deputies of which were ſtay'd for a long time, either becauſe they expected the effect of the King's Promiſes for the enrolment of the Edicts; or elſe, becauſe the Intreagues of the Court had ſtopt 'em, either out of Fear, or delay'd with Hopes. But at length they met at *Saumur*, where they ſtay'd a long time without doing any thing, in regard the King refus'd to authorize their meeting. He alſo at the ſame time complain'd of it to *du Pleſſis*, as of an Enterprize that wounded his Authority, and ſhew'd that the Reformed were jealous of him. But *du Pleſſis* return'd him ſuch good Reaſons, that he was ſatisfy'd, and gave leave to the Aſſembly by his Letters Patents to ſit.

He at laſt permits it.

Reaſons for his ſo doing

Theſe Reaſons amounted chiefly to no more then two. The firſt was, That in the midſt of ſo many occaſions of Fear and Diſtruſt that were juſtly given the Reformed, the refuſing 'em leave to be careful of their Security would reduce 'em to Deſpair; and that in ſuch a poſture of Diſcompoſure, at what time the wiſeſt Men never liſten to Reaſon nor Duty, they might look out for Remedies more vexatious then that of Aſſemblies: For that the remembrance of what was paſt would not ſuffer 'em to be ſatisfy'd with

with the present, and loudly alarum'd 'em with Fears of the future. The other concern'd the Interest of the King himself, to whom *Du Plessis* declar'd, That in regard he was upon a Reconciliation with the Pope, it became him to wish for Sollicitations on the behalf of the Reformed, to the end he might have wherewithal to reply to the Pope, should he complain that too much was granted to those that were held for *Heretick*s. The King's Answer would then be always ready, That he was in a manner forc'd by the Importunity of their Assemblies, and to prevent a greater Mischief. Whereas if he did any thing in their Favour, without being urg'd to it, he would have nothing to say should the Pope be offended. *Du Plessis* also made use of the same Reason to support the Reformed, who were either much dishearten'd, or quite weary'd out of their Patience. He told 'em that the King, who in effect renew'd his Promises every day, was very affectionately enclin'd towards 'em, but that his present Condition would not permit him to do 'em any kindness but what he was forc'd to, either in respect to the Pope, with whom he was about to be reconcil'd; or to the Remainders of the League, whom he was very unwilling to supply with new Pretences to murmur; or to the Catholicks of his Party, for whom he could not choose but have a great Complacency: And thus he should have wherewithal to satisfie all Parties, if the Reformed by their repeated Importunities did but impose upon him a kind of Necessity to grant Them something too. These Reasons seem'd to restore a calmer Temper to those whose Patience the Delays and unjust Proceedings of the Parliament had almost quite worn out; and to take in good part the insipid and cold Answers which many times the King gave their Deputies. They also reviv'd the Courage of those that were dejected by tedious and troublesome Protractions and puttings off from time to time, believing they should obtain their Desires at length by Perseverance and Importunity. 1595.

Necessity of importuning the King.

Now in regard these Reasons mollify'd the King, from whom the Catholics more then once enforc'd the Revocation of Orders which he had giv'n against those Assemblies, 'tis easie to judge, that in a Word, he took delight to be importun'd; and that he look'd upon it as a useful expedient to procure him the Liberty to put his good

1595. good Intentions in execution. In short, he always gave the Reformed good Words; and when their Deputies were with him in private, he gave 'em better: And there would have been no reason to complain of his Promises, had it not been that after he had so often repeated the same things, there was no Fruit of 'em afterward to be seen.

The Assembly of *Saumur* then, began the 24*th* of *February*, and the Report made by the Deputies of St. *Foy* having given 'em an account of the ill Intentions of the principal Heads of the Council and Parliament, Resolutions were taken more solid and vigorous then could have been expected from People that seem'd to be depriv'd of all Relief and Succour. They made new Proposals and new Demands. They would no longer stand to the old Edicts, which had been cancel'd or evaded so many times; and which were publickly derided, by reason of the Cavils of the Proctor-General. They were no longer contented with demanding new Favours, by way of Compensation for the Retrenchments made in the Edict of 1577. to facilitate the reducing the Leaguers to Obedience. They could not brook, that the King should grant such ample Rewards to Rebels on purpose to reduce 'em to their Duty; and that Subjects always faithful, always devoted to his Person and his Fortune, should stand in need of covering with the Name of Compensation, the just Recompences which they might boldly challenge. In a word, they began to alter the strain of their Language, and to desire a new Edict, more to the advantage and security of the Reformed, then the Edicts that were become contemptible by the allow'd Licence to violate 'em. They alledg'd, that the King had promis'd another Edict to the Deputies that were at *Mantes*, and that it was a meer piece of Covin to desire after that, that they should content themselves with the Edict of 1577. which the King had fruitlesly confirm'd by two others. Therefore they demanded another Edict in recompence of so many Services, of so much Patience, and of so much Blood which they had spilt. They debated a long time among themselves what Articles to insist upon for the framing of the new Edict; and at length they agreed upon certain Demands, which may be reduc'd to Six or Seven Heads. 1. That a New Edict should be granted 'em with-

The Assembly demands a new Edict and Securities.

cut

out amuſing 'em with Promiſes to reſtore another, which no way ſatisfy'd 'em. 2. That they ſhould be allow'd an entire and univerſal Liberty for the publick Exerciſe of their Religion over all the Kingdom. 3. That Publick Salaries ſhould be ſecur'd to the Miniſters, either by leaving 'em the Tenths which they refus'd any longer to pay the Eccleſiaſticks; or by aſſigning 'em Funds, that ſhould not be otherwiſe emyloy'd; and they demanded the ſame thing for the Maintenance of Schools and Scholars. 4. That the Reformed ſhould be ſecur'd the Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates, as well thoſe which they already enjoy'd, as thoſe which fell to 'em by Inheritance, Deed of Gift, Laſt Will and Teſtament, or by any other Lawful Right. 5. That an equal number of Reformed Judges to that of the Catholicks ſhould be admitted in all Juriſdictions. 5. That they ſhould be admitted indifferently into all manner of Offices and Employments like the Catholicks. 7. That for their Security, the Cities which they had in their Hands ſhould be left in their Poſſeſſion; and that the Garriſons ſhould be paid out of the King's Money. 1595.

While they were preparing their Complaints, and drawing up their Papers to ſend to the King, the buſineſs of his Reconciliation with the Pope was eagerly preſs'd forward by the Court of *Rome*; and the Pontiff grew impatient of the Delays which retarded the ſending a Commiſſioner to treat with him about it. However, in truth, as yet, the Pope did not ſeem to recede in the leaſt from his firſt Pretenſions; but it was eaſily perceiv'd that he would make an Abatement in proper time, becauſe he had vouchſaf'd in loving and general Terms, to promiſe whatever lay in his power, provided it were not contrary to the Intereſt and Honour of the Holy See. The King on the other ſide kept himſelf to the ſame General Expreſſions, and would conſent to nothing that misbecame himſelf, or the Dignity of the Crown. There were two ſorts of People in the Council, whoſe Opinion it was, That the Pope ſhould be left alone to make the firſt ſteps himſelf; as being perſwaded, that a little perſeverance would reduce him to grant a bare and ſimple Ratification of the Abſolution, as the King receiv'd it at St. *Denis*'s. The one were the Reformed, who could not endure that the King's Honour ſhould be proſtituted to the Intriegues of the Court of *Rome*. The other, were the Catholicks not bi-

1595. gotted, who lov'd the King and the Kingdom, and who not questioning but the Pope's Aim was to make the King purchase his Favour by some ignominious Condescension, were desirous the King should avoid that Snare, by letting the Pope alone till he sought after him. But the high-flown Catholicks carry'd it, because the King was willing to rid himself of Trouble, and for that he thought his Repose depended upon his Reconciliation with the Pope. He was weary of the toilsom Life wherein he had spent his most youthful Years. He saw that the Succession would be in a very uncertain Condition after his Death: He had a desire to dissolve his Marriage with *Margaret* of *Valois*, by whom he had no Children; and he thought to marry the Fair *Gabriela d' Estrees*, with whom he was enamour'd even to Enchantment; either of which two things he thought it impossible to bring to pass without the Pope's Assistance: And he knew it to be the last excuse of the obstinate Leaguers, that he was not acknowledg'd by the Pope. The Duke of *Mayenne* had sworn never to pay him Allegiance till he was reconcil'd to his Holiness: He was in hopes that such a Reconciliation would secure his Life, put an end to the frequent Conspiracies against him, under Pretence that the Sincerity of his *Conversion* was dubious; would reduce the Monks to their Duty, several of which refus'd to name him in their Prayers: And lastly, he was desirous to be at leisure to settle the Peace of the Kingdom, in order to the execution of some great Designs which he had projected abroad.

Absolution desir'd by the King.

His reasons for yielding first.

But tho' his own Will over-rul'd him not to follow the wholsom Advice of the Reformed, and the more politick sort of Catholicks, yet at first they had the Credit to name one Man of the Council, and another of the Parliament, to be join'd with one Ecclesiastick, to go to *Rome* and negotiate this Affair. This Deputation had been of great Importance for the Service of the King, and the Pope must have been contented with it, had they had Resolution enough in *France* to have stuck to this Advice. Never would any Person of Note, bred up in great Affairs, have consented to any thing beneath the Dignity of a King; and he had been well seconded by a Person chosen out of the Body of a Parliament, whose Maxims are always opposite to those of *Rome*, when the Honour of the Kingdom lies at stake. But the Pope knew

knew well enough how to ward off this Blow; ſo that the whole Commiſſion was referr'd to two Eccleſiaſticks. By which means the Pope at the bottom was Maſter of the whole Affair, in regard he was the Sovereign of both Commiſſioners that were to treat with him. One of the two the moſt notorious Knave of his time; and neither of 'em very likely to render themſelves worthy of a Cardinal's Cap by an over-zealous Fidelity to their Prince. Nevertheleſs *D'Oſſat*, who was the honeſter of the two, ſeem'd to be not a little vex'd, that there was more granted to the Pope than he had adviſ'd; but *du Perron* his Aſſociate, had the moſt Authority. He it was that brought the Inſtructions from *France*: For as for *D'Oſſat*, he was only joyn'd with him, as one that better underſtood the Slights and Politicks of *Rome*, and might be a neceſſary Guide to the other in a Court to which he was a Stranger altogether. This was the King's Misfortune, that of thoſe two Proctors that were to repreſent his Perſon in this Affair, he to whom the Secret was entruſted, and who was chief in Authority, was not the honeſteſt Man. Nevertheleſs it was not *du Perron* who had all the Thanks and Reward of this Affair. *D'Oſſat* behav'd himſelf ſo prudently, that the Profit redounded to himſelf, and the Pope beſtow'd a Cardinals Hat upon him ſome years after. 'Tis true, this Dignity ſeem'd to have been conferr'd upon him upon the King's Recommendation. But the Pope had given the King formerly to underſtand, that he would beſtow it freely and willingly upon *D'Oſſat*, if it were but requeſted for him. However, to get what he could from the King, the Pope at firſt made all the Demands which the *Spaniards* ſuggeſted to him; nevertheleſs well aſſur'd, that they would never be allow'd him. In the firſt place therefore he would have had 'em to promiſe him, that all the Edicts which had been granted to the Reformed ſhould be revok'd; That they ſhould be excluded from all Offices and Employments; That they ſhould be all deſtroy'd as ſoon as the Peace was concluded with the Leaguers and *Spain*; That the Catholicks ſhould not be conſtrain'd to obſerve the Edicts; That the Jeſuits ſhould be reſtor'd; That all the Eſtates which Queen *Jane* had taken from the Eccleſiaſticks in *Bearn* ſhould be reſtor'd to 'em again, with ſeveral other things, to which the King's Honour and Prudence would not permit him to oblige himſelf. Chiefly, they

1595. *Commiſſioners elected to treat, D'Oſſat and Perron.*

High Pretenſions of the Pope.

1595. would have had him declar'd his Crown and Kingdom forfeited if ever He relaps'd into Hereſie. But the King made his Proctors Inſtructions quite contrary to theſe Demands. He explain'd his meaning with a great deal of Elocution and Clearneſs, and gave 'em their Leſſon very preciſely and accurately. There was expreſly ſet down what the King would grant upon the Demands, which it was known the Pope would make; and it was directly enjoyn'd, that they ſhould not conſent to any thing that might be injurious to the Royal Majeſty, nor paſs beyond the Limits which the King had ſet 'em. But that which was chiefly recommended to 'em, was, not to conſent to any Rehabilitation, as if the King ſtood in need of obtaining the Popes Conſent to be a Lawful King, or capable of the Functions of Royalty: And the King preſcrib'd 'em moſt exactly how far he gave 'em leave to exert their Complacency upon ſo nice and delicate a Subject. 'Twas his pleaſure alſo that they ſhould be very careful of his Honour and his Dignity; and that they ſhould obſtinately maintain the Validity of his Abſolution which he had receiv'd in *France*. Moreover, there was one expreſs Article in behalf of the Reformed, the Terms of which are ſo remarkable, that I cannot but inſert the chiefeſt part of it in this place. After they had alledg'd the Reaſons for adviſing the King to revive the Act of 1577. which was the meaneſt of thoſe which had been granted the Reformed, and laid down the Miſchiefs which the Revocation of it obtain'd by the League, had occaſion'd in the Kingdom; together with ſuch as might happen, had they ſecur'd the Reformed from the Edicts of Proſcription which the League had publiſh'd againſt 'em, the Inſtruction adds, *That they of the ſaid Religion being very numerous and potent in the Kingdom, as they are, greatly ſerve and ſtrengthen his ſaid Majeſty to defend his Dominions againſt the Enemies of it, as formerly they have done; ſo that his ſaid Majeſty ſhould be accus'd of Imprudence and Ingratitude, if after ſo many Services as they have done him, and which he may have need of farther from 'em, he ſhould fall pell mell upon 'em, and conſtrain 'em to take Arms againſt his Perſon, as they have always done againſt thoſe who have gone about to force their Conſciences. But his Majeſty hopes to give a better account of 'em by his mildneſs, and the example of his Life, then by ways of Rigour.*

The Proctors Inſtructions quite contrary.

A Teſtimony given of the Paſt and preſent Services of the Reformed.

There

There is nothing more Authentick, nor more expreſs then this Teſtimony giv'n, upon an occaſion ſo publick and ſo important, of the paſt and preſent Services of the Reformed. If there be any Equity among Men, there needs no more to demonſtrate, that the Liberty of their Conſcience, and the Security of their Perſons, their Eſtates and their Honour, beſides that they are Dependencies upon Natural Right, which oblige the Prince to aſſure his Subjects thoſe priviledg'd Advantages, were granted 'em as the juſt Reward of their long and faithful Services. So that in depriving 'em in our days, both of the one and the other of theſe Immunities, their Enemies have not only violated the moſt lawful Duty of Sovereigns, who ought to look upon themſelves as Conſervators of the Liberty and Welfare of their Subjects; but they have blacken'd the Great *Henry* with the Reproach of Ingratitude, which he adjudged unworthy of himſelf; by depriving an Obedient and Peaceable Offspring of what had been ſo lawfully, yet dearly purchas'd for 'em, under the Reign of this Prince, by the Services of their Fathers. 1595.

Provocations of the Proctors in the terms and matter.

But what-ever Caution was taken to preſerve the King's Honour, his Proctors forbore not to comply with whatever the Pope demanded; and their Excuſe was, that they could not poſſibly do otherwiſe, and that they were fain to accept of ſome Conditions, to avoid others that would be more irkſom. They would alſo needs perſwade the King that they had done him great Service in this, that the Article of Rehabilitation had been chopt and chang'd with ſo much dexterity, that it might well be maintain'd, that there was not a Word ſaid of it in the Bull of Abſolution; nevertheleſs, if there were any Perſons who thought it neceſſary, it might be affirm'd on the other ſide, that there was enough to the purpoſe contain'd in it. So that all the Fidelity of theſe Proctors, in an Affair of ſo great Conſequence, and where the main Concern in Agitation was the eſtabliſhing the Dependance or Independance of the Crown, was reduc'd to unfold this weighty Queſtion, by equivocal Terms, from whence equal advantage might be drawn, as well for the one as for the other. This was by no means well reliſh'd by the honeſt *French-men*; but thoſe Slaps with a Wand which they receiv'd upon their Shoulders in the King's Name, as his Proctors, in the Preſence of the Cardinals, during the Ceremony

1595. mony of the Absolution, were far less approv'd. The *Spaniards* made it the Subject of their Sport and Merriment; the French Politicians murmur'd at it; the Reformed storm'd at it; and threw it in the Catholicks Dish, as a high Affront put upon Royal Majesty, that the first King in Christendom should be expos'd to be swaddl'd upon the Shoulders of his Proctor. The Court also was asham'd of such a pitiful Condescension; and *du Perron* had much ado to ward off the bloody Reproaches that were cast upon him for this Prevarication, at his Return. But he had such a Wit, that he could do what he pleas'd with it; and he had such a graceful slight of expressing himself, such a knack of making Black White, and White Black, that no body had either the Will or the Confidence to contradict what he said. For which Reason it is reported, that the Pope was heard to say at *Rome*, that he besought of God never to infuse other then vertuous Thoughts into his Mind; for that if corrupt and vicious Meditations got footing there, he had a Wit was able to defend 'em. *D'Ossat* excus'd this Indignity, by saying that the Raps were so slight, *that they would not have hurt a Fly.* As if the Affront had consisted rather in the Violence of the Blow then the Ignominy of the Ceremony. Some Historians have deem'd this Circumstance so very disgraceful, that they durst not recite it faithfully in their History; as if the Affront were the less real, when it is minc'd and neatly daub'd over.

Articles of Penitence. These Proctors had consented to Sixteen Articles, which the Pope impos'd upon the King by way of Penance: And there were some of these, in reference to which the King could have wish'd, they would have let him have done as Time should have given him an opportunity. But the Proctors had been as faithful in this, as in all the rest; for they suffer'd the Pope to impose upon the King a Necessity of Obedience after a very coercive manner. Such were the Third, Fourth, and Sixth Article, whereby he was enjoyn'd to re-establish the Mass in *Bearn*, and to restore the Bishops in that Principality to be maintain'd at his own Charges, till they should be settl'd in their Estates; to get the Prince of *Conde* out of the hands of the Reformed within a year, that he might be bred up in the Catholick Religion; and to publish the Council of *Trent*, and cause it to be observ'd in every thing that might not disturb the Publick Repose. The Tenth was couch'd in most Artificial Terms

Terms, and oblig'd the King in all things to give continual Marks of his Reſpect and Favour to the Catholicks before all the reſt of his Subjects, and to teſtifie his eager deſires to unite his whole Kingdom in one and the ſame Religion. 1595.

The Reformed complain'd of theſe Articles which were granted directly to their Prejudice: But the Proctors endeavour'd to excuſe one part, by ſaying, that certain Expreſſions were added in favour of the Edicts, and that they were forc'd to be contented, becauſe it would have been impoſſible for 'em to have obtain'd clearer or more preciſe Expreſſions to explain their meaning. So that all the Security of the Proteſtants, in reſpect of theſe Articles, depended upon certain equivocal Words, the Explanation or Interpretation of which was reſerv'd to thoſe who had concluded the Treaty. Thus it was, that they gave an Account of that ſame Clauſe of the Sixth Article, touching the Publication of the Council, which had been ill receiv'd by the Reformed; becauſe they could not look upon the Publication of a Council call'd on purpoſe to condemn 'em, otherwiſe then as a fore-runner of their Ruine. The Proctors upon this alledg'd, that they could not explain that Article more at large: But that the Pope knew and very well underſtood, that the Clauſe, not to diſturb the publick Repoſe, was added in favour of the Edict of *Bearn*, and that he neither could nor would explain it better, for fear he ſhould be thought to approve it. In like manner in reference to other Articles, that ſeem'd to preſs the King too furiouſly to certain things more difficult in *France* then *Rome* imagin'd, they affirm'd that the Pope had no deſign to force the King to Impoſſibilities, but that he would always be contented with what lay in his Power. Thus they oblig'd the King to whatever the Pope ſhould pleaſe, and left it to the Popes good Humour to excuſe the King, tho' it were impoſſible for him to perform the Penances which he had enjoin'd him. *Complaints of the Reformed, Excuſes of the Proctors.*

In the mean time we may judge by the Cruelties that were committed at *Rome* upon thoſe that were call'd *Hereticks*, that they were not in the leaſt become more equitable or more moderate toward any other People of the ſame Character. A *Fleming* was burnt alive in the Field of *Flora*; and an *Engliſhman*, who had thrown the Hoſt to the Ground, and had us'd the Sacrament

1595. Sacrament like an Idol, was puniſh'd at the ſame rate, after they had cut out his Tongue, and diſmember'd him of one of his hands. And for fear his Puniſhment ſhould be too gentle, they ſing'd him continually by the way with burning Torches, from the Priſon of the Inquiſition to the place of Execution. The Reformed might gather from thence what they were to expect, if the Sincerity of the Edicts that were granted 'em, depended upon the Inſpirations that came from *Rome*. But they had other Reaſons to be afraid of every thing. For they had Intelligence alſo from *Rome*, that there were other Secret Conditions upon which the King was abſolv'd, which were ſpread about there; whether it were an Artifice of the *Spaniards* to ſow new Seeds of Diſtruſt in the Minds of the Reformed; or whether the Pope had demanded 'em, and that the Proctors had verbally promis'd certain things, which they thought not convenient to put down in Writing. 'Twas reported at leaſt, that the King was ty'd by thoſe Conditions to exclude the Reformed from all Offices and Employments, whatever Promiſes he had made to admit 'em to Preferment, to marry the Princeſs his Siſter to a Catholick Prince, and to make War upon the *Hereticks* of his Kingdom till they were utterly extirpated. And the Marriage of the Princeſs with the Duke of *Lorrain*, which happen'd ſome years after, confirm'd the Suſpicions of all the reſt; ſo much the rather, becauſe ſhe would have been courted by Princes of her own Religion, if the King would have liſten'd to it. Certain it is, that the Reformed were convinc'd that theſe Articles were real; and that *du Pleſſis* alſo wrote to the King, that his manner of Proceeding was imputed to his Compliance with the Popes Demands; and that it was believ'd, of all that was propos'd againſt 'em, there was none but the Article that concern'd their Deſtruction, that he ever refus'd to hearken to.

Secret Articles thought to be promis'd to the Pope.

The End of the Third Book.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Edict of Nantes.

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WHILE this Affair was under Negotiation at *Rome*, the Reformed in *France*, who perform'd their Exerciſes at *Chaſtaigneraye*, were maſſacred by the Soldiers of the Garriſon of *Rochefort*, who boaſted that they had the Duke of *Mercoeur*'s Warrant for what they did. The Lady of the Place, who had already ſignaliz'd her ſelf by other Acts of Violence, obſerving that the Reformed, who aſſembl'd together from ſundry places in the Neighbourhood, carry'd Arms about 'em for their own Defence, becauſe the Garriſons of the League were always ſcouting abroad, forbid the Meeters, under pretence that ſhe might not forfeit her Garranty, to come arm'd upon her Ground; and ſeconded this Inhibition with ſo many Threats, that the poor People obey'd. And in that condition it was that the Garriſon of *Rochefort* ſurpriz'd 'em met together in the Houſe of one *Vaudorè* a Reformed Gentleman. There were about two hundred maſſacred, without ſparing either Sex or Age. An Infant alſo that was carry'd thither to be Chriſten'd was kill'd among the reſt. Nor could the Innocency of another, who would have given Eight Sols for his Ranſom, procure him the leaſt Mercy. And the Reaſon alledg'd by theſe Hang-men to excuſe their Fury, was, That the Duke of *Mercoeur* had forbid 'em to ſuffer any of the *Huguenots* to redeem themſelves: And moreover they were ſure, as they ſaid, that the Duke in making their Peace would procure 'em a full Pardon for that horrid Impiety. The Lady of *Chaſtaigneraye*, who had contriv'd this bloody Execution with ſo much Artifice, made it her Paſtime, after the Fact was committed, to be inquiſitive after the Number and Names of the murder'd People, and to inform her ſelf, whether ſuch or ſuch, againſt whom ſhe had a more peculiar Antipathy, were comprehended in the Butchery. This piece of Barbariſm put the Reformed into a Ferment equal to the Merit of the Fact. They call'd Aſſemblies to conſider of it:

1595. *Maſſacre at* Chaſtaigneray.

1595. it: They arm'd themselves for their Defence against the same Violences in the Neighbouring parts, or to make the like Returns; and some that were more chaf'd by their Excess of Cruelty, that talk'd of nothing else but of righting themselves upon the Catholicks. They besought the King never to pardon the Authors of such a Massacre, but to bring 'em to Justice as Robbers unworthy to be look'd upon as Soldiers. The King gave out Letters Patents, which declar'd that this same Act of Cruelty should be comprehended in the number of Military Violences, for which Treaties of Peace generally provided an Act of Oblivion: In pursuance of which *La Trimouille* and *du Plessis* caus'd some of these Executioners that fell into their Hands, to be hang'd up. But the Punishment of Five or Six Scoundrels, was not look'd upon as a sufficient Reparation for the Massacre of so many innocent Persons. For which reason it was, that the Reformed complain'd above two years after, that Justice had never been done 'em for this, no more then for several other Outrages which had been every day committed to their vast Prejudice in sundry parts of the Kingdom.

Excepted by the Patents out of the Acts which should be comprized in the Amnesties.

Moreover, while the Negotiation went forward at *Rome*, it was, that they set all their Springs and Engins at work to get the Prince of *Conde* out of the hands of the Reformed. The Verification of the Edict was not sufficient to perswade 'em to a surrender of his Person; because it had only serv'd to give 'em new occasions of Complaint: Therefore it behov'd 'em to set new Slights and Stratagems on foot; neither would the King stay to make it his business, till the Pope impos'd a necessity upon him. One of their Artifices to sound their Intentions was, loudly to give out, that they well knew the Reformed would never deliver him up; and to support this study'd Fear of theirs with all the Considerations that could hinder 'em: To which they added Reflections upon the Prejudice which would accrew, by their Refusal, to the King's Affairs: Nor did they forget to slip in dexterously by the way, that they should be forc'd at length to take him out of their hands by force. They gave 'em also clearly enough to understand, that they were not to expect either Peace or Security, while they continu'd obstinate in their Resolutions to be Masters of the Person of the young Prince: That their Refusal to deliver

Artifices to perswade the Reformed to deliver up the Prince of Conde.

deliver him up to the King would be taken for an apparent Rebellion; that they would be look'd upon to have forfeited all the Favours that had been granted; and that there would be a fair Pretence found out to unite with thoſe Foreign Powers againſt 'em, that ſo paſſionately thirſted after their Deſtruction. Theſe Conſiderations wrought upon three ſorts of People: The Timerous, who after Thirty Five Years Wars, which had coſt the Reformed ſo much Hardſhip, Treaſure and Blood, deſir'd only to live in Repoſe, and became faint-hearted upon all appearances of a new War. The Courtiers, who never troubl'd their Heads much about the Time to come, provided they had the Liberty of their Conſciences, and that their Religion were no Obſtacle to their preſent Fortunes. And laſtly, the Wiſer ſort, who thought there was a neceſſity of Peace, to ſettle and preſerve 'em in their Stations; that there could be no end of a new War but with their Ruine; that it would be a Reproach to their Religion to re-kindle a War in the Kingdom, when it was in ſo fair a way to be extinguiſh'd; but that on the other ſide, 'twould be a great Honour to their Doctrine which the Catholicks accus'd of infuſing the Spirit of Faction and Diſturbance into People, to contradict 'em in an Affair of ſuch important Conſequence. 1595.

But there were other People to manage beſides the Reformed; if they intended to have good Succeſs in their getting the Prince of *Conde* into their Hands. For the Death of the Prince his Father was accompany'd with ſuch Circumſtances, which had fill'd the Minds of Credulous People full of Jealouſies; and the Proſecution commenc'd againſt his Widow, ſuſpected to have contributed to his Death, had perſwaded many People, that ſhe had ſtrange Reaſons which ſpurr'd her on to that Extremity. The Prince of *Conti*, and the Count of *Soiſſons* were in the number of thoſe that really thought, or would ſeem to believe, that there was ſomething in the Birth of that young Prince which did not permit that he ſhould remove 'em from the Crown. More eſpecially the Count, of an ambitious and turbulent Spirit, and one that agreed but ill with the King, was moſt to be fear'd; and they might well think, that he would might and main obſtruct what ever ſhould be done to lift the Prince of *Conde* to the Throne in prejudice of his Claim. There was alſo another Reaſon

Intereſts of the Prince of Conti *and Count of* Soiſſons.

1595. son, besides the general Interest of his Party, why the King suspected *Trimouille*. His Ambition, and his Courage, made him fear, that the Duke would never consent to the Delivery of the Prince, under whose Name he might one day be Head of the Reformed, among whom he was in great Reputation. He had taken a Journey to St. *John d' Angeli*, where the Prince was bred up, which had made the Court very uneasie; believing he went to make sure of the Person of his Nephew, and to order it so, that they who had him in their Custody should never deliver him to the Catholicks. But afterwards 'twas known by the Information of *du Plessis*, from whom the Reformed never conceal'd any thing, that his Journey was only to get the Suspension from the Communion taken off, which the Princess his Sister had been under ever since the Death of her Husband, with whom she was thought to have been an Accomplice. This perhaps might have been a Stop, in order to the going farther in time; but then it prov'd of no effect to prejudice the Designs of the Court. In the main, it would not have been an easie thing to support the Claims of that Prince, whose Mother was suspected even by the Reformed themselves of being guilty of a strange piece of ill Conduct, if the Catholicks seeing him bred up in the Reformed Religion, should have once bethought themselves of forst'ring against him the same Suspicions, to exclude him from the Crown. So that a Head-strong Resolution to keep him in their Power would have signify'd nothing to any other purpose, then to have put the Reformed and his Uncle to a great deal of Trouble.

Trimouille suspected by the King.

'Twas thought they might provide against these Inconveniencies by the Care which was taken to justifie the Princess of *Conde*. *Trimouille* was perswaded to come in himself, for the Honour of his Sister, as being in some measure branded by the Sentence which the Judges of St. *John d' Angeli* had given against her. Therefore 'twas so order'd while the King was in *Burgundy*, where *Trimouille* perform'd great Services both in his Person and by his Courage, that the Kindred should present a Petition to the King, wherein the Judges who had condemn'd her should be expos'd as incompetent, and a Demand made, that the Information should be cancell'd, and the whole business be referr'd to the Parliament of

of *Paris*, where it was proper for the Cauſes of the Princes of the Blood to be determin'd. The King receiv'd the Petition, and granted by his Letters Patents, that the Proceſs ſhould be ſent back. This done, he ſent the Marqueſs of *Piſani* to St. *John d' Angeli* to be near the Perſon of the Prince, and to find out a way to get him from thence together with his Mother, under the pretence of carrying him to the Court where he might be preſent, at the Proſecution of a Proceſs, wherein he was ſo viſibly concern'd. But the Marqueſs met with many Difficulties. There were ſeveral who by no means reliſh'd the Reaſons that were alledg'd, and thought it very imprudent to diſpoſſeſs themſelves of ſo aſſur'd a Pledge for the Obſervation of the Edicts. *Rochel* would not conſent, but oppos'd it might and main; but the Intreagues ſurmounted all thoſe Obſtacles; and the greater number was over-rul'd by the Conſiderations which I have ſet down; ſo that the Prince and his Mother were deliver'd up to the King's Diſpoſal. One of the greateſt Difficulties proceeded from the Conſciences of zealous Perſons, who foreſaw that if once the Catholicks got him into their Clutches, they would mould him in ſuch a manner, as ſoon to make him forget the Religion of his Father and Grandfather. Therefore they were deſirous to take ſome Cautions to ſecure him the Liberty of his Conſcience: And the Court, who were unwilling to break off the Negotiation by engaging in new Difficulties, promis'd to do whatever the Reformed deſir'd. But they never remember'd their Promiſes after they had once got the Prince into their power: For a while they ſuffer'd him to have his Reformed Domeſtick Servants about him; but they took 'em from him, notwithſtanding his Cries and his Tears, when they perceiv'd that he withdrew into private places along with 'em to be catechiz'd, to ſing Pſalms, and ſay his uſual Prayers. After which, they plac'd about him perſons, who being of the ſame Religion which they were deſirous to infuſe into him, ſoon choak'd the Seeds of that Doctrine which he had learn'd among the Reformed. So that in the progreſs of his Life, after he had been a declar'd Perſecutor, he became a great Caſuiſt,

1595.

Piſani carries her away with the Prince her Son.

Precautions taken for the Prince's Religion ill obſerv'd.

1595. Caſuiſt, and a Converter of others. In the mean time his Mother was fully juſtify'd; no body appear'd againſt her; and tho the Prince of *Conti* and the Count of *Soiſſons* were Summon'd, as Perſons intereſted in the Affair, they never made their Appearance; ſo that the Princeſs gain'd her Cauſe with little or no Trouble. 'Tis true, that many People were very laviſh of their Tongues againſt her, and that the Reformed ſpar'd her no more then others. But after ſhe had got the Day, the Princeſs embrac'd the Catholick Religion at what time the King lay at *Rouen*, and renounc'd the Reformed Faith, while the Legat, who was arriv'd in *France* but a little before, held her by the hands. This ſame Change was deferr'd till then, that it might not be ſaid ſhe had purchas'd her Juſtification at the Expence of her Conſcience; as might have been ſpread abroad, had ſhe quitted her Religion, before ſhe had been clear'd by the Law. But in regard 'twas well known at what time that Reſolution was taken, People ſtuck not to ask the Queſtion, to what Intereſt a Princeſs, in whoſe behalf ſo many Reaſons and Princes ſollicited, was oblig'd to Sacrifice her Religion, had ſhe been innocent. I muſt confeſs that ſome part of this Relation belongs to the next Year; but I thought it more convenient to recite it entire in this place, then to break off and return to it again.

The Deputies of the Aſſembly at Saumur attend the King.

In the mean time, the Aſſembly at *Saumur* having taken their laſt Reſolutions, ſent away to the King *la Nove*, and *la Primaudaye*, who waited on him at *Lyon*, and there preſented to him their Petitions and their Papers, with new Propoſals, which they were enjoyn'd to make by way of Addition to their preceding Demands. They accompany'd 'em with a ſhort Remembrance of their Services, which was taken for a kind of Reproach. However the King receiv'd 'em with outward Civilities which concluded in nothing, and of which the Court is never niggardly. They only obtain'd general Promiſes from Him. He aſſur'd 'em he would never forget their Services; and that in a little time he would ſatisfie their Demands; but he declar'd he could not do it then, by reaſon of the

Paid with general Promiſes.

the great Affairs that lay upon his hands. In the mean time he earneſtly exhorted 'em to continue their Services on *Picardy* ſide, where he had great reaſon to fear the Attempts of the *Spaniards*, againſt whom War had been declar'd but a little before with a great deal of Ceremony; becauſe till then the Hoſtility between the two Nations had been but indirectly carry'd on, by reaſon of the League, which they aſſiſted with Men and Money. For the Council thought it a ſhame to brook any longer that oblique way of attacking *France*; and therefore that now the War was to be carry'd into the Enemies Country, to hinder the Succours which they gave the *French* Rebels. The Duke of *Bouillon* was one of thoſe that preſs'd this Reſolution moſt home; and the *United Provinces*, who ſaw a certain Advantage for themſelves in declaring a War, labour'd it on their ſide, as well as Queen *Elizabeth*. 'Tis true, that Princeſs appear'd not a little offended, that the King did ſo little for the Proteſtants of *France*; and ſhe grew jealous of thoſe Proceedings that renew'd their Terrors and their Diſtruſts. She was afraid of being the Victim of a Peace with *Spain*, and of being abandon'd by a Prince whom ſhe had ſo generouſly ſuccour'd in Diſtreſs. But to re-eſtabliſh a Confidence between the King and Her, Marſhal *de Bouillon* was ſent to negotiate with her a new League againſt the *Spaniard*. Nor was it a difficult thing to obtain it: But in regard the Queen laid to Heart the Affairs of Religion, her Miniſters propos'd the obliging the King to grant a favourable Edict to the Proteſtants of his Kingdom. There was now a neceſſity to break off the Treaty, or conſent to a Promiſe that would have been attended with dangerous Conſequences, partly through the Diſguſt which the Pope would have taken at it; partly by reaſon of the great Obligation which a Foreign Power would have laid upon the King's Subjects by vertue of this Article; ſince they would have been more beholding to Foreign Favour for their Security then to their Prince. But the Duke of *Bouillon* would never ſuffer any ſuch Article to be inſerted in the Treaty, nor that any ſeparate Act ſhould be drawn up, with which the

1595.

War declared againſt Spain.

League with the Queen of Engiand, *who would have an Article inſerted in the Treaty in favour of the Reformed.*

The Duke of Bouillon *oppoſ'd it.*

1595. *English* offer'd to be content, for fear it might be imputed to him that he had been employ'd upon their Importunities, and that he had abus'd his Credit and his Plenipotentiary Power, to make that Attempt upon Royal Authority for the benefit of Religion. However the Proposal made it evident, that the Reformed would find Protection abroad, if once they were in a condition to stand in need of it. In the mean time the Queens good Intentions terminated in this, that she secretly sollicited the King to grant all necessary Liberty and Security to the most faithful part of his Subjects; and the Reformed had often recourse to that same Intercession.

But the Enterprize prov'd not so successful as it was just and necessary, and the King lost several considerable Places. And from thence it was he took an opportunity to exhort the Reformed to do him new Service, and jointly, with him, to turn their Arms against their Common Enemy. But the Coldness which the Deputies observ'd in the King's Answers, and the Incongruity which they found between requiring from the Reformed new Services, and referring 'em till another time for the Reward of Services past, produc'd a very great alteration in their Minds. It seem'd to them, that an Affair which regarded the Life and Conscience of so many Thousands of good Subjects, was as urgent as any other; and in regard they desir'd no more then only to be treated like true and faithful *French-men*, they could not brook to be put off till another time for the Examination of their Demands. For their part, they look'd upon it as a flat Refusal of the Security which they desir'd; or at least for a Declaration clear enough, that they requir'd time to cavil upon an Affair of so great Importance to their Welfare. Therefore they thought it not to be endur'd, that they should be invited to shed the Remainder of their Blood against a Foreign Enemy, while they were refus'd Security against their Domestick Foes; and that they should be told abruptly, that the King was not at leisure to provide for the safety of them and their Families. The King also went about to perswade 'em, that the Breaches, made by the Treaties with the

Discontents of the Reformed, and their effects

the Leaguers, of the Edict in 1577. were not conſiderable, and that the great Benefit which accrew'd to the State by thoſe Breaches was ſuch, that the Reformed might well ſit down by the Loſs with Patience; as if it had been juſt, that they ſhould purchaſe, at the expence of their Security, the King's Reconciliation with their moſt implacable Perſecutors. For theſe Reaſons it was that they propos'd in the Aſſembly the having recourſe to more effectual Remedies. They alſo diſcours'd, among other Expedients, of putting themſelves into the ſame Condition they were in, before the Truce between the two Kings, and to regulate the Cuſtody of their ſtrong Holds, the Adminiſtration of the Finances, and the Method of Juſtice in the ſame Order as they were at that time. Such a Reſolution was enough to make the Court and the Parliaments look about 'em, who each for their own particular Reaſons were afraid of nothing ſo much, as to ſee the Reformed Cantoniz'd: And in regard the Springs of Fear and Intereſt more forcibly move the Minds of Men, then thoſe of Gratitude and Equity, this irkſom expedient appear'd to be the beſt of all to bring the Catholicks to a reaſonable Compoſition. 1595.

Whence the King's coldneſs proceeded.

However this Coldneſs of the King proceeded not ſo much from Nature as Infuſion: And therefore he repented of this rigorous Uſage, ſo ſoon as he ſaw the bad effects of it. But he was continually ſpurr'd forward to theſe affected Severities by the Sollicitations of the Pope and the Catholicks. The Pope would fain have perſwaded him to deſtroy the Reformed Root and Branch; but the King would never hearken to that, and ſtood ſo poſitively to the Negative, when they made him the Propoſal, that after that, there was no body at Court who durſt propound it to him any more. But he liſted more willingly to thoſe, who to bring about their ends, fetch'd a larger Compaſs, and who advis'd him to ſtay till he was rid of all his other Incumbrances, that he might be in a condition to have the Reformed under his Girdle, and to preſcribe 'em Laws like a Soveraign, that acts according to his Will and Pleaſure. This

Suggeſtions of the Catholicks.

1595. Council flatter'd the King, who in that was like all other Princes, who believe it more agreeable to their Supreme Authority, to give what they pleaſe, then what is demanded from 'em. But thoſe Catholicks, of which the greater part were Leaguers in their Hearts, or elſe prepoſſeſſed with that falſe Zeal which breath'd nothing more into 'em, then the Ruine of thoſe they call *Hereticks*, had other Deſigns than to advance the King's Power. Their Aim was to hinder him from obliging himſelf by any Edict, before they had taken all their meaſures for the Deſtruction of the Reformed, for fear leſt after that they might not be able to perſwade him to violate the publick Faith, of the Obſervance of which no Prince in the World was more jealous then himſelf. They labour'd therefore with great Application to put off the Effects of his good Intentions, of which they were not ignorant, and they made uſe of all the Conſiderations to this purpoſe that might Incenſe the King, whoſe Courage active to exceſs, and vigorous, eaſily took Fire. They ſought to incenſe him, by laying before him the Importunities of the Reformed, for recompenſe of their Services, as an injurious Reproach; as if they had fail'd in their reſpect to his Majeſty, in upbraiding him with a Fidelity confirm'd by long Experience. And Kings are apt to ſhow their Weakneſs in that particular. They love to be ſerv'd without Intereſt, and that after great Services done, they may be permitted to forgive 'em. The more they are pleas'd with the Affection of their Subjects, the more they dread the Reproach. They take it for an Affront, that a Subject who has done no more then his Duty, ſhould think he has any way oblig'd 'em; and many times alſo when they acknowledge the Services of any one, they would have their Returns of Gratitude rather look'd upon as Favours then Rewards. So that it was no difficult thing to perſwade the King, that the Reformed were in the wrong to boaſt their Services as they did; and that the more deſerved the Recompenſe was, the more injurious the Demand ſeem'd to be. The Catholicks were the firſt themſelves that were provok'd at theſe Reproaches of good Services, becauſe they

they almoſt all knew, that it was againſt them that the Reformed had perform'd it; ſo that the one could not vaunt their Fidelity, but the other were put in remembrance of their having been either Enemies or Rebels. Moreover the Catholicks repreſented the Reformed to the King as a kind of Cabal, that was form'd againſt his Authority, under the Pretence of Religion, and who having Oaths of Union, Aſſemblies, Councils, Cheiftaines, Strong Holds, and Finances or Exchequers, were a kind of another State ſet up within his own, and which would prove a Source of Trouble and Confuſion, a Sanctuary for Male-Contents and Rebels, and a Party always engag'd in Domeſtick Conſpiracies and Foreign Correſpondencies. The Pretence for theſe Accuſations was, that among the vaſt number of ſtout and brave Perſons of which the Party conſiſted, there were ſome that were turbulent and talk'd high, and ſome perhaps who had Intereſts of their own apart by themſelves, under the Vail of the Common Cauſe. But it was a moſt malicious piece of Injuſtice to accuſe of Faction ſo many Thouſands of peaceable People, that deſir'd no more then the Repoſe and Liberty of their Conſciences. Nevertheleſs, becauſe the King's Vivacity render'd him ſuſceptible of ſuddain Impreſſions, from thence it came to paſs, that he gave the Reformed either Cold or harſh Anſwers, while his Mind was prepoſſeſs'd with a preſent prejudice againſt 'em; tho' in the main, he had always a Deſign to grant 'em part of their Demands. 1595.

The Pope on the other ſide, well knew how to improve his Advantages; and in regard he ſaw there were many things of Importance wherein the King ſtood in need of him, he granted him nothing for which he did not make him dearly pay. That Pontiff diligently heighten'd all the Suſpicions that were infus'd into him, that the King's *Converſion* was not ſincere; and all the Diſcourſes upon which thoſe Jealouſies might be grounded. 'Twas eaſie to pick out ſeveral Pretences in the King's Conduct, which oblig'd him *The Pope's Addreſs.*

1595. him to ſpeak and act quite contrary, according to the Character of thoſe with whom he had to deal. To flatter the Catholicks, it became him to ſhew a great Diſguſt againſt the Religion of the Reformed. On the other ſide, to ſatisfie the Reformed, there was a neceſſity of telling 'em ſometimes by way of ſecret Confidence, that he had always a kindneſs for their Religion. His principal Allies were Proteſtants, and it behov'd him that his Miniſters Reſident among 'em ſhould let 'em know as much, to reſtore that Aſſurance in their Minds, which his Reconciliation to the *Roman* Church and the Pope had almoſt quite eradicated. They were afraid that another Religion had caus'd him to eſpouſe other Intereſts. Therefore he order'd his Agents to excuſe, to his Confederates, his outward manner of Proceeding, and to aſſure 'em, that only the neceſſity of Affairs oblig'd him to diſſemble; and that he had alter'd his Conduct, but not his Sentiments. The Pope, who was inform'd of every thing by his Spies, believ'd, or elſe feign'd to believe that this was true. And therefore he extorted from the King many things under that Pretence, as Demonſtrations of a ſincere *Converſion*: And fain he would have drawn him, by theſe ſtudy'd Diſtruſts, into a League againſt the Proteſtants. But the King, who could not confide ſo well in any but the Proteſtants, refus'd to hearken to thoſe Propoſitions: And when he call'd to his remembrance that he had been bred among 'em, and faithfully defended by the Proteſtants, or that he had been ſo well aſſiſted and ſerv'd both by Them and Foreigners in ſo many Dangers, he could not without Horror hearken to the Counſel that was given him, for their Extirpation. Of all the Ten Things which he had made the Objects of his Wiſhes in his Life-time, one of the moſt ardent was, That he might be in a Capacity to eſtabliſh the Reformed Religion which he then profeſſed. Therefore when he ſaw himſelf the Umpire of his Will, the Succeſs of which depended upon his Will, he could not reſolve to deſtroy a Religion, the Advancement of which he had

His wiſhes.

had ſo much deſir'd and favour'd. However, there muſt be ſomething done to pay the Pope. For which reaſon the King enhanc'd the value of the Changes which had happen'd at Court, as ſo many Effects of his Sollicitations, his Acts of Kindneſſes, or his Example. Sometimes he acted the Converter, and diſputed againſt ſuch as preſented themſelves before him, to the end he might boaſt at *Rome* the Benefit and Sincerity of his Cares for the reducing of all his Subjects to one and the ſame Religion. He aſſum'd to himſelf alſo the Honour of the Decay and Ruine into which ſome Reformed Families fell, and of the Advancement of ſome Catholick Houſes; as if it had fallen out through his preferring the one above the other; whenas, for the moſt part, neither the one nor the other proceeded from any other Cauſe then the Ingratitude and Capricio of the Court, among whom there is as little Juſtice in the Refuſal, as in the Diſtribution of Favours. Certain it is however this way of proceeding drew upon him ſometimes moſt cruel Reproaches; and if we may judge of his Inclinations by the Satyrs of the Time, no body will believe that Gratitude and Liberality were his over-ruling Vertues, in regard they always repreſent the moſt ancient and moſt faithful Servants of this Prince as buried in Oblivion and Miſerable, while on the one ſide, the Miniſters of his Pleaſures, and on the other, his Enemies, and they who had the Courage to render themſelves formidable, were loaded, and became wealthy with his Favours and Rewards. 1595.

But the moſt effectual of all the ways he took to content the Pope, was the Harſhneſs of his Anſwers to the Reformed, while his Mind was prepoſſeſs'd with the Jealouſies infus'd into it; and *Rome* never fail'd of having Advice of it, as of a Proof that the Reformed were no longer Sharers of his Good Will. In a Word, they had taught him from that time forward to make a Diſtinction between

1595. tween the Religion and the Cabal; on purpose that they might accustom him to hear their Distruction discours'd of without Offence, since they only talk'd to him of ruining the Cabal that wounded his Authority, without medling with Religion, in the Exercise of which he was resolved never to make use of Force.

He look'd upon the Dukes of *Bouillon* and *de la Trimouille* as the Heads of that Party: And he would sometimes say to his Confidents, that one of his Wishes was, That he might have 'em at his Mercy, to the end he might more generously pardon 'em. But *la Trimouille* stood too well upon his Guard to expose himself; and *de Bouillon* would never trust to his Generosity, as it fell out in an Affair wherein he was engag'd some few Years after. Neither did *Rochel* stand fair in the King's good Opinion; and it is reported that when he was at the Siege of *la Fere*, that when he beheld the *Oyse* overflowing the Streets of that City, he whispered one of those that stood next him in the Ear, That if he could bring as much to pass in *Marseilles* and *Rochel*, he should think himself absolute in his Kingdom. This Resentment against *Rochel* proceeded from an old Affront which he received there during his Protectorship, and which he always retain'd in his Memory.

1695. *Reports of the Reformed being quite out of favour, and the Sources of it.*

'Twas only to perswade *Rome*, that he had absolutely abandon'd the Reformed, that toward the end of the next Year a Report was spread abroad, that he was highly incens'd at a Petition which they had presented to him, wherein it was said, That the Catholicks had only his Body, but that they possess'd his Soul and his Affection; that he had return'd 'em a threatning Answer, telling 'em that he would join with the King of *Spain* to their Destruction; and that if they did not keep themselves close to the Terms of his Edicts, they should not have 'em so cheap from Him as from his Predecessors. 'Tis said, that he receiv'd this Petition at *la Fere*, and return'd 'em this harsh Answer.

But

But if we may believe Monſieur *D' Aubigney*, he had too deep a ſenſe of Religion to treat thoſe ſeverely who perſwaded him to maintain it. This Hiſtorian tells us, that at that time the King was afflicted with a Diſtemper which he believed mortal, and that he then underwent great Conflicts of Mind, becauſe he was afraid that his return to the Roman Church was the Sin againſt the *Holy Ghoſt*, which is never pardon'd. The like Diſcourſes alſo were ſpread by the Duke *de Mercœur*, who had a deſign it ſhou'd be thought that the Wars of Religion were about to revive in the Kingdom, and that he was in a condition to make his intereſt thereby as the laſt of all the Patronizers of the Catholic Religion 1596.

Yet, at the bottom, the King was not ſo diſpleaſed with the Reformed, but that he ſometimes gave the Romiſh Clergy cauſe of complaint againſt him. It was then an authorized Cuſtom to give *Priories*, *Abbies*, and even *Biſhopricks*, to the *Laity*, whereby they pleaſed themſelves with the Name of an *Eccleſiaſtic* Confident; and the Reformed under this Reign ſhared the Benefits of this nature with the Roman Catholicks. It happen'd every day that Affairs of this kind were promoted in all the Juriſdictions of the Kingdom, where they were generally carried according to the Contracts of *Confidence*, until there was offer'd to the Privy-Council an Act which gave a Biſhoprick to a Woman in purſuance of ſome act paſs'd with her Husband according to this *confidenciary* poſſeſſion. This was an abuſe that the Eccleſiaſticks had a great deal of difficulty to reform.

In the beginning of the Year their Deputies were permitted to aſſemble together. And on their part there was an Harangue made to the *King* at *Folembray*: He that undertook it cou'd not forbear ſpeaking ſomething of Religion, but he behaved himſelf very moderately on the Subject, and only propoſed to advance the Catholick Religion by *Doctrine* and *Example*, whereas War or Puniſhments had been the only Expedient preach'd up formerly. He exhorted the King to iſſue out an Edict to invite his Subjects to return to the Catholic Religion, which, ſaid he, wou'd be to imitate *Conſtantine*, who invited the Subjects of his Empire to embrace the Chriſtian Religion by his Example; and alſo of *Recarede* King of the *Goths*, who being converted from *Arianiſm*, The Aſſembly.

1596. obliged all his Subjects to turn with him. But, continued he, I desire not this Conversion to be procur'd either by Arms or Violence.

He acknowledg'd likewise, that the King might not perhaps be so well assured of many Towns and Persons which were return'd to his obedience, that therefore such Measures were requisite to be taken as might prevent any new Troubles arising in the Kingdom.

In a second Harangue the Deputies of this Assembly press'd these Matters a little farther; and to take away all suspicion which any persons might have, that the Edict of Invitation tended to a renewing of the War, they declared that they had need of Peace themselves, and would only have this Edict to dispose the Reformed to receive their Instructions more easily. Nevertheless, they had made an Address, upon which they obtain'd an Edict at *Travercy*, that was very favourable to them. The Reformed, who suspected this Assembly of their Enemies, did all that in them lay to hinder any ill consequences, and the Clergy also complain'd, after they had consented to this Edict, that the King had not provided for the most important Articles of his Demands. There were nevertheless some in this Edict which had respect to Religion. The *First* ordain'd the re-establishment of the Mass throughout all the Kingdom, the *Ninth* forbad Burial in Church-yards and other Sacred Places to such who did not die *Catholicks*, altho' they had the right of Patronage or any other title of pretence. The *Tenth* permitted the selling of Relicks or Church Ornaments out of the hands of the Trustees and other Detainers, and to inform against the Spoilers of Holy Places, at least upon a *Civil Account*, for the recovery of things that were taken. This Clause of *Civil Account*, had a reference to the reform'd, who look'd not upon the *Catholic Relicks* or Ornaments of their Churches as holy things, and it wou'd have made a great noise if they had been prosecuted as criminal for Pillages of this nature: whereas the Catholicks very far from being treated civilly upon such accounts might in pursuance of the *Canons* be prosecuted as guilty of Sacrilege. The *Thirteenth* commanded the restitution of all Ecclesiastical Goods of what nature soever, and forbad the detaining of them, even under the pretence of Reparations, Amend-

Edict of *Travercy*.

ments,

ments, or any thing of the like nature: and gave a *Grant of Poſſeſſion* of the Livings belonging to the Biſhops of *Dags*, *Bayonne*, *Tarbes*, and *Aize*, which had been ſeized of in *Bearn*. This Article might intereſt many of the Reform'd, who were very probably entred upon the poſſeſſion of theſe Goods on the credit of the *Attachment*. But this was the main Deſign of all the Attempts the Clergy had made. In their Harangues nothing was ſo much preſs'd as the reſtitution of their Livings: and Charity was not the Motive that induced them to deſire Peace, but a Fear, that inſtead of regaining what they had already loſt, they might yet loſe more in a new War. 1596.

An Edict in favour of the Duke of *Mayenne*.

Theſe Intrigues of the Clergy continued near half a Year: but in the beginning of them the Treaty with the Duke of *Mayenne* was concluded, which had been put off for ſo long a time; in which the Duke had propoſed an Article of being exempted out of the Enquiry that might be made into the Murder of *Henry* the Third, whether it was, that he knew himſelf too nearly concern'd in it, which made him willing to ſecure himſelf from the Proſecution of the Queen Dowager; or that he look'd upon it as a reparation of the Death of his Brothers, whom the late King had cauſed to be ſlain at *Blois*, to leave thoſe unpuniſhed that had revenged him, even upon the Perſon of the King. The Parliament had much ado to paſs this Article, and perhaps it was the only one amongſt all that was agreed between the Leaguers upon which there was ſo great a conteſtation. They wou'd have oblig'd the Duke to have clear'd himſelf by an Oath, that he had no hand in the Parricide; or upon his refuſal to have ratified the Article with this Modification, That it was agreed to becauſe of the urgent neceſſity of Affairs. The Attorny-General, who had innocently introduced into *Henry* the Third's Chamber the Monk that aſſaſſinated him, thought himſelf obliged to bring the guilty to puniſhment, and form'd great difficulties, which the zeal of the Parliament ſeconded very briskly. But in the end it was paſs'd, and the Orders of the King were ſo ſtrong, that they confirm'd the Edict without reſtriction. The King was obliged by many Reaſons to proſecute the Revenge of *Henry* the Third, beſides the common intereſt of Kings, who ought to their utmoſt to preſerve the glorious Priviledges of their Perſons; he ow'd this

1596. Revenge to his own Glory, to the end that he might not appear to have advanced himself at the expence of his Predeceſſor's life; and he had alſo engaged himſelf to do it by formal Promiſes to the Queen, and to the Officers of the former Court. But the preſent Affairs made him forget both his Duty and his Promiſes; and the Death of *Henry* the Third was not reveng'd. Upon which one thing may be obſerv'd worthy the Reader's attention: *Henry* the Fourth was alſo baſely aſſaſſinated as his Predeceſſor had been; but there was ſo little care taken to revenge his death, that even thoſe were puniſhed that endeavoured to diſcover the Authors of it. And in theſe two caſes only the Executors of both theſe Parricides were put to death; for they did not what they ought, or what they might have done, either to puniſh or to diſcover the accomplices. So that *Henry* the Fourth had the like reſpect ſhew'd him after his death, as he had ſhew'd to him that reign'd before him. This Remark is in the Hiſtory of the Reform'd, for there was none in the Kingdom which complain'd lowder than they did, that revenge was not taken on the Murderers of their preſerver. But to return to the Duke of *Mayenne*, who only demanded the excluſion of the Exerciſe of the Reformed Religion for ſix Years in thoſe Towns which he gave up to the King; and he was indeed after his reconciliation one of the moſt equitable of the Court, when it was in diſpute whether ſuch an Edict ſhou'd be granted as might comprehend the Reform'd.

Neverthleſs they ſaw nothing which cured their diſtruſts; not only *the remembrance of what had paſſed gave them juſt fears of what was to come*, as Impartial Hiſtorians acknowledge; but they gave them every day new occaſions, which made a Secretary of State ingeniouſly confeſs to *du Pleſſis*, in a Letter which he wrote to him, that they continually gave them too much ſubject of complaint. But ſtill Prudence wou'd not let them puſh their Patience to the extremity, in a time wherein it might have been the cauſe of ſtrange diſorders. Throughout the Kingdom there was almoſt none leſs powerful than the King; the Governours look'd upon their Places and Provinces almoſt as a Poſſeſſion that belonged to them by propriety; they were only made obedient by the power of Careſſes and Benefits: So that

The Eſtate of the Kingdom.

the

the State ſeem'd remiſs in the ſame point it had formerly been when the Houſe of *Cartienna* began to decay; upon which ſome unquiet and ambitious Spirits built a like Project to that which brought *Hugo Capet* to the Crown. This Prince beſtowed part of his Kingdom upon thoſe which had aſſiſted him in the gaining it, and gave the Dukes and Earls a Propriety to ſuch Countries as they were Governors of; keeping to himſelf, with that Country which belong'd to him by Inheritance, only the Sovereignty and Homage of all theſe Lords, with the Condition of Reverſion to the Crown in certain Caſes. This ſame Method was propoſed to the King, as a good Expedient to pacifie the Kingdom. The young Duke of *Mompenſier* was ingaged in this Project, and was to tell the King of it; but the King's Anſwer ſo caſt down this young Prince, as made him ſenſible it was a ſlender experience had engaged him in this undertaking; but this did not put an end to the deſign, for it yet continued in the minds of ſeveral perſons; and if the Reform'd had but ſtirr'd then, many without doubt wou'd have taken an advantage of the occaſion. There were ſtrange Intrigues carried on in *France*. The Duke of *Mercœur* had already retired into *Bretagny*; and *Du Pleſſis* had ſtopt a Courier of the Arch Duke's, who was carrying Letters to this Prince, which diſcovered very ſtrange things to them; the greateſt part of the Catholic Lords were intereſted therein. Even *Biron*, who afterwards ſuffered himſelf quite to be corrupted, was ingaged in this Conſpiracy; and it was plain enough, that whatſoever fomented the Troubles at home proceeded from a ſtrange inſpiration. If the Authors of theſe Intrigues cou'd but have forc'd the Reform'd to ſome deſperate Attempt, they wou'd thereby have found a pretext of making War againſt them, which wou'd have been a fine occaſion for them to have taken better Meaſures to diſmember the Kingdom than they had done by the League, the ſucceſs of which made them obſerve the defects. 1596.

The Project of dividing.

But the Reform'd only continued their Aſſemblies; and after the ill ſucceſs of their former Deputation, they agreed to meet at *Loudun*, the Firſt of *April*, to conſult about the ſafety of the Churches. The King permitted them becauſe he had conſidered the conſequences of his cold Anſwers, and he was uſed upon all occa-

The Aſſembly meet at *Loudun*, with permiſſion.

1596. occasions to repair a harsh treatment by one more sweet and compliable. The Deputies at their arrival found new cause of inquietude, in that it was not long before the Cardinal *de Joyeuse* was to return from *Rome*, whom they believed commission'd to make the first Overture of Peace between the Crowns under the pretence of uniting them to make War against the Turk. But the Reform'd were not ignorant how the Court of *Rome* had abused these holy Leagues, and on how many occasions these Croisades against Infidels had been turn'd against the pretended Hereticks, and therefore were apprehensive, that the Catholicks, under this pretext, intended to ruin them, and that in effect they wou'd imploy against them the Arms that in appearance were taken up against the *Ottoman* House. In this Assembly they were wearied with Uncertainties and Delays, and repuls'd by the Rigour of the Parliaments, in many of which, as well as in the inferiour Courts, they still executed the Edicts of the League, without considering the later Edicts which had revoked them. The King had promised the Deputies at *Lyons* to send Commissioners unto the Provinces, to cause those Declarations which he had made to be executed, and to re-establish the Edict of 1577, with all its Consequences. But this Promise had been so ill perform'd, that it was delay'd, and so very little effect came from the Proceedings of the Court, and from some Commissioners, which were sent into some of the places, that the condition of the Reform'd was no ways bettered; besides, that they cou'd no longer be content with the re-establishment of this Edict, but demanded a new one more ample and more favourable to them. The small advantage the Commissioners promised or sent to the Reform'd soon appear'd in the Parliaments, in which, during the same time, the Assembly offer'd up a Complaint of their Rigours; that of *Burdeaux* made an Act which extended to the ruin of a great number of their places of Exercise. It was enacted in favour of the Marquess of *Trans*, who had great Possessions, that they shou'd not Preach within the limits of his Jurisdiction: so that, besides the places where this Act absolutely put an end to the Exercise of the Reform'd Religion, it produced in them great Fears both of the Example and Consequence. The Catholic Lords, in whose Possessions they had preached until then, might pro-

New suspicions,

and subject of complaint.

probably in imitation of the Marqueſs, obtain Prohibitions for their continuing ſo to do: And as all Roman Catholicks are very near equally prejudiced againſt all other Religions, ſo there was no room to doubt but they wou'd ſignalize their Zeal by the like Proſecutions. The Parliament of *Tholouſe*, who by Articles of Capitulation with the King had baniſhed the Exerciſe of the Reform'd Religion four Leagues from the Town, demanded that they ſhou'd not place within the Walls the Chamber of Juſtice which they promiſed to the Reform'd for *Languedoc*, paſſing an Act which required all the Officers of Juſtice ſhou'd be received in the Parliament, and not in the * Mixt Chambers, which manifeſtly excluded the Reform'd from all inferior Offices of Judicature, and from all ſubordinate Charges; ſince the Parliament took ſuch meaſures, as to admit none which wou'd not take an Oath to live and die Catholicks. But the Parliament of *Aix* outdid all the reſt, and forbad the Publick Exerciſe of the Reformed Religion throughout its Juriſdiction, on forfeiture of Life: And when the Duke of *Guiſe*, after his reconciliation with the King, had the Government of this Province committed to him, there was again renewed the Names of *Papiſt* and *Huguenot*; which plainly ſhewed the Spirit of the League ſtill reign'd amongſt them, ſince they thus revived the Names of the Parties, which the principal Authors of this Faction had formerly given to them. And what made the thing more odious was, that the Duke of *Guiſe* had been introduced into the Province and confirm'd in his Government by the Reformed: And that the Acts of Parliament were paſs'd two or three Months after that he had been deliver'd by *Leſdiguieres* from the ſervitude of the *Eſpernoniſts*, and that he had confeſs'd, that this Lord had taken the Yoak from off his Neck. It will appear plain, upon what this acknowledgment was founded, to any one that reads the Hiſtory of the Diviſions of this Province. 1596.

The Aſſembly complain'd of theſe Injuſtices, of which they had Memoirs ſent them from all Parts; and of the ſmall aſſiſtances that the Reform'd found from the King's benevolence, who, when they remonſtrated to him all theſe Oppreſſions, he return'd

* Which was a Court for the benefit of Proteſtants, one half Roman Catholicks, and the other half of the Reformed.

the

1596. the Deputies words without effect, and tireſome delays. It was not long before they put up their Requeſts to the ſame effect as the former, only a little illuſtrated with new Expreſſions and Additions to the like purpoſe. It was almoſt the ſame method that the latter Aſſemblies obſerved, who, as to the material Points, demanded as the precedent Aſſemblies had done, only giving a little Explanation to prevent Frauds and Equivocations, and to take away all pretexts of Diſputes whatſoever. *Vulſon*, whom the Parliament of *Grenoble* perplex'd on the account of his having obtain'd the Place of a Counſellor, was deputed to go to the King to demand of him the performance of his Promiſe made at *Lyons* to the Envoy of the Aſſembly of *Saumur*. *Du Pleſſis* writ by him to the King, to ſhew him the importance of this Journey, and the neceſſity of ſending him back with ſome ſatisfaction. He particularly adviſed him to ſend to the Aſſembly ſome peaceable Catholic, qualified with ſufficient power, to the intent that they might treat with him to ſome purpoſe. But the Catholicks which were near the King poſſeſſed him with quite different thoughts. *Vulſon* was received in the accuſtomed manner, with a friendly Countenance and fine Words, but obtain'd nothing more than the reſt had done before him. The Promiſes were oftentimes reiterated, and as oft found vain, and which in the end were reduced only to the Edict of 1577; and ſome Promiſes of compenſation for what the Treaties with the Leaguers had retrench'd, which cou'd ſatisfie no Man: But there was a Concluſion from the Anſwer which *Vulſon* made, that put an end to all their reaſoning and patience. The Aſſembly had given him order to tell the King, that they expected his Anſwer at *Loudun*; and this was explain'd by the ill-minded Courtiers as an injurious Menace to the Royal Authority, and with a Boldneſs of Rebels, who wou'd make the King to underſtand that they ſtaid there to take new Reſolutions, if they were not contented with the Anſwer he ſhou'd give their Deputy. Paſſionate Hiſtorians make every thing on this ſide as odious as they can, altho' the intention of the Aſſembly was much more innocent. The Deputies were accuſtomed, after having put up their Requeſts, and named thoſe which ſhou'd carry them to the King, to return again and expect the effect of their Solicitations; and

Vulſon ſent to Court.

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contenting themſelves with meeting together, if affairs required it; but this were an endleſs trouble. There were already two Years paſt ſince the Aſſembly of *Saint Foy* had been going backwards and forwards, and yet had obtain'd nothing; and when thoſe which were ſent to the Court received any Anſwer, there was ſo much time loſt in communicating it to the Churches, to the Councils of Provinces, and in naming Deputies for a General Aſſembly, that it was impoſſible to avoid tediouſneſs. Therefore to bring things to a more ſpeedy iſſue, the Aſſembly of *Loudun* reſolv'd not to depart, until they ſaw ſome concluſion of the Affairs for which they had met together; and what they had order'd *Vulſon* to tell the King, was only a ſimple Declaration of the reſolution they had taken. And indeed this might confound the Council, who found matters went more according to their minds in the preceeding Conduct, becauſe the Year was run out before another Aſſembly cou'd deliberate upon their Anſwers; and this method ſerved to gain them time, and to defer them to a Conjuncture wherein the King might bring Affairs to ſuch a paſs, as he might treat with the *Reformed* more at his pleaſure; whereas now they perceived that the Aſſembly were reſolved not to part until they had brought things unto ſome certain concluſion; and this, without doubt, haſtened things more than ordinary, and alſo hindred the ill-minded Courtiers from an opportunity of finding out new Illuſions to amuſe them. But the King having taken the thing according to the ſenſe his Council had repreſented to him, was reſolved to anſwer this Declaration of the Aſſembly by a Mark of abſolute Authority; and therefore commanded the Aſſembly to break up, and to depart every one to his own home, aſſuring the People of the good-will of the King, whereof nevertheleſs they carried no other Teſtimonies than general Promiſes. Such a Command, made with a ſort of a menacing Air, rendred all theſe fine words ſuſpected: The Proteſtants doubted not but the ſecret deſign of this ſeparation was to deliver the Court from theſe importunate Solicitors, who too ſtrongly demanded the effect of thoſe Promiſes which they had no mind to perform; and it is not to be wondred at if this Anſwer diſpleaſed the Aſſembly, ſince ſome of the Council, who was not ſo very ſevere, had no hand in it; and even *Lomanie*, 1596.

1596. writing upon this Subject to *Du Pleſſis*, confeſſed to him, that he knew not why the Secretary of State had conceived it in ſuch terms, and he did not doubt but that he himſelf was offended, and that he had ſome ſecret reſervation.

The Aſſembly therefore was very much offended with this Anſwer; and believing they ought to defer their breaking up, until they had conſulted together what was neceſſary to be done in this unfortunate Conjuncture; they concluded they were no longer to expect any aſſiſtance from the Court, but henceforth to ſeek it in their own ſtrength. The Deputies were authoriſed by the Provinces to do whatſoever ſhou'd be judged uſeful for the common Cauſe; ſo that the Aſſembly was ready to depart, having reſolved to put the Reformed again into the ſame condition they were before the Truce with the two Kings. But *Du Pleſſis*, who feared the Conſequences of theſe deſperate Reſolutions, and the Effects of the Reſentments that the Deputies might ſtir up in the Provinces, did an act worthy his Wiſdom and the Fidelity he ow'd to the King. He went to the Aſſembly, and was ſo far from adviſing them to break up, that he propoſed the fortifying themſelves with a great number of conſiderable Perſons, and to enter into a Mutual Promiſe, not to ſeparate any more till they had obtain'd an Edict with ſufficient ſecurity. This they agreed to, and invited ſuch perſons to them as were fitly qualified, to ſtrengthen their Aſſembly by their preſence: All that were in the neighbouring Provinces came to them; *La Trimouille*, who had never aſſiſted before, appeared there with the reſt. But the Courage of many Perſons failed, when they came to ſign the Union that *Du Pleſſis* had propoſed, becauſe they expected no relief from the Court; therefore he ſigned firſt, upon which all the reſt reſolved to follow his Example. Thus Wiſdom prevailed with them, and altho' their Patience was tired, yet it was not quite ſpent; they gave *Du Pleſſis* time to write to the King, and to repreſent to him the diſorders that might proceed from a ſeparation of the Aſſembly. He plainly told him what the Deputies had reaſon to complain of; the Rigours of the Parliaments, the Injuſtices of the Officers, which forbad paying the Garriſons of the places; their Fears, Diſtruſts and Suſpicions, and the Propoſition of bringing themſelves again into the ſame condition they were

An Effect of this Rigour.

A wiſe Expedient of *Du Pleſſis* to reunite the Aſſembly.

were in before the Truce: And to appeaſe all theſe Diſturbances, he again renewed his Advice to the King of ſending a Commiſſioner on his account to treat with the Deputies; he nominated the Preſident of *Thou*, becauſe he lookt upon him to be a lover of Peace: He applied his Advice to the Example of *Henry* the Third, who ſent *Bellievure* to *Montauban*, in 1584. to treat with the Reform'd; and he begged the King not to believe the affair of ſmall importance, becauſe every perſon amongſt them was reſolved to ſee what was to be expected for their ſecurity. *Heſperian*, who carried the Letter with more particular Inſtructions upon the Subject, in which was contained the Reaſons the Reformed had to be afraid, with an Account of their Complaints, and the Motives that ought to oblige the King to yield to the deſires of theſe alarmed perſons. 1596.

As the King's coldneſs was cauſed by the diſpleaſure the Catholic Zealots had made him conceive againſt the Proceedings of the Reformed, ſo it was not very difficult to change his thoughts, when they gave him better Reaſons for it; therefore, whether he was toucht with the Remonſtrances of his faithful Servant, or that the effect of his harſhneſs had convinced him, that his Counſellors had made him take wrong Meaſures, he gave preſſing Orders that the Aſſembly ſhou'd not break up: He promiſed to ſend ſomebody to treat with them, and fixed a time when he wou'd ſend him; and ſtrongly enjoyn'd the ſtaying the Deputies until the arrival of his Commiſſioner. Thus the Miſchief that the zealous Catholicks had done, was very near repaired by the wiſe Advice even of thoſe whom they had offended; and the Reformed by this Expedient were hindred from any ill effect their deſpair might have produced. Yet without doubt there was ſome difficulty in making every one patient, and eſpecially when they ſaw the time paſt that was prefixed, without any one being ſent to the Aſſembly from the King. *Du Pleſſis* was even told ſometimes, That they ought not always to exerciſe Patience, after ſo many Injuſtices and ſo many Delays; the moſt peaceable were ready to anſwer, that they were weary, after ſeven Years ſufferings; having ſeen the King neglect them whil'ſt he was of their Religion; and turning from them and adhering to the Catholicks, treating to their prejudice, contrary to his Word, and the Promiſes ſigned

Is approved of the King; who revokes the Order of diſperſing, and promiſes a Commiſſioner.

1596. with the Princes and Lords of his Court, with the Members of the League; agreeing with the Pope, and it may be engag'd to deſtroy the *Reformed*, to pleaſe him; and, after all, no anſwer to their Solicitations, but vain words; and their Services were like to be no otherwiſe recompenced, than by endleſs Delays. Yet, however, they waited the time the King deſired, without taking any certain Reſolution. This Patience might very properly have paſſ for a great piece of Service, ſince the only Motive with them was an unwillingneſs to trouble the State, in a very unfortunate Juncture, wherein the leaſt diſturbance might have confounded all, and in which, perhaps, the King might have found himſelf to have had a leſs ſhare of the diviſion than any of thoſe that ſhou'd have rent the Kingdom. But as they were jealous of the glory of their Services, ſo they wou'd not be corrupted; and they appear'd always very much afraid of being eſteem'd Authors of the ruin of the Crown. Their Enemies have very ill interpreted, what they ſpoke either by their Deputies or Requeſts, that if they were not aſſiſted by the King in their preſſing Neceſſities, they ſhou'd ſeek a Remedy from themſelves; as if by that they had threatned to take up Arms. That was never in their thoughts, they never dreamt of forcing him; but only purpoſed to have ſtood up in their own defence, if the King abandoned them to the Injuſtice and Fury of their Enemies. And to make it a Crime for Men, (whom they had treated near 35 Years with ſo much Perfidiouſneſs and Cruelty) to be careful to avoid the like treatment for the time to come, is, to ſpeak rationally, a Proof that they wou'd not ſpare them, and that they ſeemed to intimate, they ought to ſuffer themſelves to be oppreſs'd, without making any defence.

The Patience of the Reformed.

Altho' the Catholicks rallied them bitterly ſometimes, becauſe they had not known how to take their time, and make uſe of advantageous Conjunctures to have prevailed in, they ſuffer'd them to paſs this upon them, ſince they were able by their Arms to make them agree to whatſoever they wou'd. They yielded, even all of a ſudden, upon one of their moſt important Demands; and it appeared, by the concluſion of the Treaty, how much their deſire of preſerving the State was more powerful with them than the conſideration of their own Intereſts. Thoſe amongſt them that

that were inclined to have things carried quietly, had two powerful Reaſons to command their Minds. One was, the Reproach they ſhou'd deſerve, if, by a Civil War, they encreaſt the King's Troubles. The other was, the conſideration of what might one day happen, if they ſhou'd gain any thing by force, as the ſtate of Affairs then were. They very well foreſaw, that their quiet wou'd not be very durable, if obtain'd at ſuch a price; that the King wou'd retract theſe extorted Favours, as ſoon as he was in a condition to reſent them, and that he wou'd reduce them again more than ever under the diſcretion of the Catholicks. Wherefore they contented themſelves with continuing their Solicitations, by Aſſemblies, Deputations, Requeſts, Demands, and Complaints. If theſe Solicitations are lookt upon as importune, it muſt be remembred, that the King liked the advice of *Du Pleſſis*, and that to have an excuſe to the Catholicks and to the Pope, he was not ſorry he was importuned; ſo that theſe Importunities cou'd not be criminal, ſince they were neceſſary and tacitly authoriſed. It may be an offence to Princes, when they are vigorouſly purſued to force ſomething from them they are not willing to; but Importunity is not amiſs when it ſerves for an excuſe to ſuch perſons as they wou'd not offend, yet care not to yield to 1596.

A continuation of their Requeſts.

The arrival of a Legat, that the Pope ſent to *France*, obliged them to be more and more earneſt in their Importunities. This Legation gave the *Reformed* new cauſe of diſtruſt, becauſe they doubted not but the Legat was ordered to uſe his intereſt againſt them, and they were afraid the King might be prevailed on by his Solicitations, or that at leaſt the credit of this new Enemy wou'd put a new ſtop to their Affairs; and the reaſon of this Fear was too apparent. Altho' it was promiſed them, that the Bull and the Power of the Legat ſhou'd be verified with great Exceptions, yet they did not ſtick to do quite the contrary; for they confirm'd his Power to the utmoſt, altho' they thereby injured themſelves in many things. They continued likewiſe to retrench the Garriſons of the *Reformed* in *Poictou* and *Saintonge*; they ſuppreſſed that of *Thouars*, on purpoſe to diſoblige *La Trimouille*, who was Lord thereof, and to take away from him a place of ſtrength. The pretext of theſe Proceedings was, that the

A Legat in *France* renews their fears.

1596. the Mony arising from this Suppression was to be made use of in the War against the *Low Countries*; but it wou'd have turn'd to so small account, that it was easie to perceive their chief end was to perplex those that had an interest in the management of these Garisons. *Roni*, who began to dispose of the King's Revenue, might easilier have rais'd that Fund upon others than those of his own Religion; but as he was friend to none but himself, and perhaps the King, to whom his Fortune engaged him, so he was very jealous of all those that had any reputation amongst the Reformed; and he was not sorry to have them far distant from the Court, that their Merit might not stand in competition with his; therefore he contributed what he cou'd to their ruin, and he was not displeased, when they had occasion to make any advances, which might procure them the ill will of the King. He hated the Marshal *de Bouillon*, who had a very acute Genius in the management of Affairs, and who was capable of prevailing with the King, who had an high esteem for him. He loved not *Lesdiguieres*, who wou'd have no dependance on him, and whom he was obliged to have a great regard for about the Affairs for *Dauphine*; but above all, lest his Merit and great Services might bring him to a higher degree of Authority, *La Trimouille* disturbed him, being a Man that was no slave to Favour, and with whom in time he was like to fall out. As for *Du Plessis*, he was insupportable to him, as a Man that was the King's Confident; and who, if he had been at Court, wou'd have been able to have attain'd to the highest degree in the King's favour, because of his honesty and intelligence in all Affairs. Wherefore he kept him always as an Exile at *Saumur*, where the Fortune of this wise Lord, who deserv'd a better fate, was limited. The occasion of his discovering his Jealousie, will be made to appear in the Sequel of this History.

Jealousies of *Roni*.

But to return: These Tricks put upon the Reformed about their Garrisons, had an effect that was not foreseen at Court; for after they had used their best interest for a redress thereof, they were forced at last to follow the advice given in the Acts of the Assembly held at *Saintefoy*, and accordingly stopt the King's Mony in some places of *Poictou*, which they employed towards the maintaining of their Garrisons. All this happening about

about the time of the Legat's arrival, the Reformed were afraid, that, if he demanded it, the Court would make him more Sacrifices, as new Marks of Honour; insomuch, that they thought it a necessary Precaution, for preventing new Injuries, to press the King hard, nay, to be more importunate with him than ever. Besides, they might well see, that the Legat's presence was like to put the King to new perplexities, and restrain that good will, of which they had daily fresh assurances. It was not likely that any thing could be done for them, but it would offend the Pope, if done in his Legat's presence, unless there was some plausible excuse ready at hand. Therefore the only Remedy was to demand importunately, that the King might not want an Answer whenever the Legat complained. But this Prelate was not the hardest of all to be satisfied with reason, and those Commissioners who managed the Edict of *Nants*, from the Month of *July*, of this Year, to *April* 1598, found him more easie and tractable, though a Cardinal and an *Italian*, than a great many *French* Catholicks. The President *de Thou* himself being charged before him with too much favouring the Reformed, when he was one of the King's Commissioners to treat with them, was obliged for his vindication, to give him an account of the whole Negotiation. The Legat rested satisfied with it, and referred all the Interest of the Catholic Religion to the Wisdom of the King's Commissioners. 1596.

In the mean while another National Synod was held at *Saumur*, which opening at the same time with the Political Assembly, and so near the place of their sitting, gave the Court fresh occasions of fear. They were afraid, that these two Councils debating the same things, their Resolutions should be more effectual, and that the Ministers would carry along with them to their respective Churches, that Spirit of Eagerness and Discontent which they saw prevalent in the Assembly. The Consistory-men were more dreaded at Court than the rest, because the subsistence of a great part of them depending upon their Religion, it was thereby become their only and darling interest; so that they were firm and inflexible upon it, and could easily by their Eloquence draw in their People to their Opinions. But *Du Plessis* assured the Court, that Ecclesiastical Matters only would

A Synod at *Saumur*.

Their Resolutions.

1596. would be treated of in the Synod. And indeed, they did even take there a Reſolution which could not but be very pleaſing to the Court, ſince it allowed the Miniſters to aſſiſt in the Aſſemblies where the preſervation of the Churches was treated of, only *becauſe of the preſent neceſſity*; that is, that this neceſſity being over, they were ordered to keep themſelves within the bounds of their Miniſterial Duties. Whether the Motion whereon this Reſolution was taken, ſprang from the tenderneſs and ſcrupulouſneſs of ſome conſcientious Men who were unwilling to meddle with the Affairs of that Government, or that it was inſpired by the Court's Intrigues, it is certain at leaſt, that it had mighty Conſequences in another Reign, and in ſeveral things gave an advantage to the Enemies of the reformed Religion.

Their Letters to the King.

However, the Synod wrote to the King on the general Affairs, and ſent Deputies to him. They thanked his Majeſty by their Letters for thoſe freſh Aſſurances of his good Will, brought to them by *de Serres*, which they aſcribed partly to his Natural Goodneſs, partly to the remembrance he had of the good Affection and great Services of the *Reformed*, whereof he himſelf was a witneſs. They complained next, that their Grievances were miſrepreſented to the King, who was made to believe, That they were uſed almoſt as well as their paſt Services deſerved, and according to his good Intentions, which hindred him from more earneſtly thinking of their relief; whereas, on the contrary, they had every day new Wrongs done them all manner of ways: That the Catholic Party would have them be contented with the Edict of 1577, and the Conferences that followed it, though it was in a manner made void by the Edict of Reduction; by vertue whereof they were treated in moſt Parliaments according to the Edicts of the League, all that the Rebels demanded being granted them to revive the ſame: That the *Reformed* had reaſon to think it ſtrange, that they, who had ſerved the King from his very Youth, and whoſe Services had, againſt all humane appearance, been bleſſed by God, were in a worſe condition in his Reign, than under his Predeceſſors, whoſe mind was influenced againſt them with Prejudices baffled by the event and time: At laſt they excuſed themſelves for troubling his Majeſty with their Affairs, at a time when he had ſuch weighty ones in hand, by adding,

ding, that being the Reformed were ſuch a conſiderable part of his Subjects, and of the moſt Faithful too, their Concerns could be none of his leaſt important Buſineſs. The Synod wrote alſo to the Lord High Conſtable upon the ſame Heads, but for all this they then could get nothing elſe but a renewing of wonted Promiſes. But, in fine, the King having reſolved to appoint Commiſſioners in order to treat with the Aſſembly, he followed exactly the advice of *du Pleſſis*, and offered the Commiſſion to the Preſident *de Thou*, a Man of a known Integrity and Honeſty all the World over; but he refuſed it, fearing the Conſequences thereof, becauſe he was unwilling blindly to follow the Zeal of the rigid Catholicks, whoſe ſtrictneſs he did not like, and whoſe reproaches he feared, if he chanced to yield any thing to the Reformed. Upon his refuſal, *Vick* and *Calignon* were entruſted with the ſame. The firſt was a Catholick, and the other of the reformed Religion. The Aſſembly was offended at *Calignon*'s accepting of a Commiſſion to diſpute and trifle with his Brethren upon their demands, and to bring them ſuch Anſwers from the King, as did not ſatisfie their hopes. In ſhort, their Powers went no farther than to grant the Reformed the execution of the Edict of 1577. with a kind of Compenſation to make up what the Treatiſes of Reduction might have altered therein; ſo that they were thought inſignificant by the Aſſembly; and this firſt Journey of the Commiſſioners did not promote the Work. The King had, both in the Inſtructions, and by his Commiſſioners, made ſome Complaints to the Aſſembly of their ſtiffneſs in their Demands, and, above all, of their ſeeming to miſtruſt his Promiſes; but had joined to it a kind of an Excuſe for the Anſwer made to their Deputies, which he thought would have been ſatisfactory to them, conſidering what Circumſtances he was under when he made it. Whereupon he mentioned the loſs of *Calais* and *Ardres*, together with the lingering and uncertain Siege of *Fere*. There was, however, amidſt theſe Complaints, a very advantageous acknowledgment of their Fidelity, when he ſaid, That the Remedy which they ſought for their Grievances was very far from that reſpect and affection they always had for him, that which nevertheleſs he charged upon ſome among them, who making advantage of

1596.

Commiſſioners appointed.

Complaints of the King.

1596. the bad posture of his Affairs, were thereby willing to make themselves amends for their distaste at his Answers. I have observed before that the very Privy Counsellors had deemed it capable of producing this bad effect, and thought that the Contrivers of it had then some secret Salve to sweeten it in due time.

The Firmness of the Assembly, But the Reformed grounded their holding fast to their Demands upon the Answers themselves that were made them, and could not apprehend what kind of publick Good they were required to prefer before their own Preservation, since the whole Matter amounted to no more than the retaking some Frontier Places from the Enemy, which might be done at any time, so soon as all the Forces of the Kingdom were re-united; whereas, now by delaying to do them right upon their just Complaints, many thousands of the best Subjects the King had, were left to the Mercy of their Enemies, Men trained up to Perfidy, Injustice and Slaughter.

The Comissioners having given the King an account of the Assemblies Resolution, he gave them new Instructions at *Monceaux*, where they met him. These were no larger than the former; but the Commissioners were charged to complain of their seizing the King's Mony in some places, and demand satisfaction for it, as being a thing the King was much offended at; they moved also, that the Assembly should remove from *London* to *Vendome*, that they might be nearer to the Court; which being consented to, the Deputies repaired to *Vendome*, on the Tenth of *November*, where they waited three Months for the return of the Commissioners. In the mean while they sent new Deputies to the King then at *Rouen*, where they presented to him some Articles drawn up upon Proposals made them, wherein they desisted from none of their former Demands concerning their Security; they did not so much as revoke their Orders for seizing the King's Mony to pay their Garrisons, because they were satisfied that their Holds were the only thing, their Enemies did value them upon, and thought themselves lost, so soon as they should consent to the disbanding of their Troops, and the ruin of their strong Towns. They were also inflexible in their Demands concerning the maintenance of their Ministers, and the administration of Justice, for the security whereof they would

which removeth to *Vendome*.

would have, in ſuſpicious Parliaments, Courts, conſiſting one half of Proteſtants, the other of Catholick Judges, commonly called *Chambres Miparties.* But they were ſomewhat looſe in the point of their religious Exerciſe, and accepted the Compenſation before offered by the King. It amounted to two new Grants, or ſuch at leaſt that looked ſo. By the Firſt, they were allow'd to continue the exerciſe of the reformed Religion in all places, where it had been publickly made ever ſince the beginning of the then inſtant Year. The Second, allowed them a ſecond place for Worſhip in each *Ballivick* or Precinct, commonly called *Senechauſſee*, almoſt the ſame Conditions preſcribed by the Edict of 1577. in a Grant of the ſame kind. There will be occaſion to ſpeak more at large of theſe Grants hereafter. 1596.

They deſiſt about a general Exercise.

A ſecond place of Exercise granted in each *Ballivick*, and their right acquired by Poſſeſſion in the year 1596. confirmed.

The King not being willing to grant them their other Demands, held faſt to theſe two Articles; but as a proof of his good Will to them, he would not ſet out from *Rouen*, before he ſaw the Edict of 1577. paſs in that Parliament, as it had paſſed at *Paris*. This really was of no great advantage, becauſe the Reformed were not contented with it, and would needs have had another Edict. Moreover, this verification of an Edict, which they had ſo often declared they could not be ſatisfied with, was but an Artifice to keep up their Patience, by putting an end to thoſe groſs Wrongs done them in Parliaments, which occaſioned their Complaints: And it was eaſie to judge through the daily Denials made them of farther Grants, that if they could be prevailed upon to live quiet under the ſhelter of this Edict, until ſuch time as a thorough ſettlement of the Kingdom, both at home and abroad, could be made, they would then, doubtleſs, be made to believe that another Edict was needleſs, ſince this had proved ſufficient to ſecure them. All that might be granted them over and above this, was to give them ſome new places for their Worſhip, in lieu of thoſe that the ſeveral Treatiſes of reduction had taken from them. The Catholicks themſelves conſented to that kind of Compenſation, and it ſeems that the King was reſolved never to grant them any thing but under the ſame pretence, it being a plauſible Excuſe to the Pope or his Legate for all his Favours to them. It was clear enough, that the Reformed could never be obliged to be content

The Edict of 1577. verified at *Rouen*, doth not content them.

1596. with less, nay, that they might with good reason hold fast to their Pretentions, since 'twas but just to indemnifie them for the loss of an advantage taken from them without cause, against the express word of a King, and that Promise signed by the Princes and Lords, which has been so often mentioned by us. But this Compensation was not sufficient to the Reformed, who aimed at more liberty and security than was given them by that means.

The Pope complaineth of it,

This Verification was, nevertheless, ill resented at *Rome*, whereby it created the King, at least seemingly, a very difficult Work. The Pope made bitter Complaints to *d' Ossat*, both of the thing and of the manner of it, because, said he, the King had forced it upon the Parliament, over-ruling their opposition.

D' Ossat appeaseth him.

D' Ossat display'd all his skill and ability to pacifie the Pope; he inlarged upon the great advantage of Peace, after a Civil War of 35 Years, which could not end but by this Edict; besides, he represented that Peace as necessary for the conversion of Hereticks, wherein the King did daily make considerable Progress; he exaggerated the great Miseries which the War had brought, especially upon the Church, and the spoil of the Ecclesiastical Revenues, occasioned by it; he shew'd, 'twas not the King, but his Predecessor, made that Edict, when he was obey'd by all Catholicks at home, and assisted by all those abroad; that this was the least favourable of all those ever obtained by the Reformed; that so long as it was observed, their Religion did visibly diminish, and that tho' the King was now opposed at home, and attacked abroad, yet he had done nothing more than the late King, nor even without the advice of the Catholicks of his Party; that this Edict confining Heresie to certain places, reestablished every where the Roman Religion; insomuch that one would hardly have believed that the Reformed, *after having so much contributed to the preservation of the Kingdom*, and strengthned themselves, during the War, with above 50 strong Places, would ever be contented with it, in a time when they might perhaps have extorted more from the King, almost overwhelmed with other Affairs; that the King was very commendable for having so well managed the Interest of the Catholick Religion, or was at least more excusable for his connivence, than his Predecessors;

deceſſors; upon which he brought in the Parable of the Tare, which is left ſtanding, when it cannot be ſnatched off without ſpoiling the Corn; he laid a great ſtreſs upon the Examples of all other Catholick Princes, and on that of the King of *Spain*, who tolerated the *Moors*, and, to bring back the *Dutch* to their obedience, offered them Liberty of Conſcience, and a free Exerciſe of their Religion: He made it appear next, that the oppoſitions of Parliaments are but Forms, ſince they know well enough that they muſt obey at laſt; and that, after all, no other Conſtraint was put upon them but that of the publick Neceſſity. Then he hinted at the ill Thoughts the *Reformed* might have entertained of the King, had he left *Rouen* before ſeeing the Edict verified; what would have been their Jealouſies, and how well grounded; how cunning the Faction was countenanced by the *Spaniards*, or what Dangers the Church and the State were like to be brought into by renewing the War: At laſt he concluded, with putting the Pope in hopes, that this Peace would bring all other things to a State moſt agreeable to his Holineſs. Thoſe that are not well read in the Policy of the *Roman* Court, may perhaps wonder at this Verification making ſuch a noiſe there, though at the ſame time they did not ſpeak a word of the publick Treaty that was beginning with the *Reformed*, under the very Noſe of the Legate, who could not chuſe but give notice of it. But 'tis a Maxim of this refined Court's Policy, That Affairs muſt be handled in a manner like Plays, where the Actors never ſpeak as they think, and know how to diſtinguiſh what is to be taken notice of, and what to be diſſembled. According to this, the Gentlemen of *Rome*, when they are not able to obſtruct an Affair, do, before its concluſion, pretend to be ignorant of it, becauſe it would be an Affront to ſee it concluded, after having vainly oppoſed it; but when 'tis paſt Remedy, then they fall a Murmuring, to ſhew their diſlike of it. Thus the Pope delay'd his complaining of the new Edict that was preparing, until it was fully concluded; becauſe then the noiſe he made about it could do no harm to *France*, but might allay the Murmurs of the *Spaniſh* Faction. 1596.

The Commiſſioners came to the Aſſembly but at the beginning of *February*, who immediately after their arrival proteſted, that 1597.

1597. that the King could grant no more than what was set down in their Instructions, for which they gave only the reason of the bad posture of the King's Affairs, that permitted him not to do better, what desire soever he had to favour them. This reason of State was in the bottom nothing else but the Discontents, which the King's favouring the Reformed might give to the Holy-league-men, who not being throughly pacified, might take a pretence from thence to stir up new Wars. The King indeed feared it, and could not put any trust in those so lately reconciled Enemies, who watched him almost as a Slave; nay, the circumstances of the time seemed to render his fears more reasonable, for the *Spaniard*, who still held an Intelligence with that half-suppressed Faction, had opened the Frontiers in several places. But the Reformed were offended at that reason of State, yet not pacified, for upon the whole matter, they thought the design was to make a sacrifice of their Repose and Security, to the Passion of their ancient Persecutors; and, to say the truth, to do nothing in their favour, for fear of giving offence to the League-men, was but to tell them plainly enough, that the King had better leave them in their Misery, than displease their implacable Enemies, who might have an occasion to be dissatisfied, if the Reformed were put out of their reach; wherefore that reason of State had no great effect in the Assembly, who could not relish that by a State-Maxim, the interest of so many faithful Subjects should be sacrificed to the caprice of a violent Cabal; that their great Services should be forgotten, their Persons exposed to new Cruelties, and sufficient Security denied for their Consciences and Lives. Therefore they declared to the King, by one of their Members, that they could by no means be contented with what was granted them, and that the Oppression the Reformed liv'd under, would at last force them to seek for a relief in themselves. The Commissioners, whose Powers were always bounded by certain limits, which it was not lawful for them to go beyond, being sensible that the Reformed were in a discontent, wrote to Court, that they thought it much to the purpose to break the Assembly, but that the Deputies must be sent home with whatever satisfaction could be given them. The *Count de Schomberg*, and the President *de Thou*, then at *Tours*, negotiating a Peace with the

The Assembly is discountenanced at the return of the Commissioners.

the Duke of *Mercœur*, wrote to the ſame purpoſe, and the Count's advice was to ſatisfie thoſe People, which he call'd *People ſick*, not with Rebellion and Factious Paſſion, but with Jealouſies and *juſt Fears for what might happen to them*, as we have it in the moſt impartial Hiſtorians. It was not doubted in *Spain*, but that the *Reformed* would be tired at laſt with ſo many Delays, and come to Extremities; and theſe two wiſe Counſellors ſaw well enough through the Artifices and various Shiftings of the Duke of *Mercœur*, that he waited to ſee what the Buſineſs of Religion would come to, that he might take a Reſolution accordingly. Wherefore, they adviſed the King to pacifie things at home, the better to make War abroad. *Du Pleſſis* wrote the ſame, and the *Reformed* offered, after ſufficient ſecurity had been given them, to imploy their whole force, either to reduce the Duke, or beat back the *Spaniards* beyond their ancient Limits. 1597.

Now the words of the *Reformed* being maliciouſly conſtrued, as if they had threatened to take up Arms, tho' they did never ſo much as mention it, and had only declared, they would no longer expect relief from the Court, but maintain themſelves as well as they could in caſe of Oppreſſion: Their Words, I ſay, brought the Court into an extream Perplexity; inſomuch, that the Jealouſies increaſed in both Parties, and the Court feared more miſchief from the Aſſembly, than perhaps the Aſſembly deſigned to do; and, on the other hand, the Aſſembly apprehended more harm from the Court than was there prepared for them. Thus, in dubious Affairs, Fear is often mutual, and there is a kind of emulation, who ſhall ſhew moſt Reſolution and Courage, when really the Fright is equal on both ſides. The King ſeverely complained to the Aſſembly by his Letters, and laid openly the Fault at the doors of the Dukes of *Boüillon* and *Trimouille*; but there happened ſuch Diviſions in the very Aſſembly, as did e'en almoſt ruin their Affairs. It may be 'twas an effect of the uſual Intrigues of the Court, who deſignedly had drawn the Aſſembly nearer home, the better to have them within the reach of its Careſſes and Favours. Not but that it might be alſo the effect of that Misfortune, commonly attending the union of divers Perſons, differing in Genius, Abilities and

Miſtruſts and Jealouſies on both ſides.

Diviſions in the Aſſembly.

1597. and Intereſt; who, tho' agreeing in a general Deſign, do often fall out about the choice of neceſſary Expedients. It is with them, as with that Harmony by which the World ſubſiſteth, through a correſpondency of ſeveral diſcording Cauſes, which might eaſily break out of that juſt proportion whereby they agree, if they were not preſerved and maintained by an Almighty and Divine Hand. Thus the union of many Men, who aim at different ends, may break of it ſelf, tho' they often have the ſame Motives for acting concertedly, when each one wou'd regulate the Conduct and Intereſt of all others, by his own Maxims and Prejudices. The Aſſembly, who aſcribed the Progreſs of thoſe Diſorders to the influence of the Court, to prevent more Miſchief, thought it fit to remove elſewhere, and accordingly came to *Saumur* on the Fifth of *March*. This removal might be agreeable to both Parties; to the King, to whom *du Pleſſis* might be very ſerviceable there, in allaying, with his Wiſdom, the Heat of the moſt forward; and accordingly the King had ſent for him a while before, and commanded him to go to *Vendome*, and endeavour to bring them to a better Temper; and it was agreeable to the *Reformed* alſo, in that the Authority of *du Pleſſis*, his Prudence and Equity might heal their Diviſions, and bring them all to an unanimous Effort for the common Cauſe.

They return to *Saumur*.

In the mean while Matters went on ſlowly, and the Aſſembly being very little ſatisfied with the Commiſſioner's delays, which were ſuppoſed, by ſeveral Members, to be deſignedly made, they carried their Diſcontents along with them to *Saumur*. Nay, on a Report ſpread abroad, that the King was ſecretly treating of a Peace with the Arch-duke, their Jealouſies increaſed, and they thought that the Court uſed ſo many delays, to the end that, if a Peace could be made before any thing was concluded with the *Reformed*, the King might be in a condition to grant them only what the Catholicks pleaſed. But a little while after the Aſſembly was ſettled at *Saumur*, there happened an Accident, which did extreamly allarm all ſorts of People; the *Spaniards* having ſurpriſed *Amiens*, the defence whereof was left to its Inhabitants, they defended it very ill. This Blow made a great noiſe through all *Europe*; *France* was counted loſt, the old Ca-

Amiens ſurpriſed.

balls

bals began to revive, and the conſternation was ſo great, that People knew not what courſe or reſolution was beſt to take; the King himſelf was diſheartened in this Misfortune, and fell from that greatneſs of Soul he had always been Maſter of before. In ſhort, one may judge what condition *France* was thought to be in, by what happed in *Britany*. *Briſſac*, who was Deputy-Lieutenant in that Province and a late reconciled League man, cauſed an Aſſembly of the Nobility to be held there in his preſence, being therein, as 'twas ſaid, countenanced by *Mompenſier*, and the Dukes of *Bouillon* and *la Trimouille*. There they propoſed to put themſelves under the Protection of the Queen of *England*, by the Name of the good *French* People, *(bons Francois)* taking it for granted, that the King, after that loſs, was no longer able to keep his Kingdom, and defend his Subjects againſt a foreign Invaſion. The ſame accident occaſioned great Agitations amongſt the *Reformed*; ſome were for taking up Arms, and endeavoured to draw to their Opinion all ſuch as were capable to bear them; inſomuch that one moved for an Attempt upon *Tours*, whither ſome Troops were to be ſent in the Name of *la Trimouille*; others thought, that they ought not to make uſe of ſuch a diſmal occaſion, and that it was even more honourable for them to deſiſt from their former Demands, than to make new ones. As for the two Dukes, they puſhed on briskly their Propoſals, and endeavoured to perſwade them, that War was the only remedy they had left: But almoſt all the Churches rejected it; the great Towns, whoſe example might have drawn in the reſt, and the beſt part of the Nobility, were deaf to it, ſo that the Project of the two Dukes fell to the ground. It was nevertheleſs reported abroad, that Diſcord had alone hindred the *Reformed* from voting the War, becauſe the Nobility and Conſiſtory-men renewed their old Quarrel, and fell out about the management of the Money that was to be raiſed; the Nobility claiming it as their right, and the Conſiſtory-men being for Commiſſioners to be appointed by the reſpective Churches for the ſafe management of it. But all theſe Intrigues, as it was given out, miſcarrying, through the diſſention of the different Parties, every one at Court, after the retaking of *Amiens*, valued himſelf for having no ſhare therein, and ſtrove very hard who ſhould make the

1597.

Confuſion in the Affairs.

A Motion for War in the Aſſembly.

1597. first discovery to the King; so that all the odium fell upon the two Dukes, who had been the authors and promoters of the whole matter. From whence it follows, that their misdemeanour might be misrepresented, and made a great deal more than really it was, since in Reports of that nature, Men use to say more than they know, and consequently run the hazard of telling more than the truth. As for the Motive of the two Dukes, 'tis not easie to guess at them. The Catholic Writers charge them with designing to make advantage of the Disorders of the State, that they might get by force those Preferments that were denied them; but the President *de Thou*, who saw the matters nearer than any body else, as being present in all these Transactions, gives us a more innocent Motive of those two Dukes. He ascribeth their Design to Necessity, and the Publick Calamity, because in the General Confusion of the Kingdom every one did almost despair of his own safety, and thought he ought to seek his security from himself; for the proof of which, he saith, that as soon as *Amiens* was retaken, they submitted to what Terms the King was pleased to prescribe to them, because then their former hopes of enjoying Peace, under a King capable to defend them, were, without doubt, revived. That is, in a word, that we may reckon these great Mens Motions amongst such things as are qualified by the event; and, indeed, had the King miscarried before *Amiens*, they had been admired as Master-pieces of State-policy, whereas they have been represented as so many Crimes, because the good Fortune of the King did soon put him in a condition to upbraid their Authors with them. Upon the whole matter, since all this was an effect of some Lords private Passions and Heats, which were repressed by the Patience and Tranquillity of the greatest number, 'tis most unjust to father upon the whole Body the attempts of some of its Members, especially since that the sobereſt part of them proved the strongest, and, in a manner, forced the rest to lay down their Arms.

The Motives of the Dukes of *Bouillon* and *Trimouille*.

The King's perplexity.

The King all this while was reduced to great Extremities, having neither Money nor Troops, and not knowing who to trust to, almost all the Lords of his Court having had a hand in the foreign Conspiracies against him, and the League-men lately reconciled to him were still suspected, and *Biron* himself, who had perswa-

ded

ded the King to take heart again, and to beſiege *Amiens*, miſtruſted theſe ſecret Enemies, whom he called New Converts. Beſides, the King's Treaſurers were ſo abſolutely out of Caſh, that they wanted Money even for the Charges of the King's Houſhold, ſo that during the Siege of *Amiens* the King did more than once complain to *Roni*, that he had no Cloaths ſuitable to his Dignity. This obliged him to ſtoop a little below the Royal State, and to beg a Subſidy from his Subjects, in a manner a little too humble for a great King. When he heard that the Aſſembly was to remove from *Saumur* to *Vendome*, he ordered preſently Count *Schomberg* and *de Thou* to repair thither, and endeavour to bring them back to *Vendome*, thereby to ſave *Vick* and *Calignon* his Commiſſioners the trouble of going ſo far. Their Inſtructions were full with Complaints of the Aſſembly's Proceedings, but above all, of their authoriſing the ſeiſing of his Revenues, with Menaces that he wou'd not permit them to make new Demands any more, adding withal, that he had rather loſe with his Enemies, than be ſlighted and diſobey'd by his Subjects. But the loſs of *Amiens* made him alter his Language; he wrote to the Aſſembly at *Saumur* by *Monglat*, on the twelfth of *March*, and his Letter contained nothing but gentle Exhortations to content themſelves with his Offers, or to put by their Demands to another time; and beſides, there were many earneſt Intreaties to put an end to their Seſſion, and prefer in this urgent occaſion the publick good to their private intereſts, juſtifying thereby the ſincerity of their intentions. To this was joined a Letter of *Leſdiguieres* to them, wherein he ſaid, that he was going with all ſpeed from the Court to his Government of *Dauphine*, to watch the Duke of *Savoy*'s Motions, for fear he ſhould attempt ſomething on that ſide, whil'ſt the King was buſie in *Picardy*, and likewiſe exhorted them not to take occaſion from the loſs of *Amiens* to multiply their Demands. A little while after the King wrote alſo to *du Pleſſis* in a ſtile which expreſſed very lively the great perplexity he was in. This faithful Servant had complained to the King of Count *Schomberg*'s Anſwer to the Deputies of the Aſſembly, it being, in his judgment, too cold and inſignificant to pacifie their minds, but ſevere enough to offend them. Therefore the King's Anſwer to *du Pleſſis* was moving and quite of another ſtrain; there he

1597.

His different manner of writing to the Aſſembly before and after the taking of *Amiens*.

1597. vow'd, that if the *Reformed* could but know the ſtate of his Affairs, they wou'd be ſenſible he could do no more for them. Next he repreſented his preſent condition as a great deal worſe than it was when he was but King of *Navarre*, becauſe he had no body to truſt to, and none to aſſiſt him: then ſtooping a little below the Majeſty of a King, he deſired him to prevail ſo far with the Aſſembly as to reſt contented with his Anſwer, leſt he ſhould be forced to make Peace with the *Spaniards*.

The Count of *Schomberg* being arrived at *Saumur* with the other Commiſſioners, gave notice of it to the Aſſembly, and required them to ſend ſome of their Members to him, that they might hear the King's intentions; but the Aſſembly would not treat with him by Deputies, not out of any contempt to the Royal Authority, or to treat with the King upon even terms, as ſome ſlanderers gave out, but becauſe they thought it more ſafe to treat publickly, than by private Deputations. So they refuſed to depute, and invited the Count to come to their Aſſembly, that they might hear what was his Charge to them. He refuſed a while to agree to it, becauſe of his Character of the King's Commiſſioner, but at laſt he yielded to the Aſſembly's deſire. He ſent *Vick* to them, and by him they knew the King's Propoſitions, but they did not like them, and they made the Commiſſioners an Anſwer that pleaſed them not. It was put very near into the ſame dreſs as the Commiſſioners Inſtructions were, returning Compliments for Compliments; and as all the Terms of the Commiſſion, that were either pithy or obliging, amounted to this, that the King was ſtill reſolved to grant them nothing, or to put off their ſatisfaction ſo ſoon as the new ſervice demanded of them was over; ſo all their Proteſtations centred in this, that they could deſiſt from none of their juſt Demands, and that they were ready to employ both their Eſtates and Lives for the Service of the State, ſo ſoon as ſatisfaction ſhould be given them. Their Anſwer to the King was very near in the ſame ſtrain; for they expreſſed therein an extreme ſorrow for the taking of *Amiens*, and complained of the lingering of Affairs as a cauſe which kept the *Reformed* from giving his Majeſty new Proofs of their affection to his Service, promiſing for the reſt, that ſo ſoon as the ſtate of their Conſciences was ſecured, they would be readier than

The Anſwers of the Aſſembly.

than ever to give all that was dear to them for his Service; but next they insinuated, that they could not desist from their Demands for the sake of that publick good that was urged to them, because both they and all the *Reformed* were fully satisfied, that the security of their Religion, of their Persons and Families, was no less a publick good than the retaking of *Amiens*. 1597.

That the King being informed of the Assembly's Dispositions by his Commissioners and by *Monglat*, who brought him their Answer, order'd new Proposals to be made to them, and slackned a little upon some points of small importance, which however could not satisfie them; so that he resolved to try them with a new Letter before he set out for his Enterprise upon *Amiens*. He had formerly writ to Count *Schomberg*, and complained of the Assembly, and to affect the Hearts of the *Reformed*, he had not forgot to make the best of a slight indisposition that he had about that time, concluding he must certainly sink under the weight of his grief, unless they would rest satisfied with his offers. But in the Letter he wrote to the Assembly it self by *Monglat* and *la Force*, he spoke much higher. There he laid before them the new Troubles, their Firmness, which he call'd Obstinacy, might bring the Kingdom to, and the great Benefits the *Spaniards*, already so formidable, and puffed up with their Victories, might reap by the Divisions of the *French*: Next he began to beseech them by that great Affection he had always had for the *Reformed*, whereof he had so often given them very signal Proofs, and by that Love they owed to their Country, to lay by all other thoughts at present but that of beating back the Enemy.

To these new Arguments, which were backed by *Monglat* with all the strength of his Eloquence, the Assembly made the same Answer as formerly; and writing to the King, they desired him to observe, that their Demands aimed at no more than their Exercise of Religion and Justice; that their Pretensions were not grounded upon any Avarice or Ambition ruinous to the State; that in respect of the present posture of his Majesty's Affairs, their Proposals were fallen very short of what they had been directed to ask by the Instructions they brought from the respective Provinces that sent them; and then they did highly commend the Com-

1597. Commiſſioners ſincerity, but bitterly complain of the Privy-Council, declaring that they looked upon thoſe pretended Impoſſibilities purpoſely urged againſt them to elude their Demands, as ſo many viſible marks of an ill will. The Aſſembly ſitting then at *Saumur*, as I ſaid before, *du Pleſſis*, who was Governour there, proved very ſerviceable to the King towards allaying the Heats of thoſe incenſed Spirits, who were very near upon admitting of no other Council, but ſuch as their Fear and Deſpair might afford them. Whereupon he adviſed the King, that it would be eaſier to bring them to a better temper in an Aſſembly more numerous than this was, becauſe then his Friends might depend upon more Voices to oppoſe thoſe Members whoſe powerful Genius and Authority were to be feared. And, indeed, this was one of the Reaſons for removing them to *Chatelleraud*, whither they came on the 16th of *June*. The Aſſembly was more numerous than any before that time, for it was made up of a Gentleman, a Miniſter, and a Lawyer, out of each Province, beſides ſeveral Lords of ſuch quality as was required by the Conſtitution made at *Saint Foy*, who repreſented no body but themſelves. *La Trimouille*, who had been the moſt conſiderable amongſt them in the former Aſſemblies, was choſen Speaker in this, where he maintained the Intereſt of the *Reformed Religion* with ſo much Zeal, that the Jealouſie and Hatred they had already for him at Court was much increaſed by it.

Which is removed to *Chatelleraud*; more numerous than before.

One of the heavieſt Charges laid upon the *Reformed* of *France*, is their forſaking the King when he beſieged *Amiens*; for their Enemies would fain perſwade the World, that thereby they committed a Fault ſufficient to eclipſe the Glory of all their former Services. Two things, ſay they, are to be blamed in it: Firſt, The Aſſembly's ſteady reſolution to remit nothing of their Demands, at a time when the Intereſt of the State ſeemed to require of them the ſacrifice of part of their Pretenſions. Secondly, Their refuſing to follow the King to a Siege, on the ſucceſs whereof the ſafety of the Kingdom was thought to depend. But to this it may be anſwered, That the Aſſembly's obſtinate Reſolution to ſtick to their Demands was neceſſary, becauſe being a Body made up only of perſons ſent by the ſeveral Provinces as their Repreſentatives, they were bound to act according to their Orders,

ders, unleſs they would expoſe themſelves to be diſowned by their Principals. Now they were boun! by theſe Orders not to deſiſt from certain Demands which the *Reformed* thought neceſſary, to ſecure both their Perſons and Conſciences; and had the Aſſembly accepted the King's Offers, it would have come to no more than a tumultuous breaking of it; and the Provinces being fruſtrated of the hopes they had grounded upon the Fidelity of their politick Aſſembly, had, no doubt, taken ſome extreme Reſolutions, if they had been betray'd by their own Repreſentatives. In effect the Aſſembly failed not to give notice to the Provinces of the Court's Propoſals, that they might be fully impowered, either to accept or refuſe them, and having received at *Chatellerand* a negative Anſwer by the Deputies newly joined to the former, they let the King know, that they could not be ſatisfied with his Offers. But, to judge aright of the Aſſembly's Conduct, and whether they are guilty of Obſtinacy, or deſerve Praiſes for their Conſtancy, we need but caſt our Eyes upon that Horrid Confuſion the Kingdom had been in, if the Aſſembly had been complaiſant enough to accept an *Edict*, which the Provinces would have unanimouſly rejected; had not the *Reformed* in this ſad caſe been forced to begin their Work again, and expoſe the Kingdom to a ruinous War? Moreover, the Articles of the Religious Exerciſe being ſetled, there was no more left than that of the ſecurity; and it was very ſtrange, that the Court, after having granted Liberty of Conſcience to the *Reformed*, would upbraid them with Obſtinacy for not deſiſting from their Demands, in order to ſecure the performance of a thing promiſed them. The truth is, the treacherous Methods uſed in the reduction of the League, wherein their Intereſts had been ſacrificed, contrary to Agreements, even under the Hand of the chief Men at Court, had utterly ruined their confidence in them, and one muſt be a great ſtranger to Equity and Juſtice, who can accuſe the *Reformed*, as guilty of a crime, for obſtinately requiring ſecurity of their Promiſes, of whoſe Treachery and Double dealing they had ſuch freſh Inſtances.

1597.

The Reaſons which may excuſe the ſtrictneſs of the Aſſembly in their Demands about the Article of Security.

As for the Siege of *Amiens*, their Opinions were divi'ed: Some were for doing fairly this laſt Service to the King, thereby to cover the Enemies of the *Reformed* with ſhame, and make it appear

The Conduct in reſpect of the Siege of *Amiens*.

1597. to all the World, that no Injuſtice was able to wear them out of their Allegiance; nay, by ſo doing, they hoped to move the Hearts of the moſt zealous Catholicks, and work upon them ſo far, that they would let a People enjoy quietly their Lives and Liberties, who had neglected their moſt Darling-intereſts, to run where the Occaſions of the State invited them. This was the Advice of *Leſdiguieres*, to whom the Aſſembly ſent a Deputation, with Offers very advantageous and tempting, which nevertheleſs he refuſed; 'tis true, his Advice had the air of a Reproach, from whence one might conclude, that he was leſs concerned for the Security of his Religion, than that of his Fortune. But the greateſt part ſtoutly maintained, that they had to do with Men who regarded all their Services as neceſſary Duties; who thought themſelves beholding to no body, and would loſe the remembrance of good deeds, ſo ſoon as the occaſion was over; that ſeveral amongſt them, who moſt oppoſed the *Reformed*, were the very ſame they had in a manner reſcued at *Tours* from the hands of the Duke of *Mayenne*; that it was eaſie to gueſs what would happen after the retaking of *Amiens*, by what happen'd every day by the Severities of the Anſwers ſent them, and by the lingering of Affairs. They failed not to obſerve the vaſt difference of Stile uſed with them before and after the taking of *Amiens*; that, before that accident, the Court began to threaten them, but returned immediately after to cajoling and giving them fair words; whereby the Aſſembly might well judge, that nothing was to be obtained from the Court, when the retaking of that important place had put them in a condition to refuſe without fear. Some there were who minced not the matter, and thought it a meer folly to contribute in the leaſt to an action which might facilitate a Peace between *France* and *Spain*, being fully ſatisfied that it could not be made but at their coſt. The Example of ſeveral Treaties made with the League-men cauſed their jealouſie, and the Double-dealings of their Enemies, whereby they cheated them in thoſe occaſions, made them fear the worſt for the future; nay, the King himſelf added much to their fear, when, to bring them to his terms upon divers points, he threatned them with concluding that Peace; and, beſides, they were not ignorant, that he hearkned to the Propoſals made by the *Spaniards* to-

Difference in Opinions.

towards it, at the ſame time when he aſſured them, he would never do it but by force. Others were for letting the Catholicks alone, and obſerving how they cou'd get out of this ſcurvy buſineſs, and whether they were able to ſhift without the helping hand of the *Reformed*, whoſe ſmall Number and Services they were wont to undervalue. Certainly theſe laſt Voters had an high conceit of their Party, and thought it ſuch a conſiderable part of the State, that the Catholicks could not but be very ſenſible of their abſence; and really they were ſo, and could not but acknowledge, that upon the great Emergencies of State the *Reformed* were to be reck'ned ſomething. The King was more ſenſible than any body elſe of the great Miſtake he had been in, by ſo long delaying to give them ſatisfaction, when at the Siege of *Amiens* he ſaw himſelf in the hands of his lately reconciled Enemies, whom he durſt not truſt, wanting thoſe approved Friends, of whoſe Fidelity he had ſuch unqueſtionable Teſtimonies. Therefore the retaking of *Amiens* wrought ſuch an alteration in the minds of Men, that an Agreement between the two Religions was univerſally wiſhed for on both ſides, even by ſuch as had moſt earneſtly laboured to obſtruct it. The King, indeed, being victorious, and having recovered his almoſt loſt Reputation, talked higher than before; and the Catholicks did ever and anon upbraid the *Reformed* with their pretended deſertion; but, for all this, the wiſeſt amongſt them were more ſeriouſly for a Peace, and facilitated it more than ever. 1597.

The experience of things paſt rendred theſe laſt Conſiderations very ſpecious, and even the remembrance of the Maſſacre at *Paris* gave weight to the advice of thoſe who were afraid, that if the *Reformed* were joined in a Siege with the rigid Catholicks and League-men, theſe being by much the ſtrongeſt, might upon ſo fair an opportunity revive their implacable hatred, and rid themſelves once more of the *Huguenots*. This they call'd a *Bartholomew Campaign*, a Term indeed very fit to renew the Memory of the *Paris* Morning-Prayer. Theſe Reaſons were ſo effectual, that the Ring-leaders, who were thoſe that might do the King the beſt ſervice, thought fit to ſtay at home. However it is falſe, that all the *Reformed* did really forſake the King in that Enterpriſe, for he had both in his Houſhold and Army ſeveral Officers and Sol-

The *Reformed* ſerve the King before *Amiens*.

1597. Soldiers of their Religion, and even part of his beſt Troops was made up of *reformed* Soldiers. The Regiment of *Navarre*, which did excellent Service in the Siege, and the greateſt number whereof periſhed there, was almoſt wholly made up of them; and the Duke of *Rohan*, whoſe Name grew ſo famous ſince, made there his firſt Campaign. The *Reformed* anſwered the Charge at that very time, and marſhall'd up ſuch of their Brethren who aſſiſted at that Siege, and were kill'd or wounded before the place. True it is, that they did not ſerve there as a ſeparate Body, and as having Troops depending upon them; but here 'tis ſtrange, that thoſe very Men who would have had the *Reformed* make a ſeparate Body to ſerve the State, had been three whole Years a grumbling, becauſe they made a Body to preſerve themſelves; as if Men, whoſe ſeparating in order to ſecure their Conſciences was counted a crime, were obliged to ſeparate for the preſervation of their Enemies. Moreover, very few amongſt the *Reformed* were in a capacity to bring Troops at their own charge to the other end of the Kingdom; ſo that the Charge affected only a ſmall number of the principal Men who might have ſerved in perſon. Yet the Count *de Schomberg* and the Preſident *de Thou*, perſwaded the Dukes of *Bouillon* and *la Trimouille* to raiſe Soldiers, and received the King's Money for it; but the Troops of the former ſtaid in *Auvergne* upon ſome pretence or other, and thoſe of the latter were employ'd in *Poictou* for repreſſing the Excurſions of ſome tumultuous League men. The King was ſo much offended at theſe Lords coldneſs, that he could never forget it, tho', perhaps, if they had been leſs ſuſpected by him, ſome reaſon might have been found to have excuſed them. Certain it is, at leaſt, that the Preſident *de Thou*, a wiſe and moderate Man, did what he could, both by Word of Mouth, and by Writing, to vindicate the Conduct of thoſe two Lords, fearing leſt the ill affected Cabal, who cried down that Action, and branded it with the odious Name of Rebellion, troubling the Legat's Head with perpetual Complaints about it, ſhould take advantage of it to thwart the Negotiation of the Edict. But of all thoſe who heard the Caſe *pro* and *con*, there was none ſo impartial as that Prelate, and who better diſcovered the Illuſion of thoſe Complaints when the true Reaſons were offered to him. The ſtate of the King's Affairs

The Actions of the Dukes of *Bouillon* and *la Trimouille*.

Affairs was not ſo proſperous in *Poitou* and *Britany*, which the Duke of *Mercœur* had opened to the *Spaniards*, but he might as well fear to loſe ſome Places on that ſide, as not to be able to mend the Damage done by the ſame on the Frontiers. Therefore as *la Trimouille*'s Troops might be uſeful in that Country, *du Pleſſis* did often repreſent to the King how important it was for his Intereſt, and for removing the Jealouſies of the *Reformed*, to give *la Trimouille* the Command of a Siege in that Country. 1597.

Though the Council found Work enough before *Amiens*, they did nevertheleſs very ſeriouſly think of Religion, which they began to regard as a very important and material Buſineſs. Therefore as the Number of Deputies to the Aſſembly had been augmented, when the *Reformed* took a Reſolution to labour in good earneſt for their Security, ſo the King doubled alſo the Number of his Commiſſioners, when he reſolved to think ſeriouſly of contenting them. The Count *de Schomberg* and the Preſident *de Thou*, had been added to *Vick* and *Calignon* at *Saumur*; but theſe two being ſince employ'd in other concerns, the two former did remain charged with the whole Negotiation, which ended happily in their hands. The *Reformed* deſiſted from ſeveral of their old Demands, though they thought them very reaſonable and juſt; but in the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs, they would inſiſt upon no Articles, although never ſo juſt, but ſuch as were abſolutely neceſſary; nay, they did alſo in proceſs of time yield up ſeveral things, which they had formerly judged moſt needful. Such was their demand of *Chambres mi-parties* in all Parliaments, and of unſuſpected Judges in all Courts of Judicature, but upon this Point they were at laſt contented with ſome ſmall matter, beſides what had been allow'd them by the former *Edicts*. The King on his ſide did the like by degrees, and even during the Siege of *Amiens*, he gave new Inſtructions and new Power to his Commiſſioners, who came thither to give him an account of the condition the Aſſembly was in. He alſo heard there the Complaints they had ordered *Conſtans*, Governour of one of their places to make to him, about his treating a Peace with the *Spaniards*, by the Mediation of the Pope, being ſhrewdly jealous, in reſpect of the Mediator, that

The Commiſſioners changed.

The Treaty continueth, and they ſlacken on both ſides.

1597. the main ſcope of that Treaty was their utter ruin. But the King, in his turn, complained to the Aſſembly, that whereas he expected hearty thanks from them, he ſaw, to his grief, that they would not accept the Offers made them by *de Vick* at *Saumur*, which he had himſelf reiterated to *Conſtans* by word of mouth; that at a time when he was in perſon before *Amiens*, the *Reformed* came not to his aſſiſtance, and ſo deprived him of a conſiderable Succour, he might have expected from them, and which he never ſtood in ſo great need of as now; aſſuring them however, that no Treaty of Peace would be concluded to their prejudice, and that he had given full power to his Commiſſioners to put an end to this long and tedious buſineſs with them.

A new Poſſeſſion acquired in 1597. Articles granted by Count *Schomberg* with ſubmiſſion to the King's pleaſure.

But in the mean while, theſe Powers coming very ſlowly, the Count *de Schomberg* made a kind of a Treaty with the Aſſembly, by which he agreed with them upon the main Articles of their Demands; as for example, that the Right of religious Exerciſe ſhould extend to all ſuch places where it was made, till the end of *Auguſt* of the inſtant Year; that all their Places ſhould ſtill remain in their hands; that a certain Sum of Money ſhould be given them for the payment of their Garriſons, and another to pay their Miniſters; and had the Count been ſufficiently impowered, the buſineſs might have been ended by that means: But whether he had a mind to gain time, till the Siege was over, or that he would not go beyond his Inſtructions, and leave the Council at liberty to diſown or approve what he had agreed on, he concluded with the Aſſembly, with a Salvo, that all theſe things ſhou'd be done with ſubmiſſion to the King's pleaſure.

A Debate whether to accept them proviſionally, or definitively.

They imagined that the Council would never review what had been granted; but it was ſtill doubtful whether they ſhould accept thoſe Articles as a Proviſion only, or if they ſhould cauſe it to be paſſed into a publick and definitive Law by an Edict. The Court had given Examples of thoſe proviſional Settlements, by the King's Declaration publiſhed at *Mantes* before his turning Catholick, and by a Treaty made ſince at *Saint Germain* with the Deputies of the Aſſembly of *Sainteſoy*. Some amongſt the *Reformed*, who were not ſatisfied with what was granted to them, were willing enough to reſt ſtill in a capacity of beginning anew;

anew, whenever the tranquility of the Kingdom would permit it, and were afraid that by a decisive Edict they should be debarred from forming new Pretensions when they would: But others, who longed to see an end of their Affairs after so many delays, thought it best to accept of something, provided they might once know what Laws they were to live under; insomuch that the matter was consulted at home, and abroad in foreign Countries, where Advice was begged of all such as were thought capable of giving it in such a weighty Case. 1597.

Schomberg and *de Thou*'s Moderation was a great help towards a Conclusion; and, on the other side, the *Reformed* were very sensible of the great Confusion and Troubles of the State, being unwilling to draw upon them the Reproach of having forced the King to a disadvantageous Peace with *Spain*. But the continual Delays of the Court marred all that was well done by the Commissioners Wisdom; there they would always review what had already been granted; there they would renew all Questions and Difficulties, without coming to any Resolution; in short, their only business, it seems, was, to abate something of what had been granted; and to that end it was, that the Council would always give the Commissioners a limited Power, for fear they might grant too much; and, on the other hand, when the *Reformed* sent Deputies to Court, they tied their Hands with very precise Instructions, lest that being wrought upon by the Artifices and Intrigues of the Court, they might accept less than the Assembly desir'd; insomuch that both the Court and the Assembly complained one after another, that the Instructions respectively given to the Commissioners or Deputies were too much limited, requiring mutually that they should be mended and inlarged. But that amongst others which the *Reformed* were most offended at, was the often sending the Commissioners elsewhere on several pretences, and their being imploy'd in other Treaties, whil'st the Affairs of Religion were put off till another time; such was the Treaty then on foot with the Duke of *Mercœur*, which took up the greatest part of their time. But the *Reformed* could not endure that preference, either because they thought themselves as good as the Duke with all his Interest in *Britany*, or because they saw his Treating was but a sham, where-

The Council's Shittings about the Articles.

The Treaty is interrupted.

1597. whereby he had amuſed the King ſeveral Years together, or becauſe they thought it eaſie to reduce him, ſo ſoon as the reſt of the Kingdom ſhould enjoy a ſolid Peace; and accordingly they did not fail to offer all their Forces towards that deſign, provided the Court would firſt make an end of their buſineſs, and not baffle them with fair words, as they had done for eight Years together. That which vexed them moſt, was the unjuſt Prejudice of the Catholicks, who could not brook, that the King ſhould think of granting a Peace to the *Reformed*, whil'ſt there were ſome Catholicks whom 'twas not yet given to; for they fancied, that the Honour of the *Romiſh* Religion was at ſtake, if the King ſhould treat with the *Hereticks*, before having ſatisfied all thoſe who took up Arms for its defence; and had therefore ſecretly extorted a Promiſe from him, never to do any thing in behalf of the *Reformed*, before he had reconciled all ſuch as had a hand in the League; which he deni'd not when he was blamed by ſome for his delays, endeavouring ſometimes to make the Complaiſance he had for the Catholicks go for a piece of Prudence advantageous to the *Reformed*, in that the *Edict* he would give them, ſhould appear by ſo much the more voluntary and leſs extorted by force, that there ſhould be leſs Troubles and Diſcontents in the Kingdom; but they took it in a quite contrary ſenſe, and were afraid that after all his other Troubles were over, he would force them to ſubmit to his own terms.

New Inſtructions.

In the mean while the Commiſſioners, at their return from the King before *Amiens*, had brought Inſtructions, which confirmed, in part, the things granted by the former; but ſeveral new Difficulties were ſtarted upon ſome Articles, as, amongſt others, about the manner of paying the Garriſons, and re-eſtabliſhing the Maſs at *Rochel*, which that *reformed* City would not conſent to. As for the Garriſons, there was ſo little ſafety in depending upon the Orders of the King's Treaſurers for paying them, that they demanded, that in caſe of refuſal or delay, it ſhould be lawful for them to cauſe the Money to be ſeized in the Provincial Exchequers. But when, after a long debate, they had agreed upon the matter, and removed all difficulties, they muſt go to the Council for its approbation, which was no eaſie matter to obtain, ſeveral tricks being made uſe of to oblige the Depu-

Deputies to deſiſt, but they ſtood firm to their reſolution; and the King, on his ſide, commanded his Council to ſtand to what had been concluded by his Commiſſioners. He had neve the-leſs been offended at the Aſſembly's begging the Interceſſion of the Queen of *England* and of the *United Provinces*; in ſhort, they had ſent ſome Perſons of Quality, as Deputies to theſe two States, in order to deſire their Mediation and Intereſt, for ob ſtructing the concluſion of a Peace with *Spain*, which they ap prehended to be levelled at the utter ruin of their Cauſe, intreating them to charge their reſpective Embaſſadours to look to it, and adviſing them beſides to draw into the ſame Precautions all ſuch other States as this Peace was like to be fatal to. Next they gave an account to the Queen how far they had gone in the Treaty of Religion; what they had gained about the Liberty of Publick Worſhip, and what had been granted in this point over and above the former Grants; of the Conceſſion of *miparted* Chambers, with the Priviledges allow'd to Parliaments; of the free admittance of the *Reformed* to all Charges, even of Judicature it ſelf, which Article had been obtain'd with a world of difficulties, and which they were to enjoy by a new Creation in their behalf of ſix Places of Counſellours in the Parliament of *Paris*; of the ſeveral Sums granted them for paying the Garriſons of their places of ſafety, which they made up one hundred, ſtrong enough to maintain a Siege, and hold it out againſt a conſiderable Army; of the Settlement agreed upon for their Miniſters ſubſiſtence; in a word, of all that had been concluded upon with the King's Commiſſioners concerning the Liberty and Security of their Religion. But 'twas no longer ſeaſonable to take notice of thoſe ſlight Miſdemeanors, which the King knew very well were not the effects of any rebellious Intentions in the *Reformed*, but of their Allarms and Jealouſies renew'd every day by his Councils delays and ſhiftings. The *Reformed* were certainly in the right on't, for, by that means, the final concluſion of this affair lingred away even beyond the end of the Year; and there was certainly affectation and malice in ſome of thoſe delays; which cannot be denied, if we conſider that the paying of the Garriſons and repairing of the Places was their greateſt buſineſs, and the matter whereon the greateſt difficulties were re-

1597. Diſputes put to an end by the King's firmneſs. The Aſſembly beggeth the interceſſion of the Queen of *England* and of the *United Provinces*.

New Delays partly malicious, partly innocent.

1597. renewed; though *Roni* was the Man who could do any thing in the Treaſury, and was able, had he been willing, to aſſign as good Funds to thoſe of his own Religion, as he did to the Roman Catholicks. But it muſt be confeſſed alſo, that ſome of the ſame delays were occaſioned meerly by accident, by ſickneſs, abſence, or other excuſable impediments of ſome, whom the King had appointed to view the Articles of the Aſſembly, and to prepare the Form of the Writs; which being made out by unqueſtionable Proofs, the *Reformed* did not deſpond at all, but waited patiently till all theſe Difficulties were removed by time.

The End of the Fourth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Edict of Nants.

The Fifth Book.

The Contents of the Fifth Book.

A Book setting forth the Grievances of the Reformed ; *blamed by ſome. The Importance of its Contents. It beginneth with excuſing the freedom of thoſe Complaints. Maketh Remonſtrances to the King about the delays of his Council, and the general ſtate of the* Reformed. *By what degrees the King had been drawn from them. The deſign of their Petition. General Complaints made by them againſt all the* French : *againſt each Order of the State, and the Clergy in particular. The Publick Exerciſe of the* Reformed Religion *obſtructed, and Private Devotions hindred. Inſtances of great Violences. The Boldneſs of the Parliament of* Bourdeaux. *The Exerciſe interrupted or forbidden in ſeveral places by divers Decrees : in the Army : at* Rouen, *the King being there. Complaints on the account of the places : againſt the Catholick Gentlemen ; and againſt the Treaties with the League-men. The ſing-*

ing of Psalms hindred. Books seized and burnt. Religious Assemblies prohibited. Consolation of the Sick. Consciences forced in divers actions. Christnings and other things concerning Children. The Prince of Conde. *Keeping of Lent and Holidays. Schools. Colledges. Offices. The Poor ill used. Places where the* Reformed *dare not dwell. Remarkable Injustice done at* Lyon. *Trades. Violences. Wicked Acts. Seditious Words and Speeches. Passionate Judges and Parliaments. Great difficulties in re-establishing the Edict of* 1577. *Special Instances of the Ill will of Parliaments. Burials made difficult; hindred; Tombs violated. A strong, free, and pithy Conclusion. Reflections upon this Book. New Delays and Difficulties upon particular Places. The Assembly breaketh up. The state of the Garrisons. Appointing of Governours. Annual renewing of the state of the Garrisons; the number of the places of safety. Private Interests. The Edict delay'd till the Month of* April, *when there are no more Leaguers. Jealousies of the Assembly. The King being armed, granteth the Edict. Conclusion made at* Nants. *Particulars of the Difficulties on each Article. 1st Demond, A new Edict: Reasons* pro *and* con. *2d Demand, Free Exercise; its extent. New Concessions. The advantage secured to the prevailing Religion. A second place of Exercise in each Bailiwick, was no new thing. Difficulties about the Place: about the Proofs. Difficulties about the Tombs. 3d Demand, The Subsistence of the Ministers. A Sum of Money promised by the King. Schools. 4th Demand, The Possession of Estates and the Rights of Successions. 5th Demand, Unsuspected Judges.* Chambers Mipartie, *or of the Edict. 6th Demand, To be admitted to all Offices: the extent of this Concession. Illusion upon that Demand. 7th Demand, Securities. Reasons for demanding them. The Election of Governours for the places of security. How they were serviceable to the King. The paying of Garrisons. Private Gifts. Debates upon the Form of Concessions, which doth vary, according to the nature of the thing. The distinction of Places. The form of Payment. The Conclusion.*

1597. AS in the Sequel of the Negotiation of the Edict there was little Alterations made in what had been agreed upon between the King's Commissioners and the Deputies of the Assembly, it might be well said, that the Treatise ended with the Month

Month of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year, and that the end of the ſame was in a manner the Epocha, or Date, of all the Grants peculiar to the Edict of *Nants*. Thitherto the ſubſtance of things had been the main Buſineſs, whereas afterwards the reſt of the Difficulties and Debates was for the moſt part only about the Form and Circumſtances. But before we come to the Concluſion of this Important Affair, it behoveth us, for the better clearing thereof, to take notice of a Book which came out this Year, after the taking of *Amiens*, under the Title of, *Complaints of the* Reformed Churches *of* France, *about the Violences they ſuffered in many places of the Kingdom, for which they have with all humility applied themſelves at ſeveral times to his Majeſty and the Lords of his Council.* The Manuſcript of this Book had been handed about laſt Year, and contained in ſubſtance the ſame Complaints that were ſet forth in a Petition preſented to the King during the Siege of *la Fere*; but it was publickly printed this Year, with ſome new matters of fact which the *Reformed* had occaſion to add to it, beſides ſome alteration in the form. It can hardly be imagined with what cunning the generality of Hiſtorians do extenuate or lay aſide thoſe Complaints, though they are indeed as a *Manifeſto*, which gives the reaſon of the Conduct of the *Reformed*, and makes an Apology for their innocence. It is true, that amongſt them there were ſome who diſapproved the Impreſſion of the Book: but we ſhall not wonder at it, if we conſider, that they had their Politicians and Courtiers, who were always of a contrary opinion, and whom the Court uſed as ſo many Tools, to divide the Minds, or elude the vigorous Proceedings of the Aſſembly. Beſides, that part of the *Reformed*, who lived within the reach of the Court in the neighbourhood of *Paris*, being frighted at the ſight of their ſmall number, were apt enough to be dazled with fair Words and Promiſes, and highly commending that complaiſant Behaviour, did always ſpeak the Court language, either out of weakneſs or intereſt. We ſhall ſee in the Sequel of this Hiſtory the ſad effects of that timorous Policy, even after the expedition of the Edict, and when it was about to be verified in Parliament. But the diſowning of a ſmall number, doth not hinder the Cauſe of thoſe Complaints to be moſt real, and all the Matters of Fact men-

1597.

A Book ſetting forth the Grievances of the *Reformed*.

Blamed by ſome.

1597. mentioned therein, to have been the Subject of so many Petitions presented to the King, and the Occasion that made the Assembly keep firm to their Demands. The Piece is very Eloquent for those Times, it moves the Passions well, but especially Compassion and Indignation are so lively excited there, that it is not easie to read the Work, without pitying those who complain of so many Evils, and without being angry with them who refused to remedy them. There you may see above two hundred particular Instances of Injustices, or Violences, committed against the *Reformed*, with all the Circumstances of Persons, Actions, and Time; which so exact particularizing of Matters of Fact, evidently sheweth, that they had unquestionable Proofs in hand, and feared not to be misrepresented, since they made so publick Complaints, and gave such Particulars thereof, as made the thing easie to be inquired into. Since therefore the Wrongs and Cruelties the *Reformed* complained of in that Book, were the Causes of all those pretended rebellious Proceedings their Enemies have since upbraided them with, it will be no great digression from the History of the *Edict*, nor tedious to the Readers, to give them a View of those Complaints, as short as things of that nature can bear it

The Importance of its Contents.

It beginneth with excusing the freedom of those Complaints.

First, The *Reformed* began with vindicating the Liberty they took to complain; which, in a Kingdom so free as *France* was, ought not to be blamed in those from whom the quality of Subjects and *Frenchmen* could not be taken away, who had been sufferers so long, and who had been so serviceable to the State. They declar'd nevertheless, that they complained with regret, and were forced to discover the shame of their Country, by the fury of their Enemies, which they exaggerated with all the Expressions and Figures the Hearts of Men are apt to be affected by. Afterwards they addressed their Discourse to the King, and the better to move him with pity, they most submissively shew'd, that they were neither *Spaniards* nor Leaguers, and there they made a rehearsal of their great Services done to the State and to himself from his very Cradle, against those two sorts of Enemies; and of the great Efforts they had made under his valiant and wise Conduct, to defend that Crown which he wore on his Head; adding, that these Truths, which were clear and known to all the

Maketh Remonstrances to the King about the Delays of his Council, and the general State of the *Reformed*.

the World, had put them in hopes, that, though they were asleep, the King himself and all the good *Frenchmen* that were left, would have thought, in their stead, of not suffering such a necessary and servicable part of the Nation to be ruined and lost. That yet, during these eight Years, they had seen no diminution in the Catholicks hatred, nor any abatement in their Miseries. That their Enemies had now, if not more Malice, at least more means to annoy them, because the *Reformed* did so frankly throw themselves into the King's Arms. That the Catholicks had even been emboldened against them, from their Loyal Affection and Patience, as being assured they would never be revenged of any Outrage done them, for fear of raising new Troubles in so dangerous a Conjuncture. That the Truce, which their Enemies would fain have pass for a Peace, which ought to content them, (if, as 'twas said, they could be contented with any thing) was infinitely more prejudicial to them than the open War, during which they were aware of their known Foes, and blessed be God with sufficient means to take from them either the desire or the power of hurting them. That a great part of their Enemies had taken up Arms against the Crown for much less, even upon account of Fears without ground; whereas now the *Reformed* remained peaceable, though spurred by real and present Evils, and attacked on all sides with such a cruel animosity, that it might bring the most patient People in the World to despair. That they were still striving with that despair, by their confidence in the King's love, which having proved so favourable to those who made War against him, could not be severe and backward towards them who had always been his most affectionate Servants; but that the Papists were hard at work to deprive them of this very Support, by endeavouring with Pretences of Conscience to oblige the King to destroy them. That first, they had forced him to go to Mass, in order to draw him from them; whereupon he gave them his Royal Word, that he would never consent to their ruin, but rather join with them again, than suffer any War against them. That even those who induced him to a change, and feared, that in such a case the *Reformed* might highly resent it, and come to extream Resolutions, (which however they bless God Almighty, that the event had made

1597.

By what degrees the King had been drawn from them.

1597. made it appear, they were not capable of; and that they did not make use of Religion as a Pretence to disobey their King) that those very Men represented to the *Reformed* the great advantage which might accrue to them by that change, and that the King thereby might be in a greater capacity to make them feel the effects of his Affection, and might even go so far as to undertake a Thorough-reformation of the Church, as having nothing changed in him, but the outside; whereupon they represented with exaggeration how little likely it was, that the King, whose Conscience was so enlightened and knew so well that Temporal Interest ought not to be preferred before the Kingdom of God, would change his Sentiments on a sudden upon meer Reasons of State. That nevertheless the Papists had obliged him to believe the grossest Errors of the Romish Religion, and to take a Solemn Oath at his Coronation, renewed since at his taking upon him the Order of the Holy Ghost, that he would, to the utmost of his power, extirpate both the *Heresie* and the *Hereticks*, as they used to call their Persons and Doctrin, though the same Oath had been established not only against them, but himself too, when he was engaged with them in the same cause; from whence concluding, that their Enemies might also by the same Considerations engage him to their ruin, they beg leave to let the King know the Particulars of their Grievances, to the end that he may see thereby how ill they fare under his Reign, since his Counsellors do misrepresent to him the Miseries of their present Condition; and that such as are free from Passion, may not take it ill, if they demand so earnestly a general Liberty to serve God according to their Consciences; impartial Courts of Justice, to whom they may trust their Estates, their Lives, and their Honours; and sufficient Securities against those Violences wherewith both the present and past time threatneth them; and that all equitable People may use their best interest for the relief of those who are unwilling to survive the State, but only to be preserved with it, fearing God, and honouring the King.

The Design of their Petion.

General Complaints made by them against all *French*.

Next they came to particulars, and declared, that in general they complained of all *Frenchmen*; not but that there might be some who would do them justice, but they were so fearful and weak, that they suffer'd themselves to be drawn in by the rest; and

and ſo might be well included with them in a lump. Then they hinted at all Orders and Degrees, complaining of the Nobility and Gentry, of the People, of the Magiſtrates, of the Council, but above all, of the Eccleſiaſtical Order, as that which influenced them all, and inſpired them with injuſtice and hatred to the *Reformed*. They handled that Order pretty roughly, with great Contempt and ſhrewd nipping Jeſts and Railleries. From thence they paſſed on to their Sufferings, and ſaid, that for 50 Years together they had undergon all ſorts of cruel Puniſhments; that they had been burnt, drowned, hanged, maſſacred one by one, maſſacred by whole ſhoals, baniſhed out of the Kingdom by Edicts; that the Catholicks had, for thoſe fifty Years, made a cruel War againſt them; to which they added, that the Exerciſe of their Religion was free in thoſe places only where they had been ſtrong eno' to keep it, but that they had loſt it every where elſe. They named ſome places where the *Reformed* were fain to go ten or twelve Miles to hear a Sermon, and whole Provinces where they had not ſo much as one place of Exerciſe allow'd them, as *Burgundy* and *Picardy*; and others where they had very little liberty, as *Provence*, in which they had no preaching but at *Merindol* and *Lormarin*; and *Britany*, where it was allow'd them but at *Vitre*. They named other places, where, tho' the *Reformed* were the ſtrongeſt, yet they durſt not exerciſe their Religion within the Walls, but were forced to go abroad for it and expoſe themſelves to fall into the hands of the Enemies Garriſons; others, where even the *French* abuſed them at a ſtrange rate, and lay in wait for them to throw Dirt and Stones at them; others, where Seditions had been ſtirred up againſt them, as at *Tours* on Eaſter-day, where the Ring-leaders did inſolently boaſt, that they had whetted their Weapons. Moreover, they related, that an eminent Gentleman, *Bordage* by Name, being invited to ſtand Godfather to a Child of the Lord *Mongomeri* at *Pontarſon*, the Parliament of *Rennes* had commanded the Militia of ſeveral Pariſhes to ſtop the Paſſes; and that having avoided that danger, he was in his return ſet upon by two or three thouſand Men, who, notwithſtanding the reſiſtance of the Garriſon of *Pontarſon*, which guarded him, kill'd two of his Men; and had it not been for the Garriſon of *Vitre*, that came to his help, he could never have eſca-

1597.

Againſt all the Orders of the State.

Againſt the Clergy in particular.

The publick Exerciſe of the *reformed* Religion obſtructed, and private Devotions hindred;

1597. eſcaped. They related likewiſe, that at *Saint Stephen of Furan*, in the Province of *Foret*, (a Pariſh-Prieſt of which place did with impunity offer every day horrid Violences to the *Reformed*) thirteen hundred People fell upon one hundred of them, as they were coming from a place diſtant one day's journy from their Town, where they had celebrated the Lord's-Supper on Eaſter-day; and then beat them, wounded them, maimed them, leaving ſeveral for dead upon the ſpot; that the Night following, their Doors and Windows were broken, and on the next day the Catholick Mob gathered again together before their Houſes, threatning them with worſe. The like had happened at *Manoſque* in *Provence*, where the *Reformed* coming home from receiving the Communion at *Lormarin*, were ſerved after the ſame manner; and it is obſervable, that the ſeditious Rabble, to give a colour to their intended Violence, had themſelves pull'd down a wooden Croſs, and then accuſed the *Reformed* of doing it.

And in their private Devotions. Inſtances of great Violences.

They repreſented farther, that they were troubled even in their private Devotions at home, and for Inſtances thereof named places where Men had been clapt into Priſon for praying to God with a loud Voice, as well as the Maſters of the Houſes where they prayed, for ſuffering the ſame. In other places all thoſe that were preſent had been taken up and threatned to be drowned, to force them to go to Maſs. In ſome others, Praying was forbid them in their own Forms; and for chriſtening Children in Country-houſes, Warrants were delivered againſt the Miniſters; and all who had been preſent, were adjudged to pay coſt, and beſides, ſeverely fined for it. Upon the like occaſion they had in other places been in an imminent danger of being maſſacred by the Rabble; ſome places were remarked, in which they were forbid to aſſemble, on pain of Ten thouſand Pounds fine; others wherein Houſes were forcibly entred into, if five or ſix *Reformed* were but thought to be there; for inſtance, at *Saint Stephen of Furant*, the ſeditious Mob gathered together one day to the number of three hundred Men before a certain Houſe, upon a meer ſuſpicion of an Aſſembly, though the Magiſtrates, who view'd it, found no ſuch thing. Other places were named in which the Prieſts and Friers did openly ſay in their Pulpits, *That*

'twas

'twas a ſhame to ſuffer the Reformed *in their Towns*; and this upon a groundleſs Accuſation of having aſſembled in the Neighbourhood, as the Officers found it after a ſtrict inquiry into the matter. It was obſerved beſides, that when the Lady *Catherine*, the King's only Siſter, came to *Bourdeaux*, the Parliament had ſent Spies to watch thoſe that went to hear Sermons in her Houſe, and committed to Priſon one of the moſt conſiderable amongſt them. To all this it was added, that the free Exerciſe of their Religion being limited in ſome places to Publick Prayers only, which they were however very well ſatisfied with, yet at *Montagnac*, a place of that kind, they had not been permitted to cover a certain Houſe purchaſed by them for that purpoſe; nay, that afterward the Lord High Conſtable and the Parliament of *Thouloufe* had forbid them to pray there any longer. Then they related thoſe Violences committed at *Marchenoir* by the Duke of *Nemours*'s Troops, and thoſe by the Soldiers of the Duke of *Guiſe* at *Lormarin*, where they turn'd the Temple into a Stable, and threw ſeven or eight Perſons into the Water, and among them the School-maſter, whom they took to be the Miniſter. Whereupon they obſerved what we remarked elſewhere; that the latter had been powerfully and chiefly aſſiſted by the *Reformed* againſt the League, when he took poſſeſſion of his Government of *Provence*. They did not forget to repreſent, that the Garriſon of *Roche-chouart* in *Poictou* had fired with two Cannons from the Caſtle upon fifteen hundred *Reformed*, aſſembled in the Town-houſe for their uſual religious Exerciſe; that in another place a Man on Horſe-back, breaking through the Crowd, fell upon him who prayed, and wounded him with the butt-end of a Carbine, after he had vainly endeavoured to fire and ſhoot him with it; that the occaſion of this Aſſembly was to ſign a Petition for re eſtabliſhing the Exerciſe of their Religion, interrupted by the *League*; that the wounded party offering to proceed againſt the criminal by way of Juſtice, the Prieſts of the place where he ſued him, had, by their private Authority, committed him to Priſon, and got him carried by the Lieutenant of the Provoſt to the Goal of *Puy* in *Vellay*. That at *Caen*, on the twenty eighth of *March* of the inſtant Year, the Catholicks had burnt all that was found in the place of their Exerciſes, to all which they joined a lively

1597.

The boldneſs of the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*.

1597. Picture of the Maſſacre of *la Chataigneraye*, with all the horrid circumſtances that attended it; making here very pathetick Exclamations, to renew the remembrance of all other Slaughters formerly made of the *Reformed* by the *Papiſts*: But above all they urged in as ſtrong and powerful terms as they could, that all this happened under the Reign of a King, who was formerly the Protector of the *Reformed*; and they did not forget to make a compariſon of their Patience with the Fury of the Catholicks, to whom they did not render like for like in thoſe very places where they were the ſtrongeſt.

The Exerciſe interrupted or forbid in ſeveral places by divers Decrees.

Theſe being thus premiſed, they did complain afterwards, that they could not obtain the re eſtabliſhment of the Exerciſe in thoſe places wherein it had continued ever ſince the *Edict* of *January* under *Charles* the Ninth, till the *Edicts* of the League were made; of the Catholick Governours refuſing to obey the King's Orders on this Subject; of the Decrees of the Privy-Council and Parliaments, whereby it was taken away from ſuch places where they found it eſtabliſhed; in ſome whereof it was indeed maintained, becauſe the execution of thoſe Decrees was not thought eaſie and ſafe. They did not forget here to mention the Decree of the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, by which the Exerciſe was forbidden in all the Lands of the Marchioneſs of *Trans*, on pain of Ten thouſand Crowns fine; nor another Decree of the ſame Court, which tended to make it ceaſe alſo at *Bergerac*, a Town throughly and intirely *reformed*, in forbidding the Inhabitants to aſſeſs themſelves for the ſubſiſtence of their Miniſters, though theſe Aſſeſſments had been allow'd them ever ſince the Conference at *Fleix*. Next, the Decrees of the Parliament of *Aix*, which we have taken notice of before, were brought in: Whereupon they did obſerve, that this Court had emitted two in one and the ſame Year, to forbid the Exerciſe in ſome places wherein it had been continued during two or three hundred Years; that this Prohibition was made on pain of forfeiting both Body and Eſtate, and three Months after the ſolemn acknowledgment made by them, that the *Reformed* had ſaved their Necks, by calling *Leſdiguieres*, who delivered them from the fury of the *League*, as I have obſerved in the foregoing Book.

More-

Moreover, they complained, that though the Exerciſe of their Religion had been allowed in the Army during the Truce under the Reign of *Henry* the Third, yet that it had not been ſuffered ever ſince *Henry* the Fourth came to the Crown. That the Lady *Catherine* her ſelf had been forced to go out of *Rouen* on a Communion-day, becauſe the Legate would not permit her to receive it in that City, though ſhe had always had that freedom allowed her at *Paris* in her own Houſe; that few days after a Sedition had been ſtirr'd up againſt the *Reformed* in the very ſight of the King, without any reſpect to his Royal Preſence. That *Argentan* had been taken from the Baron of *Courtemer*, though 'twas one of the places of *Ballivick* promiſed by the Treaty; that *Beauſſe Ganville*, a place held by the *Reformed*, had nevertheleſs been demoliſhed. They alſo made Complaints of the reformation made in their Garriſons, which were weakened by diminiſhing the number of Men, and paying the reſt but ill, inſomuch that it amounted not in a whole Year to above three or four Months Pay; for which they had even very remote and incommodious Funds aſſigned them, as for inſtance, the Garriſon of *Royan* had it upon the Treaſuries of *Quercy*. They did alſo complain of ſeveral places taken from the *Reformed*, razed, or ordered to be ſo by Decrees of Parliament; of ſome others diſmembred, nay, given to their Enemies. Thus *Milhau*, which belonged to the Lady *Catherine*, and which the Inhabitants had, by virtue of an expreſs Commiſſion, fortified at their own charge, had certainly been demoliſhed, had not they had the Courage to oppoſe it. In the mean while the reconciled *Leaguers* were very exactly paid, though they received fifteen times as much Money from the King as the *Reformed* did, who made it appear in the Aſſembly of the principal Men of the Kingdom at *Rouen*, that for their Garriſons they had not Two hundred thouſand Pounds from the King.

1597. In the Army.

At *Rouen*, the King being there.

Complaints upon the account of the places.

They complained beſides of the Catholick Nobility and Gentry, who had cauſed the Exerciſe of the *Reformed* Religion to ceaſe in ſuch places of their Lordſhips, as they had found it eſtabliſhed in at the time of their reconciliation with the King. They upbraided them with that Writing ſubſcribed by them at *Mantes*, after the King's turning Catholick, in order to aſſure the *Re*

Againſt the Catholick Gentlemen.

Againſt the Treaties with the *League*.

1597. *formed*, that they would never enter into any Treaty with the *Leaguers*, to their prejudice, or without calling them in for a ſhare; which ſolemn Promiſe had been nevertheleſs broken in the Treaties made with eight and twenty Towns, and with eight Princes or Grandees, wherein the *Reformed* had been deprived of their Rights, and which were concluded without their knowledge; whereupon they obſerved with indignation, that during the War, a little paultry Town, call'd *La ferte Milon*, would not ſurrender, but upon condition, that the *Reformed* Religion ſhould be excluded out of its Walls and Territories; they alſo exaggerated that famous Succour given ſo ſeaſonably by the *Reformed* to *Henry* the Third at *Tours*, and accepted then by the Catholicks with ſo hearty thanks, and yet ſo ſoon forgot.

Singing of Pſalms hindred. Books ſeized and burnt.

From thence they came to complain of their being hindred in the moſt minute acts of their Devotions, naming divers places where they had been ſent to Priſon on that account, and where even the Pſalm-book had been burnt by the Hangman; whereof, amongſt many others, they gave one remarkable inſtance, which is this: It happened at *Meaux*, that a very honeſt Man was caned by the Major of the Garriſon for ſinging Pſalms; the King being then at *Monceaux*, about two Leagues off, the Deputies of the Aſſembly of *Loudun*, who were with his Majeſty, failed not to complain to him of that affront; but all the ſatisfaction they could get was only, that the King would ſpeak to the Major about it. In other places their Bibles and other Books concerning Matters of Religion, were taken from them, and if they kept any by them, it was enough to make them liable to Impriſonments, Exiles and Fines. At *Digne* in *Provence* the Judges had impudence enough, to add to the puniſhment of being impriſoned, a Fine of a hundred Crowns for ſuch as ſhould aſſemble, in order to pray to God Almighty; and the Parliament of *Rennes* forbidding the Exerciſe of the *Reformed* Religion, joined to it an Order, that their Books ſhould be diligently ſearched into, forbidding the *Reformed* to print, ſell, or keep, any about Matters of Religion.

Comforting of the ſick.

Next came their juſt and charitable Complaints of being hindred from comforting the Sick and the Criminals of their Party, and

and even that they were forced to endure the preſence and ſolli- 1597.
citations of the Friers; to which purpoſe they did relate, that at *Saint Quintin* a Man was baniſhed the Town for comforting from the Street a perſon infected with the Plague ſhut up within his Houſe: Whereupon they did judiciouſly obſerve, that all ſuch Articles, whereby ſome advantage was taken from the *Reformed*, were punctually executed; but that all which the Edicts had granted in their behalf, proved inſignificant and uſeleſs for them for want of due execution.

They did afterwards hint at Matters of Conſcience, complain- Conſcien-
ing that nothing came amiſs to the Catholicks that might afford ces forced.
a pretence for oppreſſing them; that they were forced to hang up Cloths or Tapiſtries before their Houſes on *Corpus Chriſti day*, and even to aſſiſt at the Proceſſion, on pain of a Fine, which amounted ſometimes to fifty Crowns; that they were often impriſoned upon their refuſing to comply; that the Count *de Grignan* himſelf taxed his Vaſſals twenty Crowns for each offence; that the Parliament of *Paris* inflicted a corporal puniſhment upon ſuch as refuſed to bow to the Croſs, and proſtrate themſelves before the Hoſte; that in other places they were condemn'd to publick pennance for refuſing to pay the ſame honour to the Sacrament when they met it in the Streets; that the Pariſh-Prieſt of Saint *Stephen* of *Furant* did yet do worſe than ſo, for on ſuch occaſions he would run after thoſe who fled before him, and beat them ſoundly, either with his Fiſts or even with the Croſs-ſtick; that in divers Towns of *France* they were forced to contribute to the charges of holy Fraternities; of Divine Service done after the Catholick way; and of building and repairing Churches, and even to pay the Arrears of their Contributions for many Years paſt; that in ſome places the Papiſts would force them either to aſſiſt at the Maſſes ſung before the Companies or Trades incorporated, or to leave the Town; that the Publick Notaries of *Bourdeaux*, having ſet up a new Fraternity, they would force the *Reformed* of that Profeſſion to aſſiſt at the Maſſes of their Company, on pain of twenty Pence forfeit for each offence; that the Judges of *Angers* had conſtrained a *reformed* Fidler to play at the famous Proceſſion which is made there with a very extraordinary pomp on *Corpus Chriſti day*; that in ſeveral Courts of Judi-

1597. Judicature the Judges and Advocates of their Party were forced to take their Oath after the manner and form of the *Roman* Church; that ſometimes old People were dragged along the Streets to Maſs; that at Saint *Stephen* of *Furant* the Pariſh Prieſt had almoſt ſtarved an old Man to death to make him abjure, and at laſt forced him to paſs an Act before a Publick Notary, whereby he bound himſelf to be baniſhed, if he ſhould not live and die in the *Romiſh* Religion.

The ſame mad Prieſt, continued they, got himſelf accompanied by the Judges to the Houſes of the *Reformed*, where he chriſtened Children in ſpite of their Parents; and one day, upon a falſe advice, that a Woman was brought to Bed, he forced his entry into the Houſe, beat her Husband, ſearched every Corner, and finding no mark of what he looked for, he got the Woman out of the Bed, and forced her to ſhew him her Belly, that he might have occular demonſtration that ſhe was not delivered. They continued to give an account of ſeveral Matters of Fact of the like nature; As that in another place, a Father carrying his Child to be chriſtened, the Servant-maid of an Inn had ſtoln him away whil'ſt the Man was leading his Horſe to the Stable, and afterwards, ſhe calling the Neighbours to her help, cauſed the Child to be chriſtened in a Catholick Church. That at *Bourdeaux* a Lady had been forced to abjure her Religion, to keep the guardianſhip of her Children, and having a little while after reunited herſelf to the communion of the *reformed* Church, the Attorney-General ſued her at Law, and got her bound to remain a Catholick; that a Child being depoſited in the hands of his Grandfather at *Orleans*, when that Town was in the power of the League, and his Father demanding him back again after the reduction of the place, the Judge refuſed to deliver him up to his Father; that a Man was debarred from all his Rights by the Court of *Angiers*, until he had got his younger Brothers out of the *reformed* School at *Loudun*, to put them in the Catholick College of *Angiers*, contrary to the laſt Will of their deceaſed Father, who had ordered them to be brought up in the *reformed* Religion; that the ſame Judges had appointed a Catholick Guardian over a Maid, who refuſed to go to Maſs. Then followed ſad and grievous Complaints of the unjuſt way of dealing

ing with the Prince of *Conde*, whom the *Reformed* had ſurrendred to the King, even beyond the hopes of the Catholicks; they ſaid, that this young Prince had bitterly wept, and ſtrugled long with thoſe who brought him away from *St. John d' Angeli*; that ſince being kept at Court, he was uſed to withdraw into his Cloſet, there to ſing Pſalms, to Pray, and Catechiſe his Pages; but that at laſt they were taken away from him, notwithſtanding all the marks of his anger for it. 1597. The Prince of *Conde*.

They complained afterwards, that to all theſe ſo great and ſo publick Grievances, the Court had hitherto applied no other remedy, but Reaſons of State, as if the Intereſt of the State ought to have been oppoſed to their Conſciences, or that the *Reformed* had not been part of the State, or that the State could not ſtand, but by their fall. Then returning again to the particulars of the Injuſtice that were done them, they complained of their being forced to keep Lent; that at *Rennes* the Parliament cauſed the Houſes to be ſearched, to ſee if their Orders in this point were obey'd; that the Biſhop of *Agde* did the ſame by his own authority in the Towns of his Diocels; that keeping of Holidays was alſo forced upon them; that even at *Saumur*, one of their Towns of ſecurity, a Man had been ſent to Priſon for being ſurpriſed at work within his Houſe on ſuch days; that their School maſters had been expelled out of ſeveral places, even without any form of Juſtice; that divers Parliaments had refuſed to verifie the Patents obtained by the *Reformed* from the King, for the eſtabliſhment of ſome Schools, even after reitera ted Orders from Court; but that nothing was comparable in this particular to the boldneſs of the Parliament of *Grenoble*, who did not ſo much as vouchſafe to anſwer a ſecond Order ſent them from the King, for ſetting up a *reformed* School at *Montelimar*; that even ſo in ſeveral places they refuſed to admit in, or turned out ſuch of the *Reformed* as were appointed to teach and inſtruct the Youth; which Article was concluded with theſe remarkable words: *Are they then willing to beat us into Ignorance and Barbarity? ſo did* Julian. The keeping of Lent and Holidays. Colledges.

Next they complained of their Poors ill uſage: That the Laws of Equity were ſo little regarded in this point, that in thoſe very places where the *Reformed* contributed moſt to the publick Alms, The Poor ill uſed.

the

1597. the Poor of their Religion had no ſhare therein; that in many places the *Reformed* were deprived of their Birth-right, and not ſuffered to live there, though they promiſed to be quiet and make no publick Exerciſe of their Religion; that the Judges of *Lyon* had baniſhed out of their Town thoſe who having formerly left the Kingdom on account of Religion were returned thither after the change of affairs; and that it had been confirmed by the *Edict* of *Reduction*; upon occaſion whereof they complained here, that the *Reformed* were called *Suſpected People* by the King himſelf, whom they had ſerved with ſo much Fidelity and Courage; letting this gentle Reproach ſlip withal, that for one and the ſame cauſe the King had been declared unable to inherit the Crown, and the *Reformed* baniſhed from their Houſes; but that ſince he had been reſtored to his Throne by the aſſiſtance of the *Reformed*, he had not yet reſtored them to their Houſes. Here the Parſon of Saint *Stephen* of *Furant* was brought again upon the Stage; he did not ſuffer the Catholicks to let out their Houſes to the *Reformed*, and conſtrained them to turn out before the term, ſuch as had already taken any; he hindred Tradeſmen by grievous Fines from admitting any *Reformed* into the freedom of their Trades. This mad Fellow of a Prieſt, had caned a Man, born in that place, but ſetled elſewhere, who was come to the Town upon ſome buſineſs; his pretext for abuſing him, was, that he had forbid him to come thither, as if he had authority to baniſh whom he pleaſed: But that Man ſeeing himſelf abuſed with ſo much injuſtice, and that no body took his part, kill'd the Prieſt in a paſſion, and ſo rid the Country of this furious Beaſt. The King granted him his Pardon, but the Catholicks hindred it from being allow'd by the Judges.

Places where the *Reformed* dare not dwell.

A remarkable Injuſtice done at *Lyon*.

Trades. They remonſtrated beſides, that the *Reformed* were excluded from Trades, and to colour their excluſion, the Companies made new By-laws, by vertue whereof none but Catholicks were to be admitted to them.

Violences. That in ſeveral places Violences againſt the *Reformed* were countenanced by impunity; that a Man ſeventy five Years old having complained, that ſome Children had hurried him in the Streets with injurious Clamours, was ſent to a Goal, inſtead of having ſatisfaction; from whence afterwards being releaſed, he was purſued anew, and pelted with Stones in the very

very ſight of the Judges, who did but laugh at it; that a Fra- 1597.
ternity of Penitents, called, *The Beaten Brothers*, walking bare-foot, in order of Proceſſion, their Feet happened to be cut by ſome broken Glaſs ſpread in the Streets, which they did immediately lay upon the *Reformed*, becauſe the Glaſs was found before the Houſe of a Goldſmith of their Religion; that thereupon a Sedition was ſtirred up againſt them, but that at laſt the whole was proved to be a trick of the Prieſts.

Then they began to give particular Inſtances of the crying Injuſtice done them about Offices; That in ſeveral places they were kept from thoſe of the Town-houſe, and that it was publickly ſaid at *Lyon*, that none ought to be admitted to them, who either was now of the *Reformed*, or ever had been ſo, nay, not even any Son of one that had been ſo; that the States of *Perigord* had declared void the Election of a Sheriff made by the Town of *Bergerac*, according to the cuſtom of that Province, meerly becauſe the party elected was one of the *Reformed*; that even thoſe who were appointed by the King could not be admitted, before taking an Oath that they would be Catholicks; being moreover forced to declare their charge vacant, *ipſo facto*, if they ſhould ever happen to break their Oath: In ſome places they were ſent back, without ſo much as hearing their Complaints; in others they were turned out, even after they had been admitted and ſuffered to execute their Places; or elſe they were forced to diſpoſe of them in favour of the Catholicks. The Parliament of *Bourdeaux* had oppoſed, during three Years, the re eſtabliſhing a Preſidial Court at *Bergerac*, where it had been ſetled before, and the Debate about it was ſtill depending in the Grand * Council at the time of theſe Complaints. In ſeveral Provinces Gentlemen were forbid to appoint Proteſtant Judges in their *Fiefs*, on pain of forfeiting the ſame; nay, the Parliament of *Paris*, when yet ſitting at *Tours*, inſerted in their Decree for verifying the *Edict* which revoked thoſe of the League, that upon the preſentation of Letters Patents to the Court, an Inquiry into the Behaviour, Manner and Religion of the Preſenters ſhould be always ordered, and that they could not be admitted without giving a

Injuſtice done to the *Reformed* about Offices.

* The Council of State is not meant here, but a Court of Judicature in *Paris*, where ſome Special Matters are debated.

1597. ſufficient Teſtimony of their being Catholicks, ſave only in the City of *Rochel* and other ſuch Towns as were held by the *Reformed* at the time of the Edicts of the League, as I have related in the Second Book of this Hiſtory in the Year 1591. About the ſame time the Deputies of the *Reformed* were told even in the King's Council, that they were under a great miſtake if they thought they ſhould ever be admitted to Offices, whatever Edicts, Orders from the Court, and Decrees of Parliaments, they might obtain; whereof they gave inſtances in all ſorts of Offices, of Judges in Parliaments, and Preſidial Courts, of Sollicitors General, of Publick Notaries, of Attorneys, and Sergeants. The Parliament of *Grenoble*, though formerly reſcued out of the hands of the Duke of *Savoy* by the Arms of the *Reformed*, was now ſtill refuſing to admit *Vulſon*, who had obtained a Patent for a Judges place in the ſame Court, and had already been tired with five Years vain purſuits. One of the *Reformed* having obtained a Patent for the Place of one *Colas*, Vice Seneſchal of *Montelimar*, an obſtinate Rebel, who would never be reconciled with the King, whom he forced to beſiege him in *La Fere*, whereof he ſtiled himſelf Count; that *Reformed*, I ſay, could never get his Patent allow'd by the Parliament of *Grenoble*: but after he had, to facilitate the matter, treated with *Colas* for the Place, and bought it of him, then the Parliament admitted him to the Proof of his good Behaviour and Manners, and kept him eighteen Months about it, being even yet uncertain of the iſſue of this buſineſs at the time of theſe Complaints. The ſame Parliament had taken away the Precedency from ſome Judges who were ancienter than their Catholick Brethren, and had been admitted even during the League; which put them to the charge of obtaining new Edicts, new Orders, and peremptory Decrees from the Council.

Seditious Words and Speeches. Paſſion of Judges and Parliaments.

All this was followed with Complaints about many Seditious Expreſſions uttered againſt them and connived at in Parliaments and other Seats of Judicature, where, in full Court, they had been call'd Dogs, Turks, Hereticks, Heteroclites of the new Opinion, a People who deſerved to be deſtroy'd with Fire and Sword, and expelled out of the Kingdom. Their being Hereticks, added they, had been allowed in ſeveral Courts, as a ſufficient

cient cauſe of exception; as if the Laws of the Emperours a- 1597.
gainſt the *Manichees*, had been made againſt them. *Seguier*, one of the King's Sollicitors-General in the Parliament of *Paris*, ſpeaking in the Cauſe of *Roche Chalais*, a very conſiderable Gentleman amongſt the *Reformed*, had ſaid, that they were unworthy of the King's *Edicts*; that the benefit of the Laws belonged only to the Catholicks; and that if the Court ſhould give a Verdict in favour of this Gentleman, to reſtore him to his Eſtate, the King's Council would oppoſe, and take it away from him, as from an unworthy Heretick. They related thereupon ſeveral Inſtances of Juſtice denied to the *Reformed*; of Murders left unpuniſhed; of unjuſt Condemnations without a legal Proceſs; of falſe Witneſſes tolerated, though convicted. A famous High-way-man, being thought to be of the *Reformed Religion*, was ſentenced at *Bourdeaux* to be quartered alive, and fined five hundred Crowns, two hundred whereof accrued to the King, and the reſt was appliable as the Court ſhould think fit: but the Criminal having declared to a Jeſuit, that he had been a Catholick for two Years paſt, the Puniſhment was changed into beheading, and the Fine applied to the repairing of the Jeſuits Colledge. The extraordinary Aſſizes of the Parliament of *Paris* being held at *Lyon*, ſuch of the *Reformed* as went thither to demand Juſtice againſt the Catholicks of *Saint Stephen of Furant*, were called Seditious Perſons, who troubled the Judges with their Complaints.

They added, That the Writs obtained by the *Reformed*, for bringing Cauſes from a ſuſpected Parliament before another, were eluded, by denying them Letters of *Pareatis*, or, *Hereof fail not*; which they were forced to ſue for, ſometimes whole ſix Months together: but that at *Bourdeaux* they would do worſe, for there they judged the cauſe definitively, and then granted Letters of *Pareatis*. Whereupon it was obſerved, that the Parliaments did the *Reformed* more harm by their ill will, than the King was by his good will able to redreſs. Whereupon they inlarged upon the great difference between the verification of the *Edicts* granted to the League, and thoſe granted to the *Reformed* in order to grant them a Peace: the former being allowed without alteration or reſervation, and with a great deal of Pomp and Solemnity,

1597. as *Edicts*, the Syllables, Letters, and the very Accents whereof were looked upon as ſo many Props of the State, whereas the latter were either thrown off with a thouſand ſhifts, delays and tricks, or allow'd with ſo many limitations and exceptions, that they were made altogether uſeleſs. And here they brought in very pat the great Abuſes formerly offered to Parliaments by the *League*, the Maſſacre of *Duranti* at *Thouloufe*, and the ſhameful Death of *Briſſon* at *Paris*. There they ſhew'd alſo how little ſatisfied the *Reformed* were with the *Edict* of 1577. which, in their judgment, was not fit for the preſent time; for it put them in a worſe condition than the War had left them in: which reflected on them a thouſand ways; therefore they had not demanded, but conſtantly refuſed it. Whereupon they obſerved with what difficulty the *Edict* which re-eſtabliſhed the ſame had paſſed in the Parliament of *Paris*: they did not forget the ſhiftings and tricks of the Attorney-General, and the ſeveral reaſons urged to hinder the verifying of it, inſomuch that it was carried in the affirmative only by three voices. They named here the Parliaments which would not verifie it; but above all they obſerv'd the ſeverity of that of *Dijon*, which likewiſe refuſed it, tho' the King, going through that City in his way to *Lyon*, had with his own Mouth commanded them to do ſo; inſomuch that Menaces were neceſſary to bring them to a compliance: after which the Attorney General, following the example of that of *Paris*, would not ſuffer this word, *requiring*, but only thoſe of, *not oppoſing*, to be inſerted in the Decree of its verification; and the Court formally declared, that they did it only to obey the King's often reiterated Orders.

Difficulties in re-eſtabliſhing the Edict of 1577.

They alſo complained, that Decrees made even in 1585. and 1586. were ſtill every day executed, and the *Reformed* by vertue thereof forced to reſtore to Clergy-men the Incomes of their Eſtates taken during the League; but that the *Reformed* were not allowed to take poſſeſſion again of their own, on pretence that they had not paid the King's Taxes in 1512. And then was related a ſpecial Caſe of *Florimond de Raimond*, a Judge in the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, which runs thus: He had been made Priſoner during the War, and afterwards releaſed upon ranſom for which he compounded and paid down a thouſand Livers; but ſince

Special Inſtances of the ill will of the Parliaments.

since he sued at Law those *Reformed* who had taken and ransomed him, boasting every-where, that he had already got from them four thousand Crowns. Farthermore they complained, that every day the Parliaments gave sentence according to the *Edicts* of the League, and that that of *Rouen* had accordingly declared the Buryings and Preachings of the *Reformed*, to be Trespasses upon the *Edicts*; whereupon two Presidents, two Counsellors, and the Attorney-General, being sent for to Court, they had the boldness to say, they had judged according to the Laws, because the *Edicts* which favoured the *Reformed* were revoked. They promised however to forbear executing the Decree, provided it should stand still upon Record; but whil'st they were at Court, their Brethren caused it to be proclaimed with the usual Ceremonies. Besides, divers Parliaments made void every day the Sentences given in those Courts of Justice which the King had suppressed, though he had confirmed them all by his Edict of Suppression. 1597.

After these long Complaints they came to the Article of the Burials, and by way of transition, it was observed, that the *Reformed* were ill used at their Births, in their Lives, in the Breeding of their Children, and even in their Funerals. Therefore they complained, that in several Towns Burying places were denied them; that in others they were fain to carry their Dead five Leagues off; that their Funeral-assemblies were fixed at certain Hours, and limited to a certain Number of Persons; that in some Places the Catholicks committed great Insolences on their Graves, and abused those who attended the dead Corps, though the Burials were made in the Night-time; nay, that in certain places they were fined for it, and forced to buy the security of their Marches by 20 or 30 Crowns; that there were some in which the dead Bodies were digged out of the Ground, either by the Command of the Bishop, or by some other Authority, and even those who had been buried in the Chappels of their Ancestors; that the same Barbarity was used on the Bodies of Women, which were left naked on the Ground, and exposed to wild Beasts, no enquiry being made into such a barbarous and indecent Usage. That some persons who died with Marks of being of the Reformation, and on that account were not suffered to be buried

Burials made difficult:

Hindred.

1597. buried in Catholick Church-yards, their Relations were proceeded againſt for laying them in the Burying-places of the *Reformed*. The Pariſh-Prieſt of *Saint Stephen of Furant* had a great ſhare in that Article, wherein he was repreſented making falſe Contracts, in order to exclude the *Reformed* out of a Burying-place purchaſed by them; breaking the Tombs open with a Hammer; ringing the Alarm-bell upon a Funeral convoy garded by the Soldiers of the Garriſon, and drawing together three or four thouſand Men, who diſperſed the Convoy, and forced them to leave the Corps at the diſcretion of this profligate Prieſt; digging out of the Grave a dead Body, which he carried into another Man's ground, who digged it out again; and in fine, conſtraining the Wife of the deceaſed, even after ſhe had obtained a Decree from the Judges to the contrary, to bury him without the Pariſh-ground. Even ſo *Florimond de Raimond*, being one day Chairman, (as ancienteſt Judge in the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*) ordained the exhumation of a Child, adding in his Decree, that the Bodies of all the *Reformed*, buried ten Years before in the Catholick Church-yards, ſhould be alſo digged out of the ground. Whereupon many inſtances were given of dead Bodies which had been in an imminent danger of being devoured by Dogs; and it appeared by all the premiſes, that the Catholicks made no diſtinction either of Quality, Sex or Age, and treated with the ſame inhumanity, both Gentlemen and Commoners, Men, Women and Children, all alike.

All theſe Cruelties were exaggerated with much eagerneſs, and it was very ingeniouſly obſerved, that Burying-places were uſually incloſed with Walls, to hinder Beaſts from ravaging them; but that Men themſelves were not aſhamed to violate and dig up thoſe Sacred Aſſyles of the dead. The whole ended with a very pathetick Diſcourſe: They ſaid, that all this was but a ſmall part of thoſe juſt Complaints that might have been made by the *Reformed*, whoſe Patience was much inlarged upon; who had no other aim, but the good of the State; and who, to be ſatisfied, demanded nothing, but to be ſecured from ruin and deſtruction. They ſhew'd, that the fall of the State was inſeparable from that of the *Reformed*; and then very earneſtly begg'd the Catholicks compaſſion. Addreſſing afterwards to the

A ſtrong, free and moving Concluſion.

the King, they valued themſelves for having neither Dominican Friers or Jeſuits capable of attempting on his Life, nor Leaguers aiming at his Crown. He was told, that he knew the fidelity of the *Reformed*, and that they demanded an *Edict*, not after the manner of the *Leaguers*, who inſtead of humble Petitions for Peace, had never preſented but the Point of their Swords; that in the ſpace of four Years the *Reformed* had ſix ſeveral times renew'd their Petitions, at *Mantes*, at *Saint Germain*, at *Lyon*, at the Camp before *la Fere*, at *Monceaux*, and at *Rouen*. Now upon the Reaſons of State they were ſtill put off with, and upon their being told over and over, that it was not yet time to grant them an *Edict*, they cried out, *Still, O good Lord! after five and thirty Years of cruel Perſecutions, ten of baniſhment under the League, eight of this King's reign, and four of conſtant petitioning!* Then they declared, that their being put off after the King had done with all the Leaguers, gave them a great jealouſie, that new Proſcriptions were intended to humour the Pope, who, they could not but know, was puſhing on that deſign with all his might and ſtrength. They ſtoutly maintained, that the Catholicks alone were not the State, but that the *Reformed* made a great part of it. In fine, they concluded with theſe words: *We beg from your Majeſty an* Edict, *whereby we may enjoy what is common to all your Subjects, that is, much leſs than what you have granted to your furious Enemies, your rebel Leaguers: An Edict which may not conſtrain you to diſpoſe of your Dominions, but as you pleaſe, which may not force you to exhauſt your Treaſure, or to burthen your People with Taxes. It is neither Ambition nor Avarice moves us, but the Glory of God, the Liberty of our Conſciences, the Tranquility of the State, the Security of our Lives and Fortunes; theſe are the height of our Deſires, and the only aim of all our Petitions.* 1597.

Altho' the *reformed Courtiers* in a manner diſowned theſe Complaints, as I obſerved before, yet it is certain, that they could not deny the truth of the ſeveral Facts contained therein, nor that there was a neceſſity to put a ſtop to ſo many Injuſtices and Violences; but they imbraced the Opinion of the Court, which was much offended at the Form of thoſe Complaints, and would fain have had the *Reformed* to wait for another time to publiſh them; but upon the whole, the generality of the *Reformed* ſpoke

their

1597. their Minds in that Book; and it cannot be doubted but it had been viewed by the ableſt Men of the Party; nay, it may be eaſily perceived by the Style, that the greateſt amongſt them had notice of it, and even given to the Subject a great part of its Form. What moſt vexed the Court in the printing of it, was their being now and then upbraided in it with bitter Reproaches of paſt Services, which were ſo much the more inſupportable, becauſe they were juſt and well-grounded; that the warm Strain of this little Piece made them ſenſible they had to do with Men who took the thing to Heart, and whoſe Courage was not yet loſt; and that in fine, ſuch a long Series of Injuſtices, Outrages and Violences, made them aſhamed of their ſo long delaying to ſatisfie thoſe who deſerved at their hands a more favourable uſage, inſomuch that the Court's diſſatisfaction ſerved only to make them reſolve to handle this Affair more ſeriouſly and put an end to ſuch an important Negotiation.

Reflections on that Book.

But before we proceed any farther, it behoves us to make (at leaſt ſlightly) ſome Reflections upon this Abridgment of their Complaints. Firſt, They make it appear, That this Buſineſs of the *Reformed* was no trifling Matter, and that their Fears and Jealouſies were but too well grounded; which is the more obſervable, that in complaints of this nature, as every body knows, commonly no other Facts are related, but ſuch as are moſt notorious and important, and that a great deal more are buried in oblivion, either becauſe the Complaints thereof have not been made by the Parties concerned, or that they appeared leſs clear, or of a leſs moment in their circumſtances. Secondly, Theſe Complaints do well anſwer the Reproaches made to the *Reformed*, That they followed the King too cloſe when he was in his greateſt Perplexities: But this muſt not be wondred at, ſince 'twas at that very time they were uſed worſt, and that the Facts here mentioned, except perhaps thirty, were all recent, and had happened either in this or the foregoing Year, giving therefore juſt cauſes of Fears and Jealouſies to the *Reformed*, who were from day to day by ſo much the greater ſufferers, as the Peace and Reunion of the *Catholicks* was more forwarded by the reduction of the *Leaguers*. In fine, Thoſe Complaints may ſerve to ſhew the Injuſtice of thoſe Tricks uſed to elude the *Edict* in theſe laſt Years,

Years, ſince that the *Edict* having been granted upon Complaints made by the *Reformed* of ſuch-like Vexations, it was impoſſible to renew them, without acting directly againſt the intention of that irrevocable Law. 1597.

In the mean while the Year was ſpun out with tedious Delays, as I obſerved before, and though the *Reformed* had with a wonderful patience overcome their grief occaſioned by them, the minds on both ſides were nevertheleſs grown ſour and much exaſperated; the King himſelf expreſſed ſometimes his reſentment, nay, he would now and then let out ſome menacing words very pat to the purpoſe, and he had once written to his Commiſſioners, that it would grieve him to the very heart, to come to Extremities with the *Reformed*, whom he loved more than they loved themſelves. This new Language the King had been taught of late, ſince the retaking of *Amiens* had a much worſe effect than it was thought at Court; and the *Reformed*, who found it ſo different from that which was uſed with them, when the King ſtood in need of their aſſiſtance, and when he invited them to ſhed the reſt of their Blood at the Siege of that place; they drew, I ſay, very ſad Conſequences from that change, which ſeemed to them to imply as much as if they were told, that their Tranquility could never agree with the Proſperity of the State, ſince they were cajoled only when the King's Affairs were embroiled; but that when the ſame began to clear up, they were told, they muſt ſurrender at diſcretion; that when the ſucceſs of the King's Enterpriſes was dubious, fair Promiſes, Prayers, tender and pathetick Intreaties, were uſed to them; but that when the Court was puffed up with ſome advantagious Succeſs, then their moſt juſt Petitions were anſwered with Shiftings and Menaces; from whence they concluded, that ſince new Cauſes of Miſtruſt were given them, they ought alſo to take new Precautions againſt the ill Deſigns of their Enemies. The Dukes of *Bouillon* and *La Trimouille* were the moſt exaſperated of all, becauſe they were ſenſible that the Court's Threatnings chiefly aimed at them, being looked upon there as the Authors of thoſe Motions made in the Aſſembly, contrary to what the Catholicks called the Publick Good, and the King's Service; but what the *Reformed* called the Artifices of the Council, and the Oppreſſion New Delays.

1597. of their Consciences. Therefore the Assembly was no less importunate than before. They had sent new Deputies to Court with full Instructions, which were altered, as new Difficulties arose; besides, they seriously examined the Answers sent them by the King's Commissioners; and as they had sent some Gentlemen to *England* and to the *United Provinces*, in order to beg the Intercession of those faithful Allies of the Crown, they also expressly charged their Deputies to wait upon the *Protestant* Embassadors, now at the Court of *France*, and represent to them how necessary it was to satisfie the *Reformed*, that the King might be able to give the *Spaniards*, or the Duke of *Mercœur*, some considerable Blow, to make them sensible, that the Affairs of Religion, instead of being forwarded, were delay'd at Court, insomuch that they knew not when the end of such a tedious Negotiation might be hoped for; and to engage them by the general Interest of the *Protestants* to see it brought to a happy conclusion.

And Difficulties upon particular Places.

The Points left still undecided were not so little important but that they well deserved this warm pursuit. The Council started new Difficulties about the Right of Exercise, in respect to certain private Places, wherein the *Reformed* intended to establish or keep it, which the Court would not grant. Moreover, They demanded, that their Assembly should continue at *Verdome*, until the Edict, which was granting, was verified in all Parliaments; which the King would grant only for that of *Paris*, requiring them, after the verifying of the *Edict* there, to break up and return to their respective Provinces. But this made them jealous that the Court aimed at dispersing the Assembly, afterwards to elude with more freedom the execution of the *Edict*, when none were left to sue for verifying the same; because *Edicts* in *France*, having no force of Laws before that Solemnity, this might be still subject to a thousand Tricks and Exceptions in those Parliaments where the same had not been yet performed.

The breaking up of the Assembly.

The King was necessitated to give the *Reformed* some satisfaction upon these Points, because he was resolved to put off the verification of the *Edict* till the Legat's departure, the time whereof was still very uncertain, and that he was of opinion, that the doing

doing it in his preſence might have been an Affront put upon him. Therefore it ſeems, that to gild over this new Delay, and make it acceptable to Men diſheartned by ſo many others, and who juſtly feared, that this would prove prejudicial to their Intereſt, or at leaſt put back the concluſion of their Affairs; it ſeems, I ſay, that the Court ought to have complied with their deſire of continuing their Aſſembly. Such as had an intereſt in the keeping of the places of ſecurity, wondred at the King's propoſing to leave to the Council the ſetling the ſtate of the Garriſons, and as they had not all of them the like credit at Court, ſuch as had little or none at all, were afraid that this was an Artifice in order to deprive them of their Places. Beſides, the King would name the Governors, before the Party named had taken the Certificate of the Provincial-Aſſembly, in whoſe Juriſdiction the Place was ſeated; becauſe, if the Certificate ſhould precede, it might then ſeem, that the *Reformed* ſhould give the Government, not the King, which would have been a breach made to the Royal Authority. But on the other hand, the *Reformed* would needs have the entire diſpoſal of the choice, leſt that if the Governments of their Places ſhould become Court-Preferments, the Parties ſo preferred would be alſo Court-Creatures, and care but little to pleaſe the *reformed* Churches, as being able to maintain themſelves without them. They had a great mind alſo at *Court* to change the ſtate of the Garriſons every Year, but the Aſſembly were afraid, that it might be a color for weakening and ſhortening the ſame; nay, for taking them away one after another: for they were well informed, that the King was againſt leaving ſo many Places in the hands of the *Reformed*, who before that time had never had above ſeven or eight granted them for ſecuring the execution of the *Edicts*, whereas now they kept above two hundred both great and ſmall; and that he was alſo afraid, that the Catholicks might conceive a jealouſie from the ſtate of thoſe Garriſons, becauſe of the great number of Places that were to be ſet down therein: but the Aſſembly agreed on a publick ſtate, in which ſuch Places only might be named as both Parties ſhould think fit, provided always there was a ſecret one for the ſecurity of the reſt. Private Intereſts were none of the leaſt occaſions of new Difficulties: Thoſe of *Rochel* could obtain none of their

1597.

The ſtate of the Garriſons.

The naming of Governors.

The Annual renewing of the ſtate of the Garriſons.

Private Intereſts.

1598. Demands, no, not ſo much as a confirmation of their Charter; becauſe the King, who had ſtill a reſentment of what had paſſed there, whil'ſt he was Protector of the *Reformed*, had a mind to make them ſenſible, that he had Power enough to puniſh them for it.

The *Edict* delay'd till the Month of *Auguſt*, when there were no more Leaguers.

The diſcuſſion of all theſe Difficulties, which the Council would always be trifling about, even after they had been adjuſted by the great Wiſdom of the Commiſſioners, cauſed the final concluſion to be put off till the Month of *April*, inſomuch that the Catholicks got the Point they had ſo much wiſhed for, *viz.* That no *Edict* ſhould be granted to the *Reformed*, before the Catholicks were all ſatisfied. The Treaty with the Duke of *Mercœur* was concluded towards the end of *March*, and even the Peace with *Spain*, made before the *Edict*, for though it was concluded on the firſt of *May*, yet all the Articles thereof had been long before agreed upon.

The King had long before that time been adviſed to march towards *Britany* with a Royal Army, in order to reſcue that Province out of the hands of the Duke of *Mercœur*, who hitherto had been but weakly attacked, and had never treated in earneſt, but when he ſaw himſelf e'en upon the point of being abandoned by the *Spaniards*, and that the King was coming upon him with great Forces; in effect, after he had trifled ſeveral Years with Sham-Treaties, at laſt the King marched that way, ſo ſoon as the approaching concluſion of the Peace with *Spain* ſet him at liberty to do it. His coming allarmed the Aſſembly at *Chatelleraud*, and they were in no ſmall fear that the King would ſuddenly fall upon them, either to force them to accept his own Terms, or to diſperſe them, through fear of falling into his hands. At the ſame time the King's Commiſſioners preſſed them to come to a concluſion, which conduct was variouſly interpreted by Men long ſince diſtracted by Allarms and Jealouſies. The moſt diſtruſtful, thought it a kind of violence offered to the Aſſembly, ſo eagerly to preſs the King's offers upon them, at a time when he was in a manner at their doors with a powerful Army. This Paſſage is to be well obſerved, as one of the moſt notable Circumſtances of the time wherein the *Edict* was granted, and as a moſt proper Argument againſt the Calumny of the Catholick Writers,

The Aſſembly allarmed.

ters, who have repreſented it as a Grant extorted by force. But to make a right Judgment of the Caſe, we need but look upon the Troubles and Jealouſies of the Aſſembly, on the approach of the Royal Army; and indeed they accepted the *Edict* when they were diſarmed, and in a manner at the King's diſcretion, whereas the King granted it when he was armed, and had the Aſſembly within the reach of his Canon. 1598.

The King grants the *Edict*, being armed.

This long Affair was at laſt put to an end, to the great grief of ſome, and to the full ſatisfaction of others. Some Catholicks there were who grumbled at ſo many Conceſſions; on the other hand, ſome *Reformed* complained that they had obtained ſo little; but there wanted not ſome in each Party, who thought the advantage to be equal on both ſides, and who being truly deſirous of Peace, were apt to allow of any thing which might conduce to it. During the King's abode at *Angers*, almoſt all the Difficulties had been adjuſted there, tho' he had ſpoken ſo high, and uttered ſuch Menaces, that thereby the Aſſembly was well nigh brought to deſpair: but this was but a ſhew to ſalve the appearances, of giving the Law like a King, and making the *Edict* leſs offenſive to the Legate and the zealous Catholicks, by granting it with that affected ſourneſs and ſeverity. Indeed, the King was very deſirous to come out of thoſe Troubles, which plainly appeared in the kind reception the Dukes of *Bouillon* and *La Trimouille* met with when they waited upon his Majeſty at *Angers*, where he welcomed them both with ſuch ſignal demonſtrations of Love, that thereby one might eaſily conclude, that his threatning had been rather to maintain his Royal Dignity, than the effect of any real Anger. Therefore, after the Aſſembly's Memorials had been returned, together with the King's Anſwers to them, and the Articles and Forms of the Grants had been finally agreed upon, the whole was again carried to the King at *Nants*, where, having altered what he pleaſed, to ſhew that he granted it with a full Authority, and that nothing conſtrained him thereunto, it was at laſt ſigned, ſealed up, and depoſited into the hands of the Deputies of the Aſſembly, by whoſe order it was left in the cuſtody of the Inhabitants of *Rochel*, who, till the time of their ruin, kept all the general Records of all the *reformed* Churches of *France*. Thus, from the place where the

Different Opinions about the *Edict*.

The Concluſion at *Nants*.

Edict

1598. *Edict* was proclaimed in the Month of *April*, it was called the Edict of *Nants*, by which it has been famous all over *Europe*.

Hitherto I have only related the Complaints, Purſuits, Alarms, and Impatiences of one Party, with the Artifices, Delays, Shiftings, and Difficulties of the other, to the end, that I might give a better inſight into the nature of an *Edict*, which has been ſo long negotiated and debated with ſo much Maturity and Wiſdom. But, to do it yet more clearly, I ſhall make an Abridgment of ſuch Matters as were the Pretexts of theſe Delays, and for ſo many Years took up the Time of the wiſeſt Men in the Kingdom, wherein I ſhall only treat of what was either demanded or obtained by the *Reformed*, without taking notice of what was inſerted in the *Edict* in behalf of the *Roman* Religion, becauſe the Articles of that kind always paſſed before the others, and that in all this Negotiation the Catholicks would never ſubmit the Concerns of their Religion to the Succeſs of Diſputes and Debates. None but the Pretenſions of the *Reformed* met with Difficulties, becauſe the Catholicks laboured hard to make them reſt ſatisfied with leſs than they asked; tho', indeed, there was no need to take away anothers Right to ſatisfie them in their Demands. Therefore Difficulties aroſe, both upon the Subſtance and the Form of Things, and the Court had no leſs difficulty in agreeing upon the one, than on the other. The Demands of the *Reformed* came to ſix or ſeven general Articles, but each of them was ſubdivided into a great number of others, neceſſary either for the Explanation, or for the Security of ſome principal Matter; inſomuch, that at firſt the *Reformed* having brought all their Propoſals to a limited Number of Articles, amounting to Ninety ſix or Ninety ſeven, the Difficulties ariſing in the Series of the Negotiation, obliged them to add ſeveral new Articles to the former, either to remove or prevent Difficulties in the Concluſion or Execution of the *Edict*. Therefore without deſiſting from the Subſtance of their Demands, ſave only in ſuch things wherein they had approved the Alterations made by the Court, they often added to their Memorials, and changed the Forms and Style thereof: So they gave two different Titles to their new Articles. Thoſe which were ſet down laſt of all, and were not very numerous, had

The Particulars of the Difficulties on each Article.

had the name of *Additions*, the others were called *Explanations*, because they were Articles upon which they desired the King to explain himself, that no ambiguity should remain in the matter, and to prevent all difficulties in the execution. Those *Explanations* followed each Article, the Contents whereof they desired to be explained; and often there were many added to one and the same Article, which went by the Names of First and Second. 1598.

Their first principal Demand was for a new *Edict*, because they could not rest satisfied with those formerly granted; whereupon they said, that in their opinions their Services deserved something better, and that after the King's turning Catholick they had a solemn Promise of another at *Mantes*, and a Year after at *Saint Germain*. The main ground of this pursuit was, that they could not endure to be treated under the Reign of *Henry* the Fourth, after the same manner as they had been under that of *Henry* the Third, and that they thought it very unjust for a Prince, whom they had so faithfully served from his Cradle, to grant them no more than what they had obtained from another, who had been their greatest persecutor; so that their Pretensions were not grounded (as the late promoters of the revocation of the *Edict* of *Nants* would fain have perswaded us) upon the prejudice they had received by the King's Treaties with the chief Leaguers, but upon the greatness of their Services, for which they demanded an *Edict* as a recompence due to them. As for the breaches made on the *Edict* of 1577. they were but little concerned at them, for they plainly declared, they would not have it, thinking themselves rather prejudiced than favoured by it. Nevertheless, this last Consideration seemed to be the only Motive of the King in this Affair, as being the most plausible that could be alledged to the Catholicks, either because it removed all pretexts of murmuring at new things granted, since thereby the King did but make amends to the *Reformed* for Injuries unjustly done them; or because, having received that damage contrary to a Promise in Writing, that no Treaty should be made with the Leaguers to their prejudice, the breach of such Promise could not be repaired, but by granting them a sufficient Compensation for what Losses they had sustained by it. This fancy

They first demand a new *Edict*.

Reasons *pro* and *con*.

1598. of Compenſation was the Sequel of the firſt Pretenſion of the Catholicks after *Henry* the Fourth's coming to the Crown. As they had extorted a Promiſe from this Prince, that he would maintain their Religion in the ſtate he had found it, they looked upon all new Favours done to the *Reformed*, as ſo many Injuries to the Catholick Religion; from whence it was, that they ſtood ſo obſtinately to their firſt reſolution, never to make them any new Grant; or if any ſhould be made, then they would have it go by the name of a Compenſation for what damage they had received by the private Treaties with the Leaguers; nay, even after the Promiſe made to the Deputies at *Mantes* and at *Saint Germain*, the Catholicks, moved by the ſame reaſon, would fain have cheated the *Reformed*, by only granting them the reſtitution of the *Edict* of 1577. Upon which account alſo the Council delay'd ſending the King's Commiſſioners to the Aſſemblies of *Saumur* and *Loudun*, becauſe a new Treaty begun upon new Demands, and which could not but end in new Conceſſions, was, in their judgments, a new Grant: But this difficulty was removed after the arrival of the King's Commiſſioners, for the word *Compenſation* was again revived, and, after ſome debate, ſtill remained, to ſatisfie the zealous Catholicks and the Court of *Rome*. But they had alſo a regard to the firſt Demand of the *Reformed*, who at laſt obtained many things over and above the promiſed Compenſation, becauſe the King was willing to gratifie them upon account of their inviolable Fidelity and great Services. In a word, he gave them a new *Edict*, which revoked all others, and therefore could go no longer for a meer Compenſation of Treſpaſſes upon them, ſince they were all aboliſhed by the ſame, which, for the future, was to be the ſtanding Law in their ſtead. This Obſervation will be of good uſe in the Sequel of this Hiſtory, eſpecially againſt the trifling Arguments brought in of late Years, to elude all the Conceſſions of the *Edict* of *Nants*; which trifling Arguments were grounded on this falſe Principle, that ſince the *Edict* granted only a meer Compenſation for Damages received by the Treaties with the Heads of the League, in which there were Reſtrictions prejudicial to the *Edict* of 1577; it was therefore likely enough, that ſuch Damages being very inconſiderable, the intention of the *Edict*

of

of *Nants*, which made amends for them, was to grant but little to the *Reformed*; but their Principle being falſe, as is apparent by the Premiſes, their Conſequence muſt needs be very unjuſt. 1598.

The ſecond Demand had reſpect to the Freedom of Exerciſe, and was of a very large extent, ſince it contained the Grounds of the Right of that Exerciſe which was to be eſtabliſhed, or continued; the Bounds of that Priviledge, according to the Times, Perſons, and Places; and generally all the Circumſtances of the Exerciſe, together with the exemption from certain things belonging to the Catholick Worſhip which their Conſciences could not comply with. The Aſſembly had at firſt demanded an indiſtinct Liberty of Exerciſe in all the Kingdom; but they ſoon deſiſted from that Point: either becauſe in ſeveral great Towns there was not one ſingle *Proteſtant*, and therefore the grant of Exerciſe had been there to no purpoſe; or becauſe at *Bourdeaux*, *Thoulouſe*, and other moſt important Cities, they would have rather begun the War again, than ſuffered the Exerciſe of the *Reformed Religion* to be eſtabliſhed within their Walls: or becauſe it had been granted to other Towns, that no ſuch Exerciſe ſhould ever be introduced amongſt them. Therefore the *Reformed* were forced to reſtrain that Demand to a general freedom of dwelling where ever they pleaſed, and to a free Exerciſe in certain places only, ſince it could not be obtained every where: but they ſtood faſt to their reſolution of getting it with a larger extent than before. This was at laſt granted them in two Articles: By the firſt whereof their Exerciſe was permitted in all places where they had eſtabliſhed it ever ſince the *Edicts* of the League, till the Truce was made between the two Kings, and after the Truce, ſo long as the War continued with the reſt of the Leaguers: and after ſome Debates, all thoſe Places were compriſed under the general Clauſe of *Places* where the Exerciſe had been made during the Years 1596. and 1597. The Catholicks have of late endeavoured to confound the Rights of theſe two Years when they have ſought for trifling Arguments to elude the plaineſt Conceſſions of the *Edict*; and they have pretended, that the Proofs of the Right acquired by the Poſſeſſion, during theſe two Years, might ſhew, that the Exerciſe had been continued during both:

The ſecond Demand, a free Exerciſe, and its extent.

1598. which, however, was not the deſign of the *Edict*, as it appears in that during the Year 1597. the continuation of the Exerciſe had been granted in all places, wherein they had it ſetled in 1596. but that the *Edict* not being concluded this Year, new Exerciſes were ſet up during the following Year, which the *Reformed* required to be confirmed with the reſt; ſo that ſuch Exerciſes as had not been eſtabliſhed before the Year 1597. needed no older proofs; this Year having certainly been added to the Year before, as a favour, and upon the ſollicitation of the *Reformed:* Now it could have been no favour, if thereby they had been obliged to prove the continuation of the poſſeſſion in 1596. by that in 1597. ſince this would have been to lay upon them a new obligation of proving by theſe new Titles a Right which they had ſufficiently acquired by the poſſeſſion of 1596. But as in 1596. the actual exerciſing in ſeveral places was a ſufficient ground for a right for the future, though the *Reformed* had it not before; ſo in 1597. the like actual Exerciſe, often reiterated, gave them the like right in time to come, though they had it not before. And indeed, as the Negotiation of the *Edict* was not yet finiſhed in *Auguſt* 1597. the Catholicks, who were afraid, that during the new Delays of the Treaty, new Churches might be ſet up, and the confirmation thereof demanded, as well as of thoſe eſtabliſhed ſince the Year 1596. they cauſed all the Dates of thoſe Eſtabliſhments to be fixed upon the Month of *Auguſt* of this Year 1598. Inſomuch that, to be within the Dates of the *Edict*, it was not needful to prove the Exerciſe for theſe two Years, but it ſufficed to prove it in either of them. The other Article granted, that in each *Bailiwick*, or *Seneſchalcy*, where, by the *Edict* of 1577. the *Reformed* had already a publick Place for their religious Exerciſe, either in a Burrough, or in the Suburbs of a Town, another ſhould be given them, beſides the firſt; ſo that the Exerciſe of the *reformed Religion* was grounded upon four different Titles. The firſt was, That of the Places of *Bailiwick*, and of Poſſeſſion, granted by the *Edict* of 1577. The ſecond was, That of the new Poſſeſſion acquired during the two Years which had preceded the concluſion of the *Edict* of *Nants*. The third was, That of the new Place of *Bailiwick*, granted by the ſame *Edict*. And the fourth was, The Perſonal Right of the Lords,

Lords, grounded upon the nature of their *Fiefs* or Juriſdictions. 1598.
In all this the Catholicks ſecured the advantage of their Religion, and would never ſuffer that of the *Reformed* to ſtand upon even ground with it, by granting them a liberty equal to their own: ſo that the *Roman* Religion was exerciſed every where, as prevailing; but the *Reformed* was limited to certain Places, and reſtrained by certain Conditions, as tolerated. For the reſt, The Grant of a ſecond Place in each *Bailiwick* was not really a new thing; for it was grounded upon the Truce agreed upon between *Henry* the Third, and *Henry* the Fourth, then only King of *Navarre*; whereby *Henry* the Third not only re-eſtabliſhed the *Edict* of 1577. and therefore gave again to the *Reformed* the firſt Place of *Bailiwck*, which had been given them by the ſame, and added thereto, beſides a free Paſſage granted to the King of *Navarre* over the River *Loire*, a Place in each *Bailiwick* for the ſick and wounded of his Armies. This Article of the Truce was very ill executed, either becauſe of the ſudden Death of King *Henry* the Third, or becauſe there was no occaſion for it in ſome Places where the *Reformed* had no Troops. Three Places only were given them by vertue of that Article of the aforeſaid Truce; inſomuch, that when *Henry* the Fourth granted them a ſecond Place of *Bailiwick*, he did only perform what had been promiſed them, giving, nevertheleſs, a larger extent to that favour, than it had before; ſince he permitted then the free Exerciſe in thoſe Places to all ſorts of People, whereas the Truce had granted it only for the ſick and wounded, and made perpetual what his Predeceſſor had granted only with a *Proviſo*. But there was little appearance, that this Prince, after having received ſo great and important Services from the *Reformed*, would make their Condition worſe by the Peace which he promiſed them, than it had been by the Truce; and it is eaſie to gueſs, that he would never have taken away from them, by an *Edict* of Gratitude, what had been granted them by a neceſſary Treaty.

The advantage ſecured to the prevailing Religion.

A ſecond place in each *Bailiwick* was no new thing.

Great Debates were alſo made on the Nature of the Places where the Exerciſe was granted; whether within the Walls of Towns, or in the Suburbs; whether in Burroughs, or Villages. There were ſome upon the manner of declaring the Places where the new Poſſeſſion gave the Right of Exerciſe, becauſe the ſureſt

Difficulties about the Places of Exerciſe.

1598. appeared the leſs advantagious; for it was propoſed to get all thoſe Places numbred one by one in the *Edict*, or to comprehend them all under ſome general Character. There was, it ſeems, a great deal more ſecurity in the firſt, but the ſecond gave a larger Extent to the Privilege, becauſe they hoped, that in the Execution of this Article, means might be found to facilitate the keeping of the Exerciſe in ſome Places, where, perhaps, it might be conteſted, if their Number was ſent to the Council There was, at leaſt, a ſufficient Ground to fear it, for the King had commanded his Commiſſioners, before they came to a Concluſion upon this Point, to ſend him the aforeſaid Number, that he might ſee if there was any ambiguity concerning them: Therefore the *Reformed* ſtood to the general Clauſe; but becauſe the Catholicks would not permit them to ſettle themſelves in ſo many Places, they alſo troubled them about the Proofs they were obliged to give in, either to prove that the Exerciſe had been, or ought to have been made in ſuch or ſuch Places, according to the *Edict* of 1577 or to ſhew that it had been actuall performed where the new *Edict* allow'd it: The *Proteſtants* pretended, That Praying publickly, together with Singing of Pſalms, Marrying or Chriſtning, ought to go for ſufficient Proofs; but the Catholicks, who foreſaw, and feared the conſequence of ſuch Proofs, if once allow'd, could never be brought to an Agreement upon this Point; and the King's refuſing then to admit of thoſe Acts alone (and diſtinct one from another) as a ſufficient Ground for the Right of an Exerciſe, has ſince afforded to our late Interpreters of the *Edict* of *Nants* a very ſpecious Pretence, to maintain that the ſame Acts were not ſufficient Proofs for the Right of the Exerciſes in ſome Places, in which they, nevertheleſs, found it continued for ſeventy or eighty Years together. But it is a Caſe which needs a Diſtinction, for Prayer once made, without any other Acts of Religion, and Marrying or Chriſtning occaſionally, might not indeed be ſolid Proofs of the Right of an Exerciſe; but the ſame joyned together, continued and performed with all the ordinary Circumſtances of publick Worſhip, ought in theſe latter Times to be taken for Authentick Proofs of an Exerciſe ſo long ſince eſtabliſhed.

Upon the Proofs.

All

All Points having a reference to that Demand, as the Liberty of Viſiting and Comforting the Sick, even in the Hoſpitals; of aſſiſting the Priſoners, of exhorting the Criminals, and following them to the Place of Execution it ſelf: The Exemption from ſeveral things, at which the Conſciences of the *Reformed* were offended, as being parts or Circumſtances of the Catholick Worſhip, and ſeveral other Articles of the ſame nature, met with proportionable Difficulties before they could be agreed upon; but that concerning Burials occaſioned the warmeſt Debates of all the reſt. The Catholicks having, through a blind Zeal, contrived Canons, which under colour of Piety, deſtroy all Senſe of Humanity, in forbidding all ſuch as the Councils or Popes have declared Hereticks, to be buried in Holy Ground, as they call it, their Clergy could not endure the *Reformed* ſhould enjoy this general Right of Mankind in common Church Yards, nor even the Gentlemen of that Religion in the Chappels of their own Houſes, or in the Churches wherein they had a Right of Patronage. On the contrary, the *Reformed*, though no longer infatuated with the ridiculous Conceit, That one Spot of Ground is holier than another, earneſtly demanded that the ſame Church-Yard ſhould ſerve for both Parties; either becauſe the Nobility and Gentry were deſirous to preſerve the Rights of their *Fiefs*, or that the *Reformed*, in general could not brook that Diſtinction in Burials, by which they thought themſelves injuriouſly reflected upon: For, Hereticks being excluded out of common Church-Yards, by the Canons, the Burying of the *Reformed* in other Places, was a plain Declaration of their being Hereticks, and, beſides, it expoſed them, by ſuch a publick Blur, to the Hatred of the Catholicks, a People always zealous, even to Fury and Madneſs, againſt any thing that appear'd to them in the Shape of Hereſy. Indeed, there was little Appearance that the *Reformed* could ever enjoy a quiet Life or a happy Society with them, who were taught to hate their Countrymen in their very Graves, and to deny them the Honour of a Common Burial; and who could not ſee without Scorn, nor frequent without Horror thoſe Men, whoſe dead Bodies, in their Opinion, would prophane and ſully the Places where they lay buried. This important Article was explained by the *Edict*, or executed by the Com-

1598. Difficulties about the Burials.

1598. Commissioners after such a manner as proved in our Days the fatal Spring of innumerable Vexations and Injustices.

The Third Demand, the Subsistence of the Ministers.

The third Demand was concerning the Subsistence of the Ministers, and the Maintenance of the Schools. The *Reformed* were willing to be freed from paying Tenths to the Clergy, to whom they ow'd nothing, since they did not own them as their Pastors; and they thought it unjust, that being at the Charge of maintaining their own Ministers, they should also contribute to the Subsistence of the Priests of a contrary Religion. They demanded, That at least their Ministers should be pay'd out of the publick Mony, according to an Article of the Treaty of Truce with *Henry* III. They also desired Schools for the Instruction of their Children, with a publick Allowance for the Masters; and moreover, that the *Reformed* should be indifferently admitted to places of Doctors, of Professors and Teachers in all the Universities and Faculties; to the end that their Children might freely take their Degrees in the most flourishing Colleges. In this Pretension of publick Salaries, they thought not so much of saving their Mony, as they aimed at the most important point of being owned Members of the State, equal to the Catholicks, and capable, as well as they, of all sorts of honourable and profitable Employments: But the Catholicks stoutly opposed all this, for fear the *Reformed* should be equal with them; therefore they could not relish the maintaining of Ministers and Teachers, out of the King's Treasury, because then it might seem, that the *Reformed* Religion was owned as the Religion of the State, which eminent Character they would by all means secure to the Catholicks. Besides, they imagined, that by settling publick Funds towards the Subsistence of Men, who laboured Day and Night for the propagation of the *Reformed* Doctrine, they should so firmly establish it, that afterwards it could hardly be shaken; whereas it might soon fall, if the Salaries of the Ministers were left to the Charity and Zeal of their own People. But these Difficulties were in a great Measure remov'd by their Demand of being freed from paying Tenths against their Consciences, to a sort of Men, whom they looked upon as false Pastors, and the Ministers of Antichrist. The Clergy could not abide to hear of losing such a real and considerable part of their Revenues; and, besides,

beſides, were afraid of the bad Conſequences it might have; 1598.
ſuch a fair Privilege being like to draw in a great number of Catholicks to the *reformed* Religion; for it was well known that the *Reformed* taught, That the Tenths were not due to the Miniſters of the Goſpel, by Divine Right, and that therefore a great Advantage would accrue to any one, who keeping the Tiths to himſelf, might come off for a ſmall Contribution towards the Miniſter's Salary. As there wanted not able Miniſters, in the Aſſembly, ſo they did not fail to ſecure and promote their Intereſt, inſomuch that this Affair was debated with great Heats: But at laſt it was put to an end, or rather eluded by the King's Promiſe, to pay the *Reformed* a yearly Sum of Mony, to be employ'd, as they ſhould think fit, without giving an account thereof: But ſtill they trifled about the Quantity of the Sum, in reſpect to the Number of the Miniſters, for whom it was deſigned, about the Aſſignations of the Mony, about the Security of the Payment: And after all this, the Meaſures they took were ſo uncertain, that, a little while after the Concluſion, the *Reformed* complained of their being but ill paid, and that they enjoyed not the effect of this Promiſe much longer than twenty Years. Moreover, as the promiſed Sum was not ſufficient to maintain ſuch a great Number of Paſtors, it was in a manner made up by two Articles; by the firſt whereof the *Reformed* were permitted to accept Gifts and Legacies for the Subſiſtence of Miniſters, Scholars and the Poor: And by the other they were allow'd on certain Conditions, to raiſe Mony upon their People. But this was ſet down in the ſecret Articles, being too advantagious to appear in the Body of the *Edict*.

A Sum of Mony promiſed by the King.

The Article of the Schools was left in a greater ambiguity than the former. The *Reformed*, who were ſtill prepoſſeſs'd with an Opinion, That their Religion ſhould be triumphant, as ſoon as Men could embrace its Doctrin, without being debarred from their temporal Advantages, thought, in good earneſt, that in a ſhort time the Univerſities ſhould be filled with *Reformed* Profeſſors and Teachers, if they could but get them declared capable of holding thoſe Places; which Fancy was not a little confirm'd by the general Reputation the *Reformed* had gotten in the World, of being Men of greater and more polite Learning than

The Schools.

1598. than the Catholicks; from whence they concluded, That all the Pulpits would be ſoon filled with Perſons of eminent Doctrin, out of their Churches. To the ſame end it was, that they importunately demanded, That their Children ſhould be admitted to publick Schools, and to all the Priviledges and Immunities of Scholarſhip, even as well as the Catholicks themſelves; and that they ſhould not be excluded or moleſted upon the account of Religion. Theſe two Demands were granted them, but upon Conditions ſo ill explained, that a little after the verifying of the *Edict*, ſome Difficulties were raiſed upon the firſt, which brought the Conceſſion to a ſmall matter, and, by degrees, to nothing at all. As for the ſecond, it was ſo far from being advantagious to them, that it proved one of the principal Springs of thoſe great Vexations they have groan'd under, during ſixty Years and above, becauſe it ſerved for a colour to deny them the Liberty of teaching any thing in their ſmall Schools, except Reading and Arithmetick; and they were told, that they had a Right by the *Edict* to ſend their Children to the publick Colleges, where they ſhould not be moleſted in their Conſciences. When Experience had made them fully ſenſible of the Cheat, they endeavour'd, under the reign of *Lewis* XIII. to remedy it, by erecting Schools in the principal Churches of each Province: But the ſame Pretence, of their being allowed by the *Edict* to ſend their Children to the publick Colleges, gave the Catholicks occaſion to hinder ſeveral of thoſe Eſtabliſhments, to ruine the reſt, and even to force the Miniſters and Conſiſtories to ſuffer the Children of the *Reformed* to be ſent to ſuſpicious Schools, as we ſhall have occaſion to relate hereafter.

The 4th. Demand, the poſſeſſion of Eſtates, and Rights of ſucceſſion.

The fourth Demand concern'd the ſecuring of Eſtates, and of Civil and Natural Properties; by virtue whereof Children, or the next of kin, inherit their deceaſed Parents or Relations Eſtates; and the Members of the ſame Commonwealth are made capable of receiving Benefits, Gifts and Legacies; of Buying and Selling; of Contracting, Acting and Diſpoſing of what belongs to them, according to Law. The Nobility and Gentry had, beſides the general concern, a ſpecial Intereſt therein, in reſpect of their *Fiefs*, Lordſhips, Patronages and Honours. Now the Canons depriv'd the *Hereticks* of theſe Rights, and afforded ſo many ways

ways of bereaving them of all the Advantages of civil Society, that though they had not formally condemned them to Death, yet they ſufficiently brought them to the Neceſſity of Dying, by taking away from them all Succours and Reliefs neceſſary for the maintenance of Human Life. Therefore the Catholicks obſerved thoſe cruel Laws with much Severity, and formal or equivalent diſinheritings (by which they partly or wholely excluded their *reformed* Relations out of their Succeſſion) were always adviſ'd by the Directors of their Conſciences, or authoriſ'd by the Judges: So that it was high time to put a Stop to ſuch a great Diſorder, and becauſe a Healing Article had already been inſerted, upon this Matter, in the former *Edicts*, they needed only to get the old Orders renew'd; which was done, with Exceptions, in reſpect to ſome particular Caſes, ſome whereof were explain'd in the ſecret Articles, and others left undecided, for Reaſons of State. 1598.

The fifth demand, impartial Judges.

The fifth Demand was for obtaining an equal number of Judges of both Religions, in all Parliaments, and was grounded upon the ill-will of theſe Courts, who daily did notorious pieces of Injuſtice to the *Reformed*, and ſtarted a World of Difficulties and Scruples in the verifying of the *Edicts* granted for their Security: Which they had made out with ſo many Inſtances in the Book of their Complaints, that the Court was not able to deny it; and thought it very inſignificant to allow them only ſome Proteſtant Judges in each Court, ſince it was certain, that where-ever the Number of Catholicks were greater, the *Reformed* ſhould be infallibly caſt: But the Parliaments had ſuch an Intereſt to prevent the multiplying of Offices in their Bodies, and the diſmembring of their Juriſdictions, that this Affair met with many Difficulties and Obſtacles. The King, nevertheleſs, granted one *miparted Chamber* in the Parliaments of *Thoulouſe*, *Bordeaux* and *Grenoble*, where all the Cauſes of the *Reformed* ſhould reſpectively be brought. There was already one at *Caſtres*, and ſome *reformed* Judges had been eſtabliſh'd in the Parliament of *Grenoble*, and it ſeem'd that the *Reformed* of *Dauphine*, where *Leſdiguieres* had a full Power, had nothing common in ſeveral Affairs with thoſe of the ſame Religion in the other Province; three Judges were then added to the former, to make up

Chambers Miparties, or of the *Edict*.

1598. a *miparted* Chamber, which at the very Time of its Creation was incorporated with the Parliament, insomuch that its Members were call'd in, when ever any thing was to be debated in a full House; Moreover, the King promised to erect a Chamber at *Paris*, consisting of ten Catholick Judges and six *reformed*, and those Protestants who lived within the respective Jurisdictions of the Parliaments of *Rouen*, *Rennes* and *Dijon*, had their choice, either to bring their Causes before that of their own Province, or before any of the Chambers granted in the nearest of them. The King's Promise, made to the *Reformed*, in respect of the Parliament of *Paris*, was not executed; but, it seems, he made them amends for it, by creating some new Offices of Judges in that of *Normandy*, and a Chamber of the *Edict*, upon the Model of that which was establish'd at *Paris*. They had not the same Favour in the Parliament of *Britany*; either because the Judges of that Court, which were some of the most furious against the *Reformed*, would not consent to it, for that it was not judged necessary in that Province, where the Number of Protestants was very inconsiderable; or, in fine, that all the Members of that Parliament were so partial and passionate, that a sufficient number of equitable Men could not be found among them, to make it up. Nothing was changed in what had been agreed upon concerning the Parliament of *Dijon*. That of *Rouen* being a great Enemy to the *Reformed*, they had therefore obtained the Choice I spoke of just now: But this bringing up of Causes from one Court to another, had brought to the Parliament of *Paris* all the Causes of *Normandy*, where the *Reformed* were very numerous, and the Catholicks themselves stuck not sometimes to beg their Intervention in their own Causes, when they were jealous of their Judges; insomuch that this Parliament losing much by that means, chose rather to agree to the creation of a Chamber, like that of *Paris*, than to see almost all the Law-Suits of its Jurisdiction brought to another. The *Reformed* found also some Advantage therein, because they were no longer obliged to travel out of their Province, and so far from their Friends; because also the Customs of *Paris* and *Normandy* were very different, and that the Charges and Delays were more troublesome at *Paris* than at *Rouen*. Besides, they were Gainers in that Bargain,

gain, by the three Offices of Judges created by the King in their behalf: But, for all this, that Parliament was not reconcil'd to the *Reformation*, and, as it was the moſt corrupted and venal Court in all France, ſo there was none where the *Reformed* were expos'd to greater Vexations and Injuſtice. However this Eſtabliſhment was made but 15 or 16 Months after the *Edict*: Becauſe it was long doubted whether the Clauſe concerning Offices, inſerted in the *Edict* granted to the Marqueſs of *Villars*, permitted the Proteſtants to be ſharers therein: But, upon the whole matter, it was concluded, That the King had not by this Clauſe deprived himſelf of his Right, and the Intereſt of the Parliament oblig'd him to declare that it was but proviſional. 1598.

The ſixth Demand was, For a free Admittance to all Offices of State, War, Juſtice, Policy, Treaſury, and to all Commiſſions, Employments, Profeſſions, Arts and Trades, without Danger of being excluded upon the account of Religion. It was directly againſt the Canon-Law, which debars from all theſe Rights ſuch as are not obedient to the *Roman* Church, and who are for that Reaſon call'd Hereticks; and it had been the Original of all the Oppoſitions made to the *Reformed*, during ſo many Years together; but it was of ſuch great Conſequence to them, that they would never deſiſt from that Article; becauſe, beſides the Honour and Credit of Offices, which they would not have their Families to be depriv'd of, they ſaw well, that if that honourable Door was ſhut to the Proteſtants, ſuch as had more Ambition than Piety, would ſoon bid adieu to their naked and barren Religion, and thereby bring the *Reformation* to a declining State. The greateſt Oppoſition came from the Parliaments, who refuſed to admit them to the Places of the Law: But at laſt they obtain'd their Deſire, and the King declared them capable of holding all ſorts of Offices; whereby they thought they had gain'd a conſiderable Point, becauſe that Honour being refuſed to Hereticks by the Canons, their being admitted to them was a Diſcharge from that odious and hateful Name. This Pretenſion extended much farther than the former, by which they only deſired a certain Number of impartial Judges; but the latter aim'd at no leſs than to be made capable of diverſe Offices which were ſupream in Cities and Towns, of Shrievalties, Mayoralties, Conſulats, The ſixth Demand, to be admitted to Offices.

The extent of this Conceſſion

1598. ſulats, *Tabellionages; of Places of Attorney, of Recorder, of Bailiff; of Places in the Marſhalſea, Admiralty, in the Table of Marble; of thoſe of the Chamber of Accounts, of the Court of Aids, of the Courts of Elections; of thoſe of Judge or Judge-Aſſiſtant in the inferior Juriſdictions, of Judge in chief in the *Court leets* of the Lords. They were alſo admitted by the ſame to the Places of Maſter of Requeſts, two whereof had been promiſed them *gratis*; and to thoſe of Secretary to the King, which are none of the leaſt importance, in reſpect of their Priviledges. They were already poſſeſs'd of ſome Governments and military Dignities, and ſeveral among them were even Counſellors of State. The ſame Article had alſo a very great extent in the Profeſſion of Mechanick or Liberal Arts, and, in a Word, tended to a levelling of the Catholicks with the *Reformed*, by making the latter Civil Members of the State as well as they, and equal Sharers in the Diſtribution of Favours and Rewards. Yet in this important Matter the *Reformed* were highly Miſtaken, when they contented themſelves with a wide and general Declaration of their capableneſs of Offices, without ſolidly engaging the King that they ſhould be really conferr'd upon them. In effect, to appeaſe the Pope, who made as if he had been offended at it, they repreſented to him, That there was a vaſt difference between declaring one capable of a Place and beſtowing it upon him; which perfidious Maxim the Event has ſhewn to be too true, ſince the *Reformed* have been ſo far from being admitted to high Places, or preferr'd to the greateſt Dignities, according to their Merits, that they have been ſhifted with, even about the meaneſt Places, and the moſt inconſiderable Trades of the Kingdom. There were ſome among them, who foreſeeing that ſome Time or other this general Declaration would be miſinterpreted, mov'd in the Aſſembly for fixing, in each kind of Employments, a certain number of Places, that ſhould be conferr'd upon the *Reformed*; and *du Pleſſis*, as I have ſaid elſwhere, treating, ſome Years before, with *Villeroy*, had obtain'd the fourth part of all Places, and was even in hopes to obtain a third. But, beſides, that ſuch a general Declaration had ſomething more plauſible and flattering than the limitation of a certain Number of Places, becauſe thereby the *Reformed* were more fully equall'd to

*The Offices wherein Notaries Public, allow'd by Authority, ingroſs and regiſter private Contracts

The Sham of this Conceſſion.

to the Catholicks, it was more ſuitable to their different Circumſtances in the Provinces of the Kingdom; for in ſome their Number was ſo great, that if they had been reduced to a fourth or a third part of the Offices, they had been very unjuſtly dealt with, and the Court had been under a neceſſity of calling Catholicks from the other Provinces, to beſtow the remainder upon them. But in others they were ſo much inferior in number to the Catholicks, that there had not been enough among them to fill the third or the fourth part of the Places. Moreover, a ſpecial Regulation had been neceſſary almoſt for every Balliwick; inſomuch that a general Clauſe was in a manner unavoidable. Add to this, That the Provinces where the *Reformed* were the ſtrongeſt and moſt numerous, they did ſo little queſtion their being able to engroſs all the Offices to themſelves, for want of qualified Catholicks, that it was no difficult Matter, for the Court to ſatisfie them with that indefinite Declaration: And, indeed it was very advantagious, had it been obſerv'd *bona fide*; but as the ſame had been formerly eluded by *Henry* III's Artifices, ſo his Example has been follow'd ſince for above 40 Years, and this equitable Rule of Equality has been turn'd into a Sham by the Treachery of his Succeſſors. True it is, that at the Time of the *Edict* the *Reformed* gain'd by it no ſmall Credit, ſince the beſt part of all inferior Offices fell immediately upon them, and even the Catholick Lords were ſo well perſwaded that they had a better Stock either of Ability or Honeſty than others, that they ſtuck not to prefer them, before the Catholicks, to ſuch Places as were in their Gift; moreover, Offices being venal in *France*, the *Reformed* bought them dearer than others; and, with the Help of that ſtrong Machine, overcame all ſorts of Oppoſitions, which happen'd eſpecially for Places of a new creation, when he that bids moſt is ſure to be the Buyer: But this happy State of the *Reformed* laſted only till after the taking of *Rochel*. 1598.

The ſeventh Demand was concerning the Securities, the principal whereof was, in their Judgment, the keeping of thoſe Places which they had now in their Hands, and were numerous and ſtrong enough to reſiſt their Enemies in caſe of an Attack: But 'twas this very thing made the Difficulty; for the Court was very unwilling to leave ſo many Fortreſſes in the Hands of brave and bold Men, amongſt whom there was a great number of warlike

The 7th Demand, Securities.

1597. like and courageous Nobility, who had been permitted to unite together for their mutual Defence; but the *Reformed* were inflexible upon this Point, and would, by no means, hear of parting with what they had; for, first, the Experience of past Times made them afraid that the *Edict* might be us'd as a Pretence to disarm them, and that the Catholicks might break their Oath as soon as their Places of Refuge should be taken from them. Besides, they could not but know, that, according to the Policy suggested by the Court of *Rome* to all Princes who submit to the Pope, they keep Faith with none but such as they fear; and that therefore it might be kept to the *Reformed* no longer than the Danger of breaking it should last. 'Tis a Maxim no less general than true, *Since Conscience and Honesty have not been a sufficient Warrant for the Security of Treaties, that such as are concerned in the Observation of them, must make themselves formidable to such as would break the same, and make them sensible that they could not do it with impunity*: Therefore it was necessary for the *Reformed* to keep still some strong Garrisons, to stifle in the Catholicks Hearts the Desire of attempting their Ruin, by shewing them the frightful Prospect of an equal Danger on both sides; moreover, all the rest of the Kingdom was in Arms: All such as during the War had commanded, either under the King, or under the League, had some Place or other at their Devotion; and as there was no great likelihood of so soon disarming so many Men, who acted like petty Princes in their Government, so the *Reformed* had good reason to fear, that if they should lay down their Arms alone, they might soon be at the Discretion of their irreconcilable Persecutors. This same Article comprehended also many private Interests besides the general, because there was neither Lord nor Captain which had not some Place in the Guard, and no one was so disinterested to give up his own, to preserve that of his Companion. There was also as engaging an Interest which concern'd the common Cause, diverse Places had Catholick Governours that were not bigotted enough to their Religion to neglect their own Fortune, tho' it were advanc'd to the Prejudice of the Popish Cause; nor yet so well affected to the *Reformed* to embrace their Party without an evident Advantage. They plainly saw, that when a Peace should be establish'd in the Kingdom, their Places would become unuseful, their Garrisons broke, and

and their Profits ceaſe; but concluded, that if the *Reformed* obtain'd the keeping of their Places, they needed only to change their Religion to preſerve their own, as being the ſame Reaſon whereby others ſhould poſſeſs them. The Memoirs of thoſe Times give an account, That there were Men of this Character, who had promiſed to profeſs the *Reformed* Religion, but declar'd they would firſt ſee the State ſettl'd. 'Twas to favour theſe Converſions, which might increaſe and Strengthen their Party, as made them demand, That if any Governour of any Place embraced the *Reformed* Religion, his Place ſhould be continued to him without any Innovation: And Examples may be ſeen in the Reign of *Lewis* XIII. of the Protection that the *Reformed* gave to thoſe under ſuch Circumſtances: But the Council, deſirous to hinder the multiplication of the Places of the *Reformed*, limited the Time in which they were to be at the diſpoſal of the *Reformed*, to the end that they might be able to reckon up their ſtrong Places. 1598.

This Article was very difficult to be reſolv'd, becauſe there were Diſputes about the Number and Quality of theſe Places, the Strength of the Garriſons, the Nomination and Oath of the Governours, upon the Changing, in caſe of Death, about the placing of under Officers, the time of the Guard, and many other things which reſpected the Circumſtances of this Affair. The *Reformed* chiefly declar'd, They deſir'd that thoſe Places that belonged to them might not exclude them from other Governments, whereto they might be choſe, according to their Merits. The Council employed all their Art to evade theſe Pretenſions of the *Reformed*, and, above all, to bring the Nomination of the Governours under the King's Power, to the end that ſuch as were admitted might be greater Friends to the Court than to the contrary Party.

But to prevail with the *Reformed* to conſent to this Propoſition, it was requiſite to oblige thoſe that ſhould be choſen by the King to take an Atteſtation from the Provincial Aſſembly, to the end that the Aſſembly might object againſt them, if they were ſuſpicious Perſons. The King likewiſe promiſed the *Reformed* to take their Advice when any Government ſhould be vacant, that he might not chuſe ſuch Perſons into thoſe Places as would be diſa-

1598. disagreeable to them. In which Proceeding there was something very different from what happened on other occasions, where the People have any part in the disposing of Offices. Generally the Subjects nominate to the King such as they think fit, and he accepts or refuses them: But here the King names and the Subjects have a Liberty to refuse; wherefore the King sends back all those whom he chuses for the Attestation of the Assembly, obliged the Assembly, in case they refuse them their Testimony, to give their Reasons to the Council; to the end that by this necessity of giving an account of their Refusal, the Respect due to the Royal Nomination may be observed, and that the King might always appear Master and Arbitrator in the Affair. And upon the whole, the *Reformed* obtained a great part of what they desired, and had it not been for the Divisions among themselves, they might have gain'd much more: It was very happy for them that there was not in every Province a Governour, as indifferent to Religion, and as powerful as *Lesdiguieres* was in *Dauphine*. They would have disunited them, in treating with each separately, as they did with him who would never have his Garrisons comprehended with the rest, under the same Conditions He made Religion a pretext to keep his Places, but he would have no dependance on the Assembly, liking better to be sole Master in his own Province. The Court would have gained by it if every Governour had been able to have done the same, because by that means they would have ruined the Authority of General Councils: But none of them besides *Lesdigueres* being in a condition of maintaining himself, all were obliged to unite for their mutual Security.

How they were useful to the King.

But to return, these strong Places being held by the *Reformed*, was not so contrary to the Interests and Intentions of the King, as some would make us believe, and as he himself was even sometimes obliged to pretend. This Prince was not yet free from the perplexity wherein the uncertainty of the Succession, the Authority of the Nobility, and the Power of his own Officers had put him. The Seeds of those Conspiracies which had been raised against him and against the State, were rather hidden than quite stifled: And there was too much reason to fear that so many Men being corrupted by the Practices and Gold of the *Spaniard*,

niards might form ſuch a Party as would give him a great deal of Trouble to deſtroy; upon which he often complained, That there was none about him that prudence would permit him to confide in. On the other ſide, when he thought of the Affection that the *Reformed* had ſo ſeaſonably ſhew'd towards him for ſo many Years together, he was ſatisfied there was amongſt them ſuch as were proved Friends, and from whom, in the greateſt extremity he might promiſe himſelf all Aſſiſtance. It is true, at that time they were diſſatisfied with his indifference towards them, and his delaying their Affairs, but he was certain he ſhould always find them ready to lay down the laſt drop of their Blood for his Service, as ſoon as ever he ſhould give them any Teſtimony of his former Confidence and Truſt in them: And therefore he thought it a very important buſineſs to preſerve them, and ſpoke to his Confidents of the Peace he had granted them, as a thing he had the moſt ardently wiſh'd for, and which might be very ſerviceable to him in his greateſt Undertakings. He lookt upon the *Reformed* as his Party, and their ſtrong Places as his own: He knew very well, that whatſoever Intrigues the *Spaniards* might carry on with the turbulent Spirits of the Court, yet that part of the State which was held by the *Reformed* could not be taken from him, and they might be ſerviceable even in keeping others in their Duty Indeed there were ſome perſons in this Party that were ſuſpected by him, and that he would have been very glad to have had at his diſcretion, that he might have been able to have unhinged thoſe Cabals whereof he thought theſe Perſons the Ring-leaders: But he had ſeen by the Negotiation of the *Edict* that this pretended Faction was not always the ſtrongeſt, and that thoſe that were the moſt difficultly pleaſed, had, nevertheleſs, ſometimes yielded upon the Neceſſity of his Affairs: And, upon the whole matter, he was not ignorant that he had the infallible means of re uniting them to himſelf, whenever he would; and that he might depend as much upon them as on the reſt of the *Reformed*, as ſoon as by the ſtate of Affairs his Intereſt would permit him to rejoyn himſelf to their Party: He had only a Deſire of having a Power of naming the Governours of their Towns, to the end that he might place ſuch in them who were as much engag'd to his Fortune as to their Religion. 1598.

1598. and who by conſequence ſhould depend more upon him than on the Councils or political Aſſemblies: But to procure their Conſent to this Article, he muſt find out an Expedient, which might in ſome ſort content them, becauſe they were afraid that by this means their Places might fall into the Hands of ſome treacherous Perſons. This ſame Reflection may be ſeen in the Reaſons why the King ſuffer'd ſo many Places to be held by the *Reformed*, in the Memoirs of thoſe Times, and in the Writings of thoſe who have endeavour'd to juſtify the War that *Lewis* XIII made againſt the *Reformed*, under the pretext of regaining the Places of Security. This is one of their Reaſons, That ſince the King had not conſented to leave them wholely to them, but only under their Names to keep theſe Places for himſelf, againſt the ſecret Factions which might trouble the State; it was therefore no longer juſt to ſuffer them in their Poſſeſſion after theſe Factions were extinct. We have already ſeen how diſſatisfied the Marqueſs *d'O* was, becauſe the King had put as many Places as he could into the Hands of the *Reformed*; and that, for this Reaſon, he had rather ſee a Place taken by a *Spaniard* than kept by an *Huguenot*.

The payment of the Garriſons.

But there was, beſides, a great difficulty about paying thoſe Sums that were neceſſary for the maintaining of the Garriſons, Fortifications and the Walls of their Towns: There was nothing the Council was more difficult to part with than Money, and the Catholicks were much offended to ſee ſo great Sums paid by the King to the *Hereticks*, to maintain ſuch Fortreſſes as rendred them very formidable; nevertheleſs it could not be refuſed to Men who could ſay, That the like had been done for the Leaguers, the greateſt part whereof had Penſions, or their Garriſons paid them out of the King's Coffers: The Conteſtation therefore was reduced to the means how to ſave the King's Money, and the *Reformed* were contented with ſo little, that it can hardly be believ'd that all their Garriſons could be paid with ſo inconſiderable a Sum: And, in effect, there were ſome of the Leaguers to whom they had given or promiſed more Money than they had granted to the *Reformed* for the maintenance of their Towns for many Years together. When all was thus ſettled, a new Diſpute began upon the manner whereby they ſhould aſſure the *Reformed* of the Payment of the promiſed Sums: They ſhould have been very glad

glad if they might have been permitted to have ſtopp'd the King's Taxes at the reſpective Treaſuries, rather than to accept of ſuch Aſſignments as they fear'd would be both inconvenient and uncertain: But they judged it not handſome to let the King know they ſo much diſtruſted his Word, and therefore they were forc'd to be contented with the Promiſe he gave them of convenient and certain Aſſignments. 1598.

Gifts to private Perſons.

There were ſome private perſons alſo, who having neither Commands in theſe Places or in the Souldiery, made particular Requeſts, ſome of Arrearages of Penſions, others of ſome Gift to eſtabliſh their Affairs; and, ſo others again, for ſome Gratification for their paſt Services, which had not yet been acknowledged: And thus they were all made under different Pretenſions; but the whole of their Demands amounted to ſo ſmall a matter, that altogether it would ſcarcely equal the leaſt Recompence that the Leaguers had obtained.

Conteſtations touching the Form of the Conceſſions,

When all things were agreed on, there ſtill remain'd a general difficulty, concerning the manner wherein thoſe Conceſſions ſhould be publiſh'd; an *Edict* appeared the moſt Authentick Security to the *Reformed*, but there were ſo many Obſtacles, ſo many Fears of offending the Catholicks, and of giving any Pretence to the Diſaffected of beginning new Diſturbances, and ſuch Hopes given to the Churches of mending their Conditions with the Times; That, in fine, they agreed upon ſeveral Forms, under which diverſe Conceſſions ſhould be granted, as had been done on other occaſions.

which is diverſe, according to the nature of the thing.

Firſt, Therefore they gave an Edict, which contain'd to the number of 92 general Articles, by which the Exerciſe of the *Reformed* Religion was authorized in many Places, under ſuch and ſuch Conditions. The *Reformed* were admitted to all States and Offices; the adminiſtration of Juſtice was regulated by the ſetting up of *Chambers Miparties*; and many other things were commanded, conformably to what had been practiſed in the *Edicts* of the ſame nature; a Pardon for whatſoever might be laid to the Charge of the *Reformed*, was expreſſed at full length; all manner of *Edicts*, Letters or Articles of the preceeding Times, that were contrary to this New *Edict*, were expreſly abrogated by it: And for the Security of this, the King commanded all his Officers to take an Oath to obſerve it with Care and Fidelity; and taking all the Inhabitants of the Towns

1598. and other Places into his Protection, he put them under the care of each other, to prevent Seditions and Violences.

To the *Edict* were added ſecret or particular Heads, to the number of 56, among which there was many of great importance, which well deſerv'd to have been inſerted into the Body of the Edict; but they contented themſelves with placing them in this Appendix, becauſe it was addreſſed to the Parliaments as the ſame Edict, and many of them verified it. Such were the Articles which exempted the *Reformed* in reſpect of many things that belong'd to the Worſhip of the Catholicks, the Privileges of the Miniſters, the exerciſe of the Diſcipline of the *Reformed*, with the holding of their Conſiſtories, their Colloquies and Synods, the Education of Children, the Liberty of Marriages in ſuch degrees wherein the Catholicks are obliged to procure Diſpenſations, the obſervations of Faſting and Holidays, the nullity of extorted Abjurations, and many others the like; they forgot not the Confirmation of the Articles granted to the Heads of the League, who had ſubmitted to the Government. The Shiftings made uſe of in our Time, upon many of theſe Articles, ſufficiently ſhew how needful it was that general Articles ſhould be granted thereon: But what ſeems moſt ſingular in this Affair, is, that there were in theſe ſecret Articles ſome Paſſages which formally regarded only what was paſt, or elſe the Time of the Edict it ſelf, that nevertheleſs were executed from the time it was publiſhed until its Revocation, of calling them into Queſtion, ſuch were the Articles which concerned Marriage in ſuch a degree of Affinity as the Catholicks were not permitted without a Diſpenſation. This, in a manner, made ſome amends for certain Articles of the *Edict* that had never been put in execution, which permitted the *Reformed* freely to live in all places of the Kingdom. There were all a-long many Towns wherein the *Reformed* could never appear with ſafety, ſo far were they from living without Diſturbance in them. But a particular Remark may be here made upon *Liberty of Conſcience*; The Edict had aimed expreſly to eſtabliſh it, and yet there was no formal Article in it which gave it to all the *French*, but it was ſo plainly preſuppoſed by the *Edict*, and by that Spirit of Liberty which they always ſo highly pretended to, even to the fancying that *France* was the only Kingdom in the World

World where Freedom had the leaſt interruption, that all the King's Subjects were ſuffered to enjoy it for fourſcore Years, without any Perſon's ever being diſturbed about it: And indeed they durſt not violate it, until they had in many reſpects ruin'd the *Edict* in its moſt important Conceſſions. 1598.

The reſt of the things that could not be comprehended in the *Edict*, nor in the particular Articles, were Promiſes by private Patents, wherewith the *Reformed* were not eaſily ſatisfied, becauſe theſe ſorts of Letters are not like a Law, but only continue at the King's Pleaſure, who revokes them when he has a Mind to it: But as theſe Grants were the niceſt, and ſuch as the Catholicks were the leaſt pleaſed with, ſo they were under a neceſſity of depending upon the King's good Will, and allowing ſuch Excuſes as were taken from the State of his Affairs, which would not permit him to do any more. There were Three Patents of this nature: The firſt, which was dated the third of *April*, granted a Sum of Forty five thouſand Crowns for the Payment of the Miniſters; it was aſſigned upon ſeveral provincial Exchequers, for the Conveniency of its Diſtribution, payable quarterly in ready Mony, with Precautions that were very favourable for the Payment, and a Diſpenſation given to the receiver, appointed either by the King or the *Reformed*, by which he was freed from giving an Account in any Court. As the Court durſt not declare openly that this Sum was deſigned to maintain the Miniſters, leſt the Catholicks ſhould murmur to ſee part of the King's Revenue employed in the Preſervation of *Hereſy*, ſo they were obliged to put in ſome Clauſe which might ſecure it from giving them any Scandal. *Dupleſſis* having inſerted an Article on this Subject, among thoſe which had been agreed upon at *Mants*, after the King's *turning* Papiſt had obtained that the promiſed Sum ſhould be paid under the Name of the Lady *Catherine*, becauſe ſhe might receive greater Gratifications from the King her Brother, without its being ſuſpected by any one: But ſhe could not live always, and therefore ſome pretext muſt be thought on which might ſerve them at all times: So that it was declared in the Patent that this Sum was given to the *Reformed*, to be *employed in their ſecret concerns, which his Majeſty would have neither ſpecified nor declared.*

The

1598. The Second Patent concern'd the Places of Security: But it contain'd also many other Passages, which explained several things that the Edict seem'd to leave undetermined. It was dated the thirtieth of *April* at *Nants*; and the King declares there, in the manner of a Preface, the Motives that induced him to grant them the keeping of these Fortresses: *viz.* That the *Reformed* thought it necessary, for the Liberty of their Consciences, and Security of their Persons and Estates; and that his Majesty was assured of their Fidelity, and of their sincere Affection to his Service. To which he added in general Terms many other important Considerations for the Advantage and Peace of the State. After which there followed Twenty four Articles, the first of which permitted them for eight Years, under the Authority of his Majesty, to keep all those Fortresses, Towns and Castles which they had held until the End of *August* 1598. wherein Garrisons were to be maintained according to the Settlement made in the Council for it; the eight Years were to be reckoned from the Time the Edict was published in all the Parliaments. The second promised, That nothing should be innovated in any of the *Reformed* Towns, where there was no Garrison. The third excepted some Places which they should not keep under the Title of Security; and that even for the Time to come, if the King should place any Governour of the *Reformed* Religion therein, they should draw no Consequence from it. These Towns were *Vendome*, *Pontorson*, *Aubenas* and its Citadel. He commanded also that *Chavigni*, which belonged to the Bishop of *Poictiers*, should be restored to him, and the Fortifications thereof rased; but by one of the secret Articles of the *Edict* the Exercise of their Religion was formally permitted continuing there. The fourth gave them the sum of One hundred and fourscore thousand Crowns for the maintaining of their Towns and Payment of their Garrisons. The fifth excepted the Places in *Dauphiny*, of which a particular State was promised to be set up by it self: *Lesdiguiers* liking better to defend them on his own account, than for the common Cause, and the Court, favoured this Division, to weaken a Party, the uniting of whose Members would render it redoubtable. The sixth promised good Assignments, and that the Money thereof should not be diverted to other uses.

uſes. The ſeventh promiſed, That the *Reformed* ſhould be called, when the ſtate of the Places ſhould be ſettled, to take their Advice, and hear their Remonſtrances, and afterwards to do every thing as much to their Liking as poſſible. The ſame Promiſe was made to *Leſdiguiers* for *Dauphiny*. The eighth permitted, That in caſe any Change ſhould happen in their Places, either by the King's Pleaſure, or through the Deſire of the *Reformed* themſelves, they ſhould act there in the ſame manner as when the former State was ſettled; that is, that the *Reformed* were to be called in order, to give their Advice and Remonſtrances. The ninth aſſured them, That if by Death any of theſe Governments became vacant, during the eight Years, none but the *Reformed* ſhould be admitted, who likewiſe muſt be obliged to take an Atteſtation of the Aſſembly which belonged to that Province the Place was ſituated in: And added, That if the Aſſembly ſhould refuſe their Atteſtation, then the Cauſe ſhould be heard before the King. The tenth provided, That after the eight Years were paſſed, although the King was quitted of his Promiſe, he ſhould nevertheleſs continue thoſe in their Governments that were then in poſſeſſion, in ſuch Places as he thought good ſtill to keep a Garriſon. The eleventh declared, That the keeping of theſe Places ſhould not exclude the *Reformed* from other Governments, whereto they might be received, indifferently with others, according to their Merits: But that ſuch Places as were given them upon this account ſhould not, nevertheleſs, be reckoned among their Places of Security. The twelfth permitted the keeping of Magazines, Ammunition, Powder, Cannons, *&c.* to thoſe to whom the *Reformed* had given them, and to take a Commiſſion from the Maſter of the Ordnance and from the Commiſſary General of Proviſions, which ſhould be delivered them *gratis*, under certain Conditions. The thirteenth, provided for the Payment of theſe Commiſſioners out of the Hundred and fourſcore thouſand Crowns, and not to charge the King's Exchequer with it. The fourteenth declared, That the King had cauſed the Temple of *Mets* to be removed, and granted Letters Patents to the Inhabitants thereof, which permitted them to diſpoſe of the Materials; and promiſed them to give them another Place within the Walls to perform their Exerciſe in; 1598.

1598. in; for which Reason this was not necessary to be inserted in the Edict. The fifteenth assured the *Reformed* Lords that might happen to reside at Court, that they should not be question'd for what they did in their Houses with their Families only, and their Gates shut, without they sung Psalms with a loud Voice, or gave any reason to suppose there was a Publick Exercise. The sixteenth had a relation to the fourteenth of the *Edict*, permitting them to continue the exercise in such Places where it was publickly allowed, if the Court (who made it cease by its Residence) continued above three Days there. The seventeenth relating to the same, declared, That because of the present state of his Majesty's Affairs, Matters concerning Religion should remain in the same condition they were in *Bresse*, *Barcelona*, and the Country on that side the Hills, but that when they should be reduced to Obedience, they should be treated like the rest of the King's Subjects, notwithstanding what was mentioned thereof in the *Edict*. The eighteenth granted Provisions *gratis* to those that should be put into the place of Presidents, Counsellors, and Deputies of Attorney and Solicitor General, to serve the first Time in the *Chambers Miparties*. The nineteenth promised *gratis* the Places of Judges to those Substitutes, in the Parliaments of *Thoulouse* and *Bourdeaux*, if it happened that Chambers were incorporated with them. The twentieth declared *Francis Pithou* substitute to the Procurer General in the Parliament of *Paris*, and after him assured the Charge to some of the *Reformed*. The one and twentieth promised the *Reformed* two Places of Masters of Requests, when they should be void by death, at the rate of its Value; and in the mean while two such Places should quarterly be given them, who should report their Affairs.

The two and twentieth permitted the Deputies of the Assembly of *Chattilleraud*, to leave ten of their Members at *Saumur*, until the *Edict* was confirmed in the Parliament of *Paris*, altho by the *Edict* they were commanded to depart: This was to reduce the Assembly to the Number which was set up by that of S. *Foy*; the twenty third took from these ten Deputies the Power of making any new Demands, and forbad them meddling with any thing, except the soliciting for the Confirmation of the Edict, and sending Commissioners into the Provinces to see it executed.

The

The twenty fourth was the most important of all; the King, in that, gave his Word and Faith for the Security of the Execution of the whole, declaring that all that was contained in the Patent should be of the same Force as if it had been comprized by an Edict, confirmed in the Court of Parliament; *Being*, he said, *those of the said Religion, to comply with what was for his Interest, were contented not to press him, as the state of his Affairs was, to put this Grant in a more authentick Form, trusting in the Word and Goodness of the King, that they should entirely enjoy it:* Upon which account he had commanded all necessary Expedition to be made. Thus, as the private Articles were a kind of Instruction for the Executors of the *Edict*, wherein the King explained many things, that the general Articles had left obscure and undecided; so we may say also, That this Patent served for a kind of a *Salvo* to certain Articles of the *Edict* that the Times would not permit to be put in more favourable Terms, although the Intention of the King was not contrary to it: And above all, he justified the *Reformed* from the Reproach of having made any Advantage of the Conjuncture of Affairs, in forcing him to grant them what they pleased, since he declared, That they were contented with the King's Word upon so many important things: because the state of his Affairs would not permit him to give better Assurances. 1598.

The third Patent contained a distribution of three and twenty thousand Crowns, to several private Persons, to some for one time, to others for two Years, to some for four, and to others again for eight Years: To some by way of Gratification, and to others as Arrears for past Services. The Historian *D'Aubigne*, one of those that they esteemed at Court too zealous for their Religion, who thought himself ill-requited for his Services, by this means extorted a moderate Sum for the Arrears of a Pension that had been some time detained from him. Thus all the personal Favours that the King granted to the *Reformed*, amounted to a very small matter; by which it appeared, that private Interest was not the Motive, as they declared in all their Requests. All the Sums amounted not to Two hundred and fifty thousand Crowns: And even at the end of eight Years the whole was reduced to less than a fifth part, which they gave to the *Reformed*,

1598. in compensation for the Tenths, that they were obliged to pay to the Clergy their Persecutors.

It seems not improper here to speak a Word or two of the Places that the *Reformed* had in their Keeping, to the end that we may see what condition they were in, as to the Strength of their Party, at the time the *Edict* was made. There were two sorts of Towns comprehended under the Name of *Towns of Security*, one of which had neither Governour nor Garrison, but defended it self: Such were *Rochel*, *Montaubon*, *Nismes*, and some others. They had Priviledges so great, that they were almost free; and *Rochel*, above the rest had had such Treaties with the *Kings of France* as had made them very near independent, tho' indeed all was done there in the King's Name, yet each Place had its Magistrates which had the sole Administration of the Government. These Towns were the firmest to the Common Cause, because they had two Priviledges to defend, their Religion and their Liberty. This kind of Independence must not be imputed to the Doctrine of the *Reformed*, since there were Catholick Towns which had as much Liberty: But the Court made Religion a pretext to destroy them first, and by the means of their Ruin found a way to oppress the rest, who have all now submitted to the Yoke.

There were other Places who had both Garrisons and Governours, some of which belonged to particular Lords, who disposed of Matters therein, as they pleased: The rest were governed by great Men, that had made themselves Masters of them during the War; or else by such as the King, whilst he was their Protector, had placed therein, to defend them. Some of these were properly Places of Security, others were call'd Towns or Places of *Marriage*, because they had no Garrison of their own, but were comprised under the Name of more important neighbouring Places; and that their Garrison was a Detachment from those of the principal Place whereon they depended: Many of these Places of *Marriage* were only simple Castles belonging to Protestant Gentlemen, some of which had not above six or seven Men in a Garrison; but they afterwards disputed them with the *Reformed*, and pretended that these Places of *Marriage* were not comprehended in the number of those that the King permitted them to keep.

The

The Payment of the Soldiers (without ſpeaking of *Dauphine*, which had its Affairs ſeparate, and contained eleven Places) conſiſted of two States, the one of which was publick and the other private, becauſe they found it neceſſary to conceal part of their Strength and the good Will of the King, for fear of offending the Catholicks. The leaſt Sum was employed upon the Publick State, and the reſt was ſet down in the other, which was called the little State. In reſpect to the firſt they followed the accuſtomed Order for the Payment of the Garriſons, furniſhing of Rolls of Acquittances, *&c.* and they were paid by the extraordinary Treaſurer of War; but the other was paid with leſs, upon ſimple Orders obtained from the reſpective provincial Exchequers. 1598. The manner of Payment.

Thus ended the long Civil War, whereof Religion was made the Pretence. The *Reformed* began to take Breath, and the Minds of the People to be a little ſettled again. *La Trimouille* by his inflexibility incurr'd the Hatred of the King, but gained the Eſteem and Confidence of his own Party: The Court endeavoured all ways poſſible to draw him from the common Cauſe, but nothing could work upon him; to that end the Preſident *de Thou* offered him incredible Advantages; but he anſwered very generouſly, Whatſoever they could do for him would avail nothing, whilſt the Requeſts of the *Reformed* were unanſwered; but if they would grant them the Security of their Conſciences and Lives, they might hang him up at the Gate of the Aſſembly, and that no Diſturbance would come upon it. They alſo endeavoured to ſtir him up with Emulation and Jealouſy, when the Duke *de Bouillon* came to the Aſſembly, where *La Trimouille* being youngeſt, gave him the firſt Place that he had held for two Years together: But he was not concerned for this Point of Honour, which would have ſhaken a Soul leſs Noble than his. He gave way without any regret, and maintained himſelf unto the end with an equal Courage. There were many other great Men which ſeconded him; the Miniſter *Chamier* was one of the moſt undaunted; and, becauſe of that, he became as odious to the Court, as he was conſiderable to the Churches. There are ſome Authors among the *Reformed* who affirm, That the King's Ava- The Concluſion.

1598. Avarice was the Reaſon why the Diviſion was leſs in the Aſſembly than it might have been, if the King had been willing to buy its Members at as dear a rate as he had bought the Leaguers. But that many continued firm to the Common Cauſe, becauſe there was no Advantage in abandoning it. Indeed *Aubigny*, one of theſe Authors, might ſpeak by Experience, he was not rich, and he was very willing to make his Fortune; but they did not love him at Court, becauſe he was too free and ſatyrical in his Diſcourſes, and diſturbed them with the Reproaches of his Services. Tho' it was not really ſo much from the King's Avarice as his Wiſdom and good Intentions for the Preſervation of the *Reformed*, he choſe rather to grant Favours to them in general, whom he had ſome reaſon to love, than to raiſe the Fortune of ſome private Perſons, which he thought he might have cauſe to complain of.

The End of the Fifth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Edict of NANTS.

BOOK VI.

The Contents of the 6th. Book.

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* *Chambre Miparti* is a Court of Justice, Erected in divers good Towns of *France*, in favour of, and for the righting them of the Religion, one half of the Judges being of the Reformed, the other Papists.

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THE Edict being then at length Decreed in this manner, nevertheleſs did not all of a ſudden allay the general Murmurings: And when the News was carry'd into the Provinces, ſeveral people of Nice and Difficult Palates found that there were many things altogether omitted, others ill-explain'd, others inconvenient, and with which the *Reform'd* had leſs Reaſon to be contented then the *Catholics*. The delay of the Verification put 'em to a great deal of trouble, and the Reputation of the Duke of *Bouillon*, who had taken upon him to engage 'em to Patience in this particular was not ſufficient to ſtop the Mouths of all the World But the Court had then recourſe to little Artifices to mollifie their minds by gentle means, and bring 'em to that ſubmiſſion which ſhe deſir'd. She had her Confidents in all places, who, according to the Genius of thoſe people with whom they diſcours'd, knew how to vary their Arguments and their Remonſtrances. Sometimes they put a Value upon the King's private Promiſes, who durſt go no farther for fear of Offending the Catholics, and returning their Arms into the Hands of the *Leaguers*; but who had giv'n his Word to do ſo many things for the *Reformed* for the future; which was that which far exceeded all they had demanded, and which was contain'd moſt favourable in the Edict. Sometimes the Prince himſelf was repreſented as altogether of the Reformed Religion in his Heart, Weeping when he ſpoke of the Churches, and cauſing his uſual Prayers to be ſaid before him in private; and that, perhaps, was no Invention altogether. Moreover, he had every day in his Mouth all the paſſages of Scripture, which all the *Reformed* well knew how to apply to all the accidents of Life: And thô that all the outward Actions of his Devotion were Catholic, yet his private Meditations and Retirements had ſtill ſometimes a reliſh of the Reformed Religion. So that, both at Court and at *Rome*, they were ſtill afraid, or made a ſhew of being in fear, that he was only turn'd Catholic for the ſake of the Crown, but that he was ſtill *Reformed* in his Will and Affection. There were a great Number of the *Reformed* who were heartily of this Opinion; and who pined the conſtraint, wherein, as it ſeem'd to them,

1598.

1598. the King was oblig'd to live. Nor was it a difficult thing to win over thoſe who were of this Opinion, and to make 'em ſit down contented with the preſent, in the midſt of Extraordinary future Expectations: So much the rather becauſe that almoſt all the *Reformed* were Anticipated with a full perſwaſion that their Religion would in a ſhort time Triumph over the Tricks and Artifices of the Roman See.

On the other ſide, to frighten thoſe that were timorous of themſelves, they aggravated the Puiſſance and Proſperity of the King, who began to make himſelf formidable both at home and abroad, and who being in a condition to force Reſpect from Forreigners was the more able to conſtrain Obedience from his own Subjects. In ſhort, they who by their Intrigues had brought *France* within one Ace almoſt of her Ruin, ſaw with aſtoniſhment, that the ſame Prince, whom they had ſo rudely handled liv'd peaceable in his Dominions, in a Capacity to trouble thoſe in his turn that had ſo long and ſo Maliciouſly turmoil'd him with inceſſant Vexations, and as it were of a ſudden become the Terrour of one part of *Europe*, and the Protector of the other. But the moſt conceal'd of all the Court Artifices was to give thoſe ſome little Trouble who ſpake too loudly in the Provinces. They were ſent for to Court, under various pretences, either of hard Words which they had let fall, or of ſome bold Actions which they had over boldly committed, or of too violent Councels which they were accus'd of having given. But when they had 'em in their Clutches, inſtead of treating 'em with ſeverity, which they had put 'em in ſome fear of at home, they lull'd 'em with a thouſand Careſſes; loaded 'em with praiſes and promiſes; and cauſing 'em to be managed by perſons who underſtood what they were to ſay, ſent 'em home ſomewhat Tam'd and Mollify'd, and ready to believe themſelves and perſwade others, that the beſt courſe they could take, was to comply with the King's pleaſure.

A Synod at Mompelier.

In the mean time the *Reformed* Aſſembled a National Synod at *Mompelier*; where their principal buſineſs was to draw up a State of the Churches. Every Province brought thither a Liſt of ſuch as were already Erected within their Juriſdictions; and it was found that they amounted altogether to ſeven hundred

The number of the State of the Churches.

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and ſixty. Upon which it behooves us to obſerve in the firſt place, that while it was uncertain what extent the King would allow to Liberty of Exerciſe, there were many places whoſe Franchiſes were confounded one with another, and which were intermixt with thoſe whoſe Priviledges were more immediate and uncontroulable, to the End they might have the fewer diſputes with the Catholicks. But when the Edict had Regulated the Foundations upon which the Right of continuing Free Exerciſe was to be eſtabliſhed, they began to unpeſter thoſe confus'd Rights, and to ſeparate ſeveral Places into diſtinct Churches, which had been a long time uncertain what would become of their Pretenſions. Thus the King having conſented that ſuch places where Free Exerciſe had been ſeveral times performed during the year 1596. ſhould be preſerv'd for the future, thoſe places, which had been under uncertainty till then, betook themſelves to a New Form after that Conceſſion; and Churches were Erected Correſpondent to the Models in Government of thoſe of which they had been long in Poſſeſſion. But in regard the Edict was not concluded that Year, they made New demands the year following, and obtain'd that the ſame Right of Free Exerciſe ſhould be preſerv'd where it had been ſeveral times perform'd in that New Year till the Month of *Auguſt*. A Term which the King limited for New Poſſeſſions, that they might not multiply every day. So that the Places which had acquir'd this New Right could not take upon 'em any Regulated Form, till they knew what could be obtain'd of the King upon this New pretention. Moreover there were ſeveral places where Free Exerciſe ought to have been allowed according to preceding Edicts; but where it had been left off for ſeveral Reaſons; either the Oppoſition of the Catholics, or the Neighbourhood of the Troops of the League, or other Inconveniences which the Reformed there ſuffer'd. It was requiſite therefore, in reſuming the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Places, to ſet up ſuch Churches as had a priviledge to Aſſemble there, and whom thoſe Obſtacles had diſperſed. Theſe were the different places where the Provincial Synods reported to the National, that they had ſet up Churches; and there were yet ſeveral others, the Settlement of which was conteſted; nor could the Diſputes be determin'd 1598.

1598. min'd till after the Judgment of the Commissioners which the King sent into the Provinces to put the Edict in Execution.

This may serve for an Answer to the Brabbles and Wranglings rais'd in these latter years, as to the Number of the Churches above 760. or as to what concern'd others which did not appear to have taken upon 'em the Form of Churches till after the Conclusion of the Edict. Nor was it for want of Right that those Churches had not been set up, but because their Right remaining undetermin'd, and in suspence till *August* 1597. they were unwilling to draw together an Assembly of people, which they were not assur'd they were able to maintain there. For they were not look'd upon as Establish'd, till they had acquir'd a Right by the New Concession, or by the Commissioners who remov'd the Difficulties. In the second place, by what the Synod calls forming a Church, is not to be meant the settling an Exercise in a place where it never was before; or the receiving a Minister by Imposition of Hands, or appointing a Consistory, of which there is not the least shadow formerly. But it is the rendring that perpetual and customary, which was only provisional and by Intervals; the assigning a peculiar and standing Minister to the place, which before was only serv'd occasionally; the subjecting the Elders to a Regular Discipline; the separating the Families into Quarters, under the Jurisdiction of an Elder, who is to take care of that business; the declaring to what Classis or Colloquy the Church belongs; and putting it into the Number, among the rest of the Province. Things formerly accustom'd to be regulated *Viva voce*, and to be put in practise without any other Law, than the Conformity of Custom receiv'd in the Churches of the same Synod; which is the Reason that the Acts of these Establishments are very rarely mention'd in Writing. In the third place it is to be observ'd, that under the Name of one Church, they comprehended two, three or more places where Free Exercise was allowed according to the Edict; but for their Reciprocal Conveniency put themselves under the pastoral Charge of one Shepherd, who divided the Officiating his Duty among 'em according to the private agreement. These different Places which they call'd *Quarters*, or *Annexes*, were United, Separated, Clos'd, and di-

Forming a Church what it is.

Several Churches United in one.

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vided, as the Synods pleas'd, who as they ſaw convenient, of ſeveral Churches made one; or of one, ſeveral; which might probably ſometimes augment the Number of the Places of Exerciſe; thò there were nothing of Uſurpation in the Exceſs of the uſual or prefix'd Number. Nevertheleſs, theſe Truths which ought to be beyond all diſpute, by reaſon they are ſo evidently demonſtrable, have been look'd upon in our days, as Unjuſt and Chimerical pretenſions. 1598.

But to return to the Synod, there were ſome Reflexions made among 'em, what ſhould oblige the General Aſſembly to depart from the Pretentions of the Churches, to content themſelves with the Edict as they had obtain'd it. They were offended, as it was but juſt, that the Members of the Aſſembly had been long at variance among themſelves: But it was more eaſie to declaim againſt the Diſeaſe, then procure a Remedy: And when the Miſchief is incurable, the diſcovery of the Cauſe adds little to the Cure of the Diſtemper. There was alſo ſome Diſcourſe in the Synod of Erecting of Schools and Colledges of Divinity in ſeveral Places; ſeveral Regulations alſo were under Debate, for the preſervation of the Churches, and for bringing them under an exacter Diſcipline. Nor were they leſs employ'd about Projects for a Reunion with the Roman Church, with which the Kingdom was fill'd. For they had been very earneſt for the publiſhing ſeveral Pieces of that Nature, which were pleaſing enough to the Catholics, who were of Opinion, that an Accomodation could not chooſe but be always to their Advantage. But the *Reformed* were as much ſcandaliz'd at it, for the ſame Reaſon, and look'd upon all thoſe Writings as Prevarications which betray'd the Cauſe of Truth, and only tended to diſguiſe the Errors of the Roman Church, to render 'em leſs Odious. Foreign Proteſtants alſo were no leſs Offended at 'em than others, and made their Complaints to the Synod. Which Condemn'd ſome Books that went under that Character, and Order'd others to be Examin'd, that were no leſs ſuſpected. But this was all to no purpoſe; and the Itch of Re-union laſted till the Revocation of the Act; at which time alſo the Projects for an Accommodation flew about every where.

Cauſe of contenting themſelves with the Edict as it was obtain'd.

There

1598. There was likewise one particular Act that was discours'd of in that Assembly. The Province of *Languedoc* had Rais'd a Fund of 17760 Crowns, which was sent to *Geneva*, there to be put out to Use, and the Revenue to be employ'd for the Maintenance of Resolvers of Cases. *Lesdiguieres*, who minded nothing so much as to take of all sides, seiz'd upon this same Money, under pretence that it had been Rais'd contrary to Law, and without the Kings permission, and that it could not be sent out of the Kingdom; and that he might have some specious Right to detain it, he begg'd it of the King, Who in regard he came so easily by it, made no great difficulty to give it him, without ever troubling himself the to consider what Complaints the Reformed might make, leaving it to *Lesdiguieres* to defend himself against them, as well as he could. And indeed Commissioners were sent to him to recover the Money out of his Hands, who lay'd before him the Injustice of the Act, and put it hard upon his Conscience, as being of the Reformed Religion; but that was not his *sensible Part*; so that after many years and several Importunities they had much ado to get him restore some part. By this it may be judg'd, that 'twas not his Conscience that retain'd him in the Profession of the Reformed Religion; and the next year he did many things which would have clear'd the Suspicion, but that he was asham'd to do 'em publickly. For the Jesuit *Cotton*, so Famous afterwards in *France*, being then at *Grenoble*, *Lesdiguieres* enter'd into a strict Alliance with him; but for fear of rendring himself suspected to the Ministers, he built a Back Gallery, by which the Father might be brought to his Apartment, without being perceiv'd by any but those that were privy to the Secret: By which means the Jesuits and He were frequent in Conferences. *Lesdiguieres*'s Daughter, of the same Religion as her Father, had the same kindnesses for the Jesuit, and went much farther then her Father. For she Abjur'd the Doctrine of the Reformed, while *Cotton* held her Hands in his, and afterwards privately gave her the Communion; and every year sent her a Priest for the same purpose, till time and her Father should permit her to declare her self. During this Interval, the Jesuit was not so tender Conscienc'd, but that he gave her leave to make outward Profession, and Repair to all the publick Exercises, of the Reformed Religion:

Lesdiguieres's Religion.

Religion; and perhaps it might be found that ſhe Communicated on both ſides, if her Life were more narrowly Examin'd: Such is the Religion of the Jeſuits. For according to their Maxims, Hypocriſie and Prophaneſs are no Obſtacles but that people may be truly Pious and Devout at the ſame time. As to what remains, in this Synod it was, that the firſt diſtribution was made of Mony granted in Lieu of Tithes; and there was a Diviſion of a hundred and thirty thouſand Livres among the Churches. 1593.

Thus the *Reformed* were very diligent to make their Advantage of the Edict, before it was fully brought to perfection, in regard it was not as yet verify'd. For it was agreed at the importunity of the Legat, that they would ſtay till he was gone before they publiſh'd it. This delay put back the Buſineſs ſo far, that the *Reformed* were impatient; and thô the Marſhal *de Bouillon* took upon him to make all whole again at the Aſſembly of *Chatelleraud*; yet he could not be every where to give her Reaſons to the miſtruſtful, nor could his Reputation ſtop the Mouths of all Men. In the mean time there happen'd one thing which made a great Noiſe, and which was attended with tedious and unlucky Conſequences *Du Pleſſis* publiſh'd a Book in *July*, upon the Euchariſt. The Pope was therein very courſely handled, as being call'd by the Name of *Antichriſt*: And the Church of *Rome* had ſeen very few Books ſet forth by her Adverſaries, where there had been leſs kindneſs ſhew'd to her Errors. *Du Pleſſis* had put his Name and all his Titles in the firſt Page, and among the reſt, that of Counſellor of State. The Name of the Author, (who was the Man of his time that had the moſt Learning and Solidity, and wrote the beſt, thô his Style ſavour'd too much of the Latin Phraſe) and the Dignity of the Subject, caus'd the Work to be ſoon perus'd by the Curious. The Noiſe of it reach'd *Rome*, and the Pope complain'd more eſpecially, becauſe of the Title of Counſellor of State which the Author had taken upon him; for that it ſeem'd as if the Affront had Iſſu'd from the Boſom of the Counſel it ſelf, ſince it was given by one of the Members of it; and as if the King had had a ſhare in giving the Injury, ſince it came from one of his intimate Confidents. The King himſelf was Offend-

Treatiſe of the Euchariſt.

Conſequences of the publiſhing of it.

1598. ed at it, fearing leaſt the Pope, being exaſperated by the Affront, ſhould delay the Diſſolution of his Marriage, which was then ſeriouſly in Agitation. For that Reaſon he teſtify'd his Reſentment; and it was the beginning of *Dupleſſis*'s Diſgrace, which was attended with Conſequences of greater Importance. One would have thought that this diſſatisfaction of the King and the Pope, would have Authoriz'd whatever the Zeal of the Catholics ſhould undertake againſt the Book or the Author. Nevertheleſs the Jeſuits that were ſettled at *Bourdeaux* having a great deſire to have the Book Condemn'd to the Fire, *Daſes* the firſt Preſident Oppos'd, and only bid 'em refute it, if they thought it convenient. *Boulanger* one of the King's Almoners, having made a critical Cenſure upon the Preface, and Accus'd the paſſages to be falſiy'd, the Arch biſhop of *Bourges* took him up, and reply'd upon him very ſmartly. Nor did the Legat himſelf require any Vigorous proceedings againſt the Book; only deſir'd ſix Copies to carry along with him at his departure out of *France*, and engag'd that *Bellarmine* ſhould Anſwer him. But they bethought themſelves of another way to Mortifie *du Pleſſis*, the Catholics finding it more eaſie to diſgrace the Author, then deſtroy the Book. That which happen'd that year and the *Lent* following was this, that the Predicants let looſe their Fury againſt the Book, and Reveng'd the Pope and the Roman Religion, with all manner of Calumnies and Invectives upon *du Pleſſis*. 'Twas thought alſo that the Gentleman durſt not appear in publick without hazard of his Life during the firſt Violence of their Rage. He therefore kept his Houſe for ſome days, till the Tempeſt was over: And in regard 'twas believ'd that the people were ſufficiently Incens'd to have gone and Aſſaulted him in his own Houſe; *Madam* offer'd to receive him into hers for his better ſecurity.

It may be thought, That ſlight Moderation was Affected to ſhew, that the Liberty of the *Reformed* was great in purſuance of the Edict, ſince they had the Freedom to publiſh ſuch Affronts againſt the Roman Religion, and yet that the Catholics ſhould be permitted no other means of Revenging themſelves than by the Ordinary way of Refutation; or elſe of mitigating the diſcontents of thoſe who did not find the Edict conformable to their

their Hopes, and who were vex'd to see the Verification so long delay'd, and to prevent 'em from augmenting upon the severity which they might have us'd to the first Book of the Reformed Religion that appear'd after the Edict was Decreed. In a Word, there being no way wholly to quell the Bigots, they caus'd *du Plessis*'s Book to be Condemn'd to the Fire by some Inferiour Court of Justice, and the Sentence was put in Execution. The Assembly still sitting at *Chatelleraud* was very much offended at it; and considering the thing was done at the very time that the first steps were made toward the Execution of the Edict, they judg'd it to be of too great Consequence to pass it by without complaining. But thô they were fully determin'd to Testifie their Resentment, they were willing first of all to write to *du Plessis*, as being the principal person concern'd, to know his Opinion what was to be done upon this Occasion. This shews that they did well to prevent the Soveraign Courts from making Decrees of the same Nature against this Work: For as the Affront would have been more Heinous, most certain it is, that the *Reformed* would have made a Louder Noise. But *du Plessis*, who did not think his Book dishonour'd by these Transports of his Adversaries, was not the person that troubled himself most about it. However, he declar'd by his Answer, that the thing seem'd to him to be of Great Importance, in regard that the Doctrine of the *Reformed* being acquitted by the Edict from the Name of *Heresie*, the Books that taught the Reformed Doctrine were not to be Burnt, since only Heretical Books were to be Condemn'd to that Mark of Infamy: Therefore 'twas his Opinion that they should Appeal from the Sentence to the Chamber of the Edict, rather than to the Privy-Council, where the business would be assuredly Stifl'd. Nevertheless that it was a hard matter to apply a Remedy to a past Mischief, since they had Executed the Sentence, and what was already done amiss could not be amended. But this Book was attended with Consequences much more Remarkable, which will not permit us to stop at these less weighty Observations. 1598.

During these Passages which I have hitherto related, there were three things in Negotiation between the Court of *France*, and that of *Rome*; and which were of Importance sufficient to put *Three Im-*

1598. put the *Reformed* in Fear, that althô they had obtain'd an Edict, the King would not purchaſe the proſperous Concluſion of his Affairs at the Expence of his Favours toward them. The firſt Affair was the Diſſolution of the King's Marriage which he ardently deſir'd: And for the obtaining of which, 'twas thought he would humble him to any manner of Complyance with the Pope. This Affair was of great Conſequence to the State, as alſo to the Kingdom, in regard the Miſchiefs of a dubious Succeſſion might bring extremity of Confuſion upon the Kingdom after the King's Death. The *Reformed* alſo were very urgent for it, not a little fearful that a great part of the New troubles which might Attend the King's Death would fall upon themſelves. But the King's obſtinate Fondneſs for his Miſs, had a long time retarded that Negotiation For the Pope was unwilling to favour a Marriage ſo unſuitable; and Queen *Margaret* would by no means give place to a Woman that was ſo much beneath her; and whoſe Virtue, it was thought, had ſurrender'd it ſelf to other Suits, beſides that of the King. That Miſtreſs being Dead after ſuch a manner as might Raiſe a ſuſpicion, that *Roni* and ſome others well underſtood, that there was a kind of neceſſity ſhe ſhould dye; the King embroyl'd himſelf in New Intrigues, and made a promiſe of Marriage to the Daughter of the Marquiſs *d'Entragues*, to obtain what he deſir'd of her. He had alſo been ſo weak as to ſhew this promiſe to *Roni* to ask his Advice about the Form; and *Roni* was ſo bold as to tear it before his Face. But the King, who was not Maſter of his paſſion, drew up another with ſuch Clauſes, that he thought himſelf diſcharg'd of it by the ſucceſs of the firſt lying in of his new Miſtreſs. Now in regard it was high time to look after this Affair in good earneſt, the King bent all his thoughts upon it; and the Pope, who knew the Importance of the buſineſs, which could not be concluded without him; fail'd not to ſet it at the higheſt price he could put upon it: Not but that he had his Reaſons too, to deſire it ſhould be brought to paſs; whether it were that there was a propoſal for the King to Marry an *Italian* Princeſs; or whither it were that he was afraid, that if the Succeſſion came to be conteſted, ſome one of the Competitors might augment the Forces of the *Reformed* to

ſupport

ſupport himſelf, and perhaps Embrace their *Religion*, to faſten 'em to his Intereſts. Whereas, if the Succeſſion were aſcertain'd, he was ſure that the King's Succeſſor would be a *Catholic*, and that his Right and Claim being founded upon a Marriage Authoriz'd by the Maxims of the Court of *Rome*, he would maintain it with all his Power, and would rather ſtrive to Leſſen, than Exalt the *Reformed* in Strength and Power. But for all this the Pope was Reſolv'd to ſell his Favour to the King at a dear Rate, according to the Cuſtom of the Court of *Rome*, which always ſtrives to make others purchaſe thoſe things of which ſhe makes a benefit her ſelf. So that the *Reformed* had all the Reaſon in the World to fear that they ſhould be made to pay the Expences of this Affair. 1598.

The Eſtabliſhment of the Jeſuits.

The ſecond Negotiation which might give 'em an Alarum, was the Eſtabliſhment of the Jeſuits, which was proſecuted with extraordinary ſedulity. The Pope omitted no Opportunity of talking of it to the Jeſuits, and he thought he could not uſe better precautions againſt the Miſtruſts which he had of the King's Religion, then to ſet the Jeſuits over him, either as Spies or Adverſaries. On their parts they were not Idle in *France*; where they had the boldneſs to ſettle themſelves in ſome places depending upon the Parliament of *Paris*, maugre the Decree by which they were Baniſh'd; And this Act of theirs appear'd ſo inſolent, that even at *Rome* it ſelf it was Condemn'd. But they had good Protectors in the Kingdom. For the Cardinal of *Tournon* ſtoutly ſupported 'em; and the Parliaments of *Tholouze* and *Bourdeaux* upheld 'em within their Juriſdictions; and they who had been of the League had always a great kindneſs for 'em. The Clergy alſo encourag'd 'em to Petition for their Reſtauration; and thoſe Cunning Politicians well acquainted with the Air of the Court, would by no means looſe the Opportunity. The King himſelf ſided with 'em, becauſe he was willing they ſhould take his part: And for that well knowing 'em to be in a Capacity to undertake any Attempt againſt a Prince who had been their Enemy, he thought he ſhould have no Reaſon to fear 'em, if he gave them occaſions of Acknowledgment and Obligation. But all the Religious Orders mortally hated the King, even thoſe that ſeem'd to have renounced

Their boldneſs and Credit.

The Monks all hate the King.

1598. renounced the World; and not only the *Jacobins*, who had furniſh'd the League with a Ruffian to take away the Life of *Hen.* III. but the *Capuchins* alſo and the *Chartreaux* conſpir'd his Ruin. 'Twas too much at one time for him to Guard himſelf againſt the Jeſuits, beſides with whoſe Genius he was experimentally acquainted, and who never thought any thing ſufficiently Sacred to protect the perſon of an Enemy of what Quality ſoever from their moſt bloody Revenge. The pretence of theſe frequent Conſpiracies was, becauſe the Bigots always ſuſpected the ſincerity of the King's Converſion, and for that the Spaniards carefully ſet afoot whatever they could deviſe to confirm the Suſpicion. They laid to his Charge whatever happen'd in *Europe*, where they thought the *Catholic Religion* had not all the Advantages which they deſir'd. Wherefore the Duke of *Savoy* having endeavour'd to Reduce his Subjects (the *Vaudois*) to the Roman Communion, and for that purpoſe having ſent into their Country a Miſſion of *Capuchins* back'd with ſome thouſands of Soldiers, to accompliſh by force what the *Monks* could not obtain by perſwaſions, the Spaniards fail'd not to make their Advantage of it to the prejudice of the King. They compar'd the King's Indulgence with the Dukes bloody Zeal, who obſerv'd no *Medium* between the Converſion and Extermination of *Heretics*. He had Exerciſ'd the ſame Rigor in the Marquiſate of *Saluces*, which no way belong'd to him, in regard he had Uſurped it during the Civil Wars; and he had conſtrained all the *Reformed Inhabitants* to change their Religion, or quit their Country. And his deſign in doing ſo, was to engage the Pope to maintain him in his Uſurpation, which indeed was one of the Reaſons that the Pope would never do the King Juſtice in that particular point; fearing leaſt if the King were Maſter of the *Marquiſate*, the *Reformed* would abide there under the ſhelter of his Edicts. But to render the King's *Religion* more ſuſpected, the Spaniards accus'd him of having hinder'd the Succeſs of that mixt Miſſion by private Succeſſors, thô it were neither Honourable to the *Religion* it ſelf, nor to the Prince that ſent it. 'Tis true there were ſome miſerable Wretches that chang'd their Religion, and that the Spaniards made the beſt they could of the Conqueſt. But *d'Oſſat*, thô a Cardinal, much abated the Glory

Perſecution in Piedmont.

The Marquiſate of Saluces.

Glory of those Conquests, when he found that the Souldiers had done more than the *Capuchins*. Nevertheless this made an Impression in the minds of the Zealots, and foster'd the pretences for the Conspiracies of the *Monks*, who look'd upon the King but as a hollow *Catholic*. For which Reason, in regard the Jesuits were the most formidable of all, he was willing to secure himself from their Attempts, by doing them some signal favour that might fasten 'em to his person and his service. Such are *the Politics of Princes, to Caress those of whom they stand in awe, and to neglect, if not oppress those People whom they have no reason to fear.* They partake of Fear with those that are afraid of 'em, and redeem themselves by Favours from the Molestations of those whom they mistrust. This sort of Policy was very rife under this Reign, at what time the *Reformed* complain'd, that Favours and Rewards were far more Charily bestow'd on those that performed faithful Services, than on those who were become formidable to the Disposer. 1598.

Reasons why the King favour'd the Jesuits.

This Potent Reason made the King incline to recal the Jesuits; and this design gave great Alarums to the *Reformed*, who well knew what they had to hope for from that same always Perfidious, and always Mutinous Society; who if once they got to be settled in *Paris*, would wriggle themselves into the Court, and there put all things, according to their usual wont, into Confusion. The Parliament of *Paris*, who stood upon their Honour in this Affair, by reason of the redoubl'd Decrees which they had Iss'd forth against this pernicious Institution, oppos'd their Restauration with as much Vigor as the *Reformed*, who on the other side thwarted this Negotiation to the utmost of their Power: But it was chiefly the Authority of the Parliament that render'd this Negotiation so Tedious and Difficult. For Kings had then a great Respect for their Parliaments; and those August Assemblies could distinguish between Subjection and Servitude; so that then they were not acquainted with slavish Obsequiousness to the Sentiments of the Court.

The third Affair was the Marriage of *Madame* the Kings Sister with the Duke of *Ban*, the Duke of *Lorraines* Son, which was consummated toward the beginning of the following Year. The Pope started several Scruples and Difficulties, not so much

The Marriage of Madame.

out

1598. out of a Design to hinder the Match, in regard the Marriage of that Princess with a *Catholic* was one of the secret Conditions of the King's Absolution, as to draw some profit out of it to himself, either in procuring by that means the *Conversion* of the Princess that was to be Marry'd, or to make the King purchase his Consent by some New Complyance with the Court of *Rome*. But the *Reformed* had a perfect Reluctancy against it, which they made appear in the National Synod already mention'd. The Question was there propos'd concerning this Match, to remove the Scruples of the Princess; but she found not her satisfaction there; only it was judg'd that such a Marriage was not lawful. Nevertheless this was no Obstacle, but that it was concluded in the Month of *August*, after the Princess had undergone great Temptations. There had been several Conferences, at which she was present; Several Ministers and Catholic Doctors disputed the Point: And in one of these Conferences it was, that *du Moulin*, whose Name was afterwards so Famous, began to approve with great Reputation. The Ministers had the better in all these Disputes, because the Princess stood firm, in so much that soon after a stop was put to these unprofitable Conferences. The *Catholics*, according to their Custom, imputed the breaking off these Conferences to the Ministers, and to Eclipse the Glory of the Princess's Constancy, they Attributed her perseverance to her Obstinacy. They gave it out, that she continu'd stedfast in her Religion, out of her Veneration for Queen *Jane* her Mother, who had bred her up, and had given her in charge, to persevere in the *Reformed* Faith. But thô they endeavour'd to make her Constancy to be Look'd upon as a Point of Honour, nevertheless it appear'd to be an Effect of her knowledge and surpassing Parts. She was greatly enlightned for a person of her Sex, and she had more Care and more Leisure to inform her self then the King her Brother. Which was the Reason, that she was more steady then He, and she understood how to Answer very pertinently in Reply to the Argument which was urg'd against her from the King's Example, that the *Salic* Law had made between them two, the *Partition* of Constancy. But this perseverance brought her into some trouble. The King himself, either out of Reason of State, or induc'd

Her Constancy.

induc'd by other Motives, us'd her ſomewhat ſeverely. Fain he would have oblig'd her to have put away her Domeſtick Servants, under pretence that ſhe too much confided in 'em, and that they obſtructed her *Converſion*. He threaten'd never to do any thing for her Advancement, if ſhe perſever'd in her Obſtinacy. But notwithſtanding all this Rigour ſhe was ſtill unſhak'n in her Conſtancy, and ſhe had a greater regard to her Conſcience and her Miniſters, then to the Importunities and Pleaſure of the King her Brother. 1598. *The King's Severities toward her.*

The Pope ſo vehemently oppos'd this Match, that 'twas believ'd they ſhould never obtain the Diſpenſation from him, which the King and the Duke deſir'd. Nay more, he wrote to the Duke of *Lorraine* and the Prince his Son in a very Magiſterial and Paſſionate Stile, to divert 'em from the Alliance. But in regard thoſe Oppoſitions of the Court of *Rome* never frighten any but ſuch as are willing to be afraid of 'em, they were no Obſtruction, but that the Affair was concluded at the beginning of the next year. The Popes Pretences for this Refuſal, were nearneſs of Blood between both Parties, and the Princeſs's *Religion*. He deem'd it prejudicial to his Dignity to ſend a Diſpenſation to a Perſon that did not demand it; who neither thought it neceſſary, nor in his Power to give it. But the ſame Reaſons never ſtumbl'd the Succeſſors of this *Pontiff* in the two Caſes of the Marriage of *Charles*, Prince of *Wales*, with the *Infanta* of *Spain*, and afterwards with *Henrietta*. The real Motives therefore of the Court of *Rome* are her Intereſts. When ſhe finds her Advantages in any thing, ſhe never fails of good Reaſons to ſurmount the moſt plauſible difficulties. Thus one and the ſame Intereſt caus'd one Pope to refuſe the King's Siſter a Diſpenſation, becauſe a *Huguenot Princeſs* in a Catholic Country, as *Lorraine*, did not agree with the *See* of *Rome*: And the ſame Intereſt caus'd his Succeſſors to grant a Diſpenſation for the Marriage of a *Catholic* Princeſs with the Preſumptive Heir of the Crown of *England*, becauſe it was for the Benefit of the *Roman Religion*, to have a *Catholic* Queen in a Kingdom altogether *Reformed*. Moreover, in regard the Princeſs who was already ſomewhat in years, had often ſlipt *Scruples Rais'd by the Pope.* *His Reaſons.*

1598. the Opportunity of Wedlock, yet was unwilling to dye a Virgin, 'twas thought at *Rome* that she would rather change her Religion, then let this Proposal of Marriage Escape, after which she had but little hopes to meet with an Offer so fairly Advantagious. But the Court of *France* believing it would be more easie to make her Excuses to the Pope, when the thing was done, then to obtain his Consent for doing the thing, thought fit to proceed to the Marriage without staying for the Dispensation. After which New Difficulties were started about giving the Nuptial Benediction. As for the Princess, she would not have scrupl'd to receive it from the hands of a Roman Prelate; but as she was Nice in Point of Decency, she would by no means hear of being Marry'd after that manner, after she had bin given to understand, that such a Condescention would look like a kind of going to seek a Husband; should she have that Deference for him, which he was unwilling to have for her: That it became not the Dignity of so great a Princess, to shew her self more forward then the Prince desir'd; and that she was engag'd in Honour to be as stedfast in rejecting the Proposal of Marrying according to the Mass, as he was firm in Refusing to be Marry'd by a Minister. And the Duke on the other side Protested that he would rather never Marry, then receive the Benediction from a *Heretick*. But the King Reconcil'd the difference by sending for both Parties into his Cabinet where he caus'd 'em to be affianc'd in his presence by the Arch-bishop of *Rouen*. Who thô he were neither Learned nor Devout, forgot not however to suffer himself to be entreated, before he would perform the Ceremony: And the want of a Dispensation stuck so close to his Heart, that if *Roni* had not found the way to droll him into a Compliance, all the Authority of the King would never have been able to have brought him to Reason.

The King proceeds to the Marriage without staying for the Dispensation.

This Expedient put an End to the Difficulties of the Marriage: But the Pope was as inflexible after Consummation as before; and shew'd himself as obstinate in denying the Dispensation, as the Princess had appear'd Resolute in refusing to demand it. He also complain'd of the Kings Precipitancy, for being

being so hasty in an Affair of such Importance. He fill'd the Dukes Conscience with Scruples and Terrors, so that the Prince liv'd a long time with the Duchess his Wife, as if they had never been Marry'd. Which was the reason that the Duchess was sollicited more then ever to change her Religion; and that not only Instructions, Promises, and Flatteries were made use of to overcome her, but Artifices and Lies. There could be nothing more Impudent then that same Cozenage of *Commelet* the Jesuit, of which she her self gave *du Plessis* an Account, some Months after she was Marry'd. This Jesuit was so bold as to tell her, that *du Plessis* being accus'd for having inserted several false Quotations in his Book of the Eucharist, had promis'd to go to Mass, if they could but shew him one that was such as they said; that he had been convinc'd before the King; upon which the King loading him with Reproaches, he went out of the way, no body knowing what was become of him. Never was Lye told with more probable Circumstances, nevertheless there was not a Tittle in it but what was found to be meerly Forg'd. The Duchess knew it very well; and *Commelet* gain'd so little upon her, that in a Letter which she wrote to *du Plessis* upon this Subject, she assur'd him, That her Converse with the Jesuit had but the more confirm'd her in her Religion. Seeing therefore they could do no good upon the Princess, the King was very Importunate at *Rome* to incline the Pope to Sentiments more Moderate. *D'Ossat* found out Presidents of a Dispensation granted, in the like case, to Persons of Inferiour Quality. The Duke also went himself to *Rome*, under pretence of the Jubilee, to desire Absolution, but the *Pontiff* would by no means yield to any thing. Nevertheless, 'twas believ'd that the Prince had obtain'd a private Absolution, in regard the Pope gave him leave to gain the Jubilee, and to visit the Churches where Indulgences were given out; and for that, upon his return Home, he liv'd with the Duchess after a more Conjugal manner then he had done before. But the Report being every where spread abroad that she was with Child, the Pope grew much more mild; foreseeing, that if he did not confirm the Marriage, the King would be

1598.

The issue of the Negotiation till the Death of the Princess.

1598. oblig'd to ſeek without him, for ſome other way to ſecure the Title of Legitimate to the Infant that ſhould be Born. Nevertheleſs, this Attonement of the Popes Wrath ſignify'd little or nothing, for the Report of the Princeſs's being with Child prov'd altogether groundleſs, and the Princeſs dy'd at the very time that the Pope conſented to the Marriage. I have related this Affair in a continu'd Series, to the end I might have no more occaſion to return to it again, tho the buſineſs was ſpun out in a Negotiation of three or four Years.

The Advantages which the Reformed got by her Perſeverance.

The Reformed look'd upon the Perſeverance of the Princeſs in their Religion to be a great Victory, in regard it ſecur'd 'em ſeveral Advantages which could not be refus'd to her Perſon, and which made greatly for the Honour of the whole Party: Their Miniſters Preach'd at Court while ſhe was there; and that was often done in the ſame place where Maſs had been ſaid but ſome hours before. When the Princeſs went, or return'd from *France* into *Lorrain*, or from *Lorrain* into *France*, her Miniſter who attended her always Lodg'd in the ſame Abbies where ſhe lay, and in the ſame Epiſcopal Palaces upon the Roads, and there ſhe likewiſe caus'd him to Preach. The *Catholics* receiv'd this Mortification, and the *Reformed* this Satisfaction at leaſt once a Year; for that ſhe never fail'd every Year to Viſit the King her Brother. She had alſo Sermons Preach'd in her own Apartiment in *Lorrain*; and it was a kind of Triumph for the *Reformed* to ſee their Religion introduc'd, by this means, into the ſame Houſe from whence their moſt violent Perſecutors were gone but juſt before. *Du Moulin*, who was known to the Princeſs by reaſon of the Conferences held upon her account, wherein he had often deliver'd himſelf, was highly in her favour. The Miniſters of the Church of *Paris* were bound to Quarterly Attendance upon her; and generally it fell out ſo, that the time when ſhe took her Journies happen'd to be in *Du Moulin*'s waiting; ſo that in a little time he acquir'd a great Reputation, which drew upon him the Hatred and Perſecution of the *Catholics*.

But

But at *Paris* they were buſie about an Affair of Importance quite different from thoſe already related. The *Catholics* had taken all Advantages of the Delay of the Verification of the Edict. It was attack'd by all the Orders of the Kingdom, both before and after the Legate's departure. That Prelate however, not caring either to have any Reproach put upon him, or to have the Lye given him, never deſir'd that the greateſt Oppoſitions ſhould be made againſt it in his Preſence; and there was a great deal of noiſe upon this occaſion, after his departure. The Clergy, the Parliaments, the Univerſity, the *Sorbonne*, ſtarted all the Difficulties imaginable. The *Sorbonne* refus'd their Conſent, till the *Reformed* took their degrees among 'em. The Univerſity was for ſhutting the Gates of the Colledges againſt 'em; nor would they admit 'em either to be Maſters of Arts, or Profeſſors, or to the Regency. The Faculty of Phyſic was moſt difficult to be overcome, as if it had been the Grand Concern of the Phyſicians to Quarrel with *Hereſie*; and they always continu'd their Averſion ever ſince that time. 1598. *Difficulties about the Verification of the Edict.*

But the Clergy made the moſt weighty Oppoſition: They Aſſembl'd at *Paris* in *May*; nor did they fail to ſend their Deputations and Remonſtrances to the King according to their uſual Cuſtom. But their Deputies in all their Harangues were much leſs violent then their Predeceſſors had been; they talk'd no longer of Deſtruction and Extermination; Their Diſcourſes breath'd nothing but Peace, the ſweetneſs of which Flatter'd all the World; and you ſhould hardly hear 'em ſo much as mention the word *Hereſie*. All their Diſcourſe ran ſolely upon the Diſorders in Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and upon the Alienations of the Spiritual Demeſnes, the Augmentation of which the Clergy never fail'd to demand under the Name of Reſtitution. For which reaſon they were importunately urgent for the Releaſe of Penſions aſſign'd to the Laity upon Benefices, and to the Payment of which the Incumbents were oblig'd, either by Writ of Nomination, or by ſome Secret Reſervation in the Grand Deeds. The *Reformed* had a ſhare in theſe favours as well as others,

as

1598. as also in the Trusts; and it was at them the Clergy aim'd under a pretence that seem'd plausible enough. It seem'd but Just to deprive the Heretics, who were Enemies of the Church of *Rome*, of all the Privileges of enjoying Revenues, to the prejudice of her Altars. But that which was most remarkable in this Prosecution was this, that to the end they might procure a Discharge of Lay-Pensions, the Clergy were not asham'd to say, That the Ecclesiastics had *little enough to live upon*; tho it were notoriously known, that they possess'd the third part of the Revenues of the Kingdom, not comprehending what many enjoy'd moreover in other parts for other Reasons, as by Right of Inheritance or Purchase. The King consented to one part of the Favours which the Deputies demanded, and for the remainder gave them good Words, tending to let them understand that they must have Patience; and which covertly contain'd certain Promises, with which the *Reformed* would have had no reason to be satisfy'd, had they not look'd upon 'em as Words of no consequence, and by which the Court ne'r thought themselves oblig'd to any thing. These Words were so remarkable among others, that they have been repeated by several Historians: *I will act in such a manner*, said the King, *by Gods Assistance, that the Church shall be in as good a Condition as it was a hundred years ago, as well for the Discharge of my Conscience as for your Satisfaction; but* Paris *was not built in a day* Some understood it as if these Words were to be Interpreted, that in time he would destroy the pretended *Heresie*, which had put the Clergy to so much trouble for above Fourscore Years together; but the *Reformed* were perswaded that they were only words of course.

Their Proposals upon the Edict.

Nevertheless, this put the Clergy in hopes of making some Attempts, perhaps not altogether unsuccessful, to alter something in the Edict; for their Intention was not to obstruct the granting an Edict to the *Reformed*, in regard themselves had too much need of Peace to wish the breaking out of a New War; but their business was to reduce the Concessions to such a trivial Invalidity, that had they obtain'd what they aim'd at, the *Reformed* would never have accepted

accepted 'em. To that purpoſe their Agents demanded three things at the firſt daſh; that is to ſay, That the Miniſters ſhould have no other Advantage on this ſide the *Loire*, but only to be free from the Moleſtation of Proſecutions; and that the *Reformed*, in that part of the Kingdom, ſhould content themſelves with having the Free Exerciſe of their Religion, in ſuch places of which they had made themſelves Maſters by force of Arms: That is to ſay, That they ſhould be ſhut out from all the New Poſſeſſions in thoſe Provinces, and the *Bailliage* Towns: That the Exerciſe of the *Roman* Religion ſhould be reſtor'd in thoſe places where the *Reformed* were moſt prevalent, even in their ſtrong Holds. Thirdly, That the *Catholics* ſhould be diſcharg'd from paying towards the Maintenance of the Miniſters, in thoſe places that were held by the *Reformed*. They vehemently Labour'd alſo, that the Eccleſiaſtics, who had any differences with the *Reformed*, might be exempted from the Juriſdiction of the Chamber, that was to be ſettl'd at *Paris*, as fearing to Plead againſt 'em upon equal Terms. They no leſs vigorouſly oppos'd the Liberty granted to the *Reformed* to hold *Synods* when they pleas'd, without obliging 'em to any Acknowledgments of Dependency, and without hindring 'em to admit Foreigners, or to ſend Deputies out of the Kingdom to Aſſemblies of the ſame Nature; and *Bertier*, one of the Clergies Agents, was very hot upon this Point. He maintain'd, in oppoſition to the Marſhal *de Bouillon*, that ſuch a Liberty, without reſtriction, gave 'em an opportunity to hold Intelligence and Correſpondencies abroad and at home, to make Leagues, and enter into Conſpiracies, and to betake themſelves to their Arms, when they pleas'd themſelves, without any poſſibility of preventing 'em. He gave out, that *Schomberg* and *de Thou*, who had concluded the Edicts, were but a ſort of Mungrel *Catholics*; meaning ſuch as were not intoxicated with his Bigotries. Of *Jeannin* he ſaid, That he was no leſs moderately enclin'd then the other two; and treated 'em as perſons to whom the Maſs was as indifferent as Preaching. He was Spurr'd on to theſe Tranſports by ſome Prelates, among whom there were ſome ſo hot, that they 1598.

The Tranſports of ſome Prelates.

1598. they caus'd Prayers to be said in their Dioceſſes, to implore of God that the Edict might not paſs. The Moderation of the *Nuncio*, who ſtaid after the Legate was gone, more plainly diſcover'd the Fury of this Irregular Zeal, for he deſir'd no mote but that care might be taken of the Intereſts of the *Catholic* Church, and that they would laboriouſly endeavour to reduce thoſe whom he call'd *Devoyez*, or ſuch as were ſtray'd from the right way; and upon theſe General Conditions he put 'em in hopes, that the Pope would bear with all things elſe. *Bertiers Warmth* was ſeverely rebuk'd by the King; however he would not deſiſt for all that, and at laſt obtain'd Aſſurances that the Edict ſhould be amended in ſeveral things, according to his Demand.

The Nuncio's Moderation.

The Oppoſition of the Parliament.

The Parliament join'd with the Clergy in ſeveral Points. They could not reſolve to conſent to the ſetting up the *Chamber* which the King was about to Erect. They oppos'd with all their might, too much freedom of Aſſemblies, as being derogatory to the Royal Authority, already too much enfeebled by Eccleſiaſtic Juriſdiction; that the Clergy had reaſon to complain, that greater Prerogatives were granted to the New *Predicants* then to them: However, that the *Reformed* were oblig'd to beg leave expreſsly to aſſemble together, and to admit Foreigners into their Aſſemblies; and that they had not forborn to employ farther and more extraordinary Precautions againſt the Proſecutions of the Clergy, by the Nomination to Benefices which the King had reſerv'd to himſelf, and by Appeals of Temporal Perſons from the Eccleſiaſtical Judges, which they were ſuffer'd to put in, not in reſpect of the whole Cauſe, but for ſome ſmall or By-Point thereof. The Parlament alſo reviv'd the Queſtion, among others, Whither the *Reformed* were capable of Offices and Employments; and ſeveral Writings were Publiſh'd on both ſides upon this Subject. There was a Neceſſity of proceeding to repeated *Juſſions*, or Commands, to bring the Parlament to Obedience; but in Oppoſition to all thoſe Commands, the Parlament order'd Remonſtrances. The Duke of *Mayenne* was alſo ſecretly ſolicited to oppoſe the Verification of the Edict, as if they would have rather choſen to ſee the Civil Wars re-kindl'd, then conſent

The Juſtice of the D. of Mayenne.

ſent that the *Reformed* ſhould be in any Tolerable Condition. But that prudent Prince refus'd to meddle, and declar'd, That he would conſent to the Edict; not that he was deſirous of the Repoſe and Quiet of the *Reformed*, but as a neceſſary Expedient to prevent the breaking out of a New War; and they who had been the moſt Zealous for the League, follow'd the Example of this Prince. *Jeannin*, in the Council, was all for Lenity and Moderation; and the Counſellors of Parlament, formerly Leaguers, were the moſt moderate upon the preſent occaſion. 1598.

The Members of the General Aſſembly who ſtaid at *Chaſtellerand*, in Expectation of the Verification of the Edict, labour'd on their part to prevent the Miſchiefs which thoſe Oppoſitions might produce, and ſent Deputies after Deputies to Court: but theſe Sedulities afforded no Remedy; there was no mollifying neither the Clergy nor the Parlament. The King was not a little perplex'd at theſe Obſtructions, nor did he know how to get clear of theſe Difficulties without giving ſomebody an occaſion to complain; not but that he ſtill ſtood firm, and ſometimes expreſs'd himſelf with more then ordinary vigour. But in regard he was deſirous to bring things to paſs with mildneſs, and, as I may ſo ſay, to reconcile both Parties by their own conſent, he made uſe of all his Prudence, and all his Addreſs, to bring 'em to Reaſon. He proteſted to the Clergy, That the Edict ſhould turn to their Advantage, provided they would let it paſs, and that they did not revive the Ancient Diſtruſts by ſtarting new Difficulties. He aſſur'd the Commiſſioners that brought him the Parlaments Remonſtrances, That he did nothing but what the Pope Approv'd, as being done upon good Grounds; that the Legate had correſponded with him as to what concern'd Peace at home; and that he had never inſiſted upon the Diſcourſes that were made him to render the Edict ſuſpected. But ſometimes he ſpoke in a louder tone, when the Parlament diſguſted Things with an Air not agreeable to the Kings Honour, and when they were deſirous to make private Reſervations, not to admit the *Reformed* to Offices of Bayliffs, Criminal Aſſeſſors, Kings

1598. Proctors and Advocates, or the like, in Inferiour Courts of Justice, tho the Article which declar'd 'em Capable were verify'd without any Restriction, the King would never endure such Dishoneſt foul Play. Upon this Subject of Reſervations, by which they would have made the Edict a meer Mockery, it was, that the King utter'd theſe Noble Expreſſions, cited by ſo many Hiſtorians, ſo highly becoming the Majeſty of a Great Prince, and ſo worthy to be preſerv'd to Poſterity, to teach Soveraigns the Value which they ought to have for Truth of Word. *I do not think it fair*, ſaid he, *to Intend one thing and Write another; and if there be any who have done it, I will never do the ſame: Deceit is Odious among all Men: more eſpecially to Princes, whoſe Word ought always to be Unalterable.*

1599. All this however did not conclude the Affair: for after the New Year was begun, the Edict was ſtill Forty days in Debate before it was verify'd. But the *Reformed* in *Paris*, and at the Court, put the King out of his Trouble by their Eaſineſs, for at laſt they ſuffer'd themſelves to be vanquiſh'd, after they had a long time diſputed their Ground; and tho they had very much abated of their General Pretenſions, by accepting the Edict, ſuch as it had been given at *Nantes*, they condeſcended to forgo ſeveral other Articles which were highly conteſted in Oppoſition to their Demands. Marſhal *de Bouillon* gave his Conſent, and *du Pleſſis* himſelf enjoyn'd *Berand*, one of the Deputies which the Aſſembly at *Chaſtellaraud* ſent to the Court, to perſwade an Accommodation upon the Difficulties in Diſpute, for which he propounded Expedients himſelf; ſo that at length they obtain'd that there ſhould be no Limitation of the Liberties, in reference to Free Exerciſe, nor of the Article concerning Offices and Employments. But upon the Demands of the Univerſity, the King agreed that the *Reformed* ſhould have no Employment there, by which they ſhould be Authoriz'd to broach New Opinions; only that they ſhould be admitted into Regencies and Profeſſorſhips in all other Faculties but that of Theology. He refus'd the Clergy only the firſt of the three Articles which I have mention'd, and promis'd 'em ſatisfaction upon the other two.

The Reformed forbear inſiſting upon ſeveral Articles

He

He limited the Liberty of Synods, and leaving the *Reformed* Maſters of the Time and Place, he obliged 'em only to Addreſs themſelves to him for Leave to Aſſemble; and not to admit Strangers but upon the ſame Condition. But in *Auguſt* following, he granted 'em a *Brevet*, which exempted 'em from the Obſervation of that Article, and which imported in expreſs Terms, that he gave 'em permiſſion, *notwithſtanding the ſaid Article, as to the Aſſembling and holding the ſaid Conſiſtories, Colloquies and Synods, to uſe the ſame Forms and Privileges which they had practis'd formerly, without reſtraining 'em to any ſtricter Obligation.* And thus by particular Conceſſions, he reſtor'd 'em what he had been as it were forc'd to take from 'em by Public Acts, to keep the *Catholics* Quiet. He alter'd the Form of the *Chamber of the Edict*, which was to ſit at *Paris*; and inſtead of compoſing it of ſix *Reformed* Counſellors and ten *Catholics*, as it was decreed at *Nantes*, he fill'd it up with all *Catholics*, except one *Reformed*; and the other five that were to be of the ſame Religion, were to be diſtributed into the Courts of Enqueſts And to remove all fears from the *Reformed*, that they ſhould not have Juſtice rightly done 'em, they themſelves were permitted to chooſe the *Catholic* Judges that were to compoſe that Chamber. The Name alſo of the *Chamber of the Edict* was confirm'd to it, to the end that the Name might put the Members of which it conſiſted in perpetual Remembrance, that they were the Guardians and Executors of the Edict, which was particularly to be a Law to 'em in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. The thing was done according to the Decree, and the Commiſſioners which the King appointed, form'd the Chamber according to the Liſt of moderate and peaceable *Catholics*, which the *Reformed* preſented. Nevertheleſs the *Reformed* loſt one Employment of ſubſtitute to the Proctor General of the Parliament of *Paris*, which had been promis'd 'em; but which was deem'd no longer uſeful to 'em, after the Alteration made in the Eſtabliſhment of the Chamber. 1598.

The Clergy upon this Occaſion gave one Mark of their Head-ſtrong Obſtinacy, even in things wherein they were little concern'd. They had demanded at the beginning, that

1599. the *Eccleſiaſticks* ſhould be exempted from the Juriſdiction of the Chamber, and had obtain'd it; but when there was a Reſolution taken to alter the Form of it, and not to admit above one *Reformed*, they would never Renounce the Exemption that had been granted 'em. Wherein they made it evidently appear, that they were afraid, when ever they happen'd to have any differences with the *Reformed*, that they ſhould not have Judges at their Devotion. For all the difference between their New Chamber and the Chambers of the Enqueſts conſiſted only in this, that into the one there were no Judges to be admitted, but ſuch as were conſpicuous for their Mildneſs and Moderation; whereas the ſame Choice was not obſerv'd in any of the other. The *Reformed* therefore having no more then one Voice, either in the one or the other, there was nothing could make the Clergy prefer one Chamber before another, but that they were aſſur'd of finding more Favour before Bigotted and Violent Judges, then in a Court where only the moſt Moderate and Prudent Judges were admitted.

Chambers of the Edict at Rouen.

The ſame Courſe was taken at *Rouen* to Regulate Religion and Juſtice, after they had once agreed upon the Erecting a New Chamber there, according to the Model of that at *Paris*. The Place for the Exerciſe of Religion was appointed within three quarters of a League from the City; and the Judges were Elected according to the Roll preſented by the *Reformed* to the Commiſſaries. In this Parlament were Created three Employments of Counſellors, who were diſtributed into the Chambers, as at *Paris*. This manner of forming the *Chambers of the Edict* laſted ſeveral years: And ſince the Eſtabliſhment of General Deputies, they who were preferr'd to that Employment, conferr'd every year, with the Chancellor, the firſt Preſident, and the King's Learned Council, for the Election of the moſt Moderate *Catholic* Judges. Which Cuſtom while it was duly obſerv'd, the *Chambers of the Edict* Adminiſter'd Juſtice very Regularly, and becauſe their Juriſdiction was more Noble and more Profitable then that of other *Chambers*, all the *Catholics* Affected to be moderate and equitable Judges, for fear of being Excluded from ſerving

ving in those *Chambers*. But the Affairs of the *Reformed* falling to decay under *Lewis* XIII. these Chambers were no longer form'd as they were wont, but Elections were carry'd by under hand Packing and Caballing, wherein the honestest Men had not always the best Success; and at length they were admitted without distinction, and without so much as the Ceremony of Choice: So that the *Reformed* met with no more Justice there then in other Places. 1599.

The Chamber call'd *Mipartie*, half one, half t'other, in *Guien*, was form'd after the Model of that at *Castres*. In the Year 1600 a Provincial Assembly was held at *Sainte Foy*, where Nine persons were Nominated to fill the Employments that were to be Created for the *Reformed*: and all that were preferr'd to those Offices were forc'd to Swear, that when they were willing to lay 'em down, the should resign 'em Gratis to those whom the Churches should appoint; and without exacting any Composition for their own profit. This was renew'd some years after, at a general Assembly held in the same place; but with permission to compound for the Expences the Person should be at to obtain his Patents, So that 'twas easie under that pretence to elude the Institution of the Assembly. But at length after the Establishment of the * *Paulette*, those Employments were put to Sale and became Hereditary, like the rest. Moreover all th t took upon 'em these Employments, were oblig'd to Swear to the Union of *Mantes* and to subscribe their Oath: And it was Ordain'd that the Oath should be taken by those who had the Nomination of Churches, in the Consistory of the particular Church of which they were Members.

Chamber Mipartie in Guien.

* *A kind of a New-Years Gift given for the continuance in an Office.*

Thus at length the Edict was verify'd with all these Alterations, and several others of less Importance, which I shall sett down when I come to speak of the Complaints which the *Reformed* made. It was Register'd the 5*th* of *February*, a day which fell out to be the same which the *Catholics* call *Ash wednesday*. It pass'd also in the other Parlaments much about the same time. Nevertheless there were some places where it was not Register'd but under certain Restrictions, which all the King's Authority could not get off; nor was there

Verification of the Edict.

1599. there any Remedy for it during his Life. The particular Articles Addreſs'd to the Parlament of *Paris* were verify'd in a ſhort time after, but not in the other Parlaments. And this inequality was the Occaſion afterwards of a great many Acts of Injuſtice, in regard advantage was taken of their not being receiv'd in certain Courts, as if that had been a Proof that they were not receiv'd any where elſe.

Hitherto the Affairs of the Edict had made no Noiſe at *Rome*. True it is, that the Pope had complain'd to Cardinal *de Joyeuſe*, and the Duke of *Luxemburg* toward the end of the preceding year, that the King was about to Grant the *Heretics* a New Edict; but it was but very coldly; for he only told the Cardinal that it would have been more to the King's Advantage, both at home and abroad, if he had proceeded in another manner. But this year he Renewed the ſame Complaint to the Cardinal upon the ſame occaſion, before the News of the Verification of the Edict arriv'd at *Rome*: To which he added other Complaints that the King had proceeded to the Mariage of *Madame*, without ſtaying for his Diſpenſation. It cannot be ſaid, That it was his ignorance of what was contain'd in the Edict that caus'd the Pope to talk ſo Calmly, in regard that the Legate and the *Nuncio*, not to ſpeak of a hunder'd other Spies that he had at Court, had not fail'd exactly to inform him of it; which they might eaſily do becauſe they had been very far concern'd in the Negotiation. But it was not yet ſeaſonable to make a Noiſe, as I have obſerv'd in another place. 'Twas requiſite to ſtay till the Buſineſs was brought to ſuch a Head, that whatever Noiſe was made about it, it would ſignifie nothing. But then the Pope chang'd his Note, and it is not to be imagin'd what a Clutter he made about a thing which he had diſſembl'd for three years together. True it is, that this Fire was ſoon quench'd, and that after the firſt time, he ſpoke no more of it, or at leaſt he return'd to his firſt indifferency. The Reaſon of all that heavy ſputter which he made, was only becauſe it behov'd him to ſtop the Mouths of the *Spaniards*, who ſtunn'd him with continual Reproaches, and to be Reveng'd for the Abſolution he had given the King in deſpite of

The Pope makes great Complaints to ſtop the Spaniards Mouths.

of all their Oppoſition, turn'd into Crimes all the Kings Actions that were not to their liking. And in regard that all their principal Accuſations mov'd upon the Hinges of His Religion, which their main Aim was to render ſuſpected; they forgot not to cry out loudly againſt the Edict which had been verify'd, as a Teſtimony of his Inclination to favour the *Reformed*, even to the prejudice and maugre the Oppoſition of the *Catholics*. The Pope therefore, leaſt he ſhould be look'd upon as a Favourer of *Heretics*, could do no leſs then exclaim as they did, and Teſtifie his Reſentment againſt a Thing which he well knew a long time before, could not be hinder'd. To this purpoſe, upon the 27 of *March* he ſent for the Cardinals *de Joyeuſe* and *d'Oſſat*, whom he had promoted but ſome few days before, to come to him, and in his Diſcourſe he omitted nothing that might give 'em to underſtand how highly he was Offended. 1599.

He prevented before hand what they might have urg'd upon him, that he had Opportunity to make known his Senments of that Affair, before the Buſineſs was Decreed: And he told em moreover, that he had thought that the Edict had been only promoted to Content the *Huguenots* in ſhew; and that the King would have been pleas'd at the Oppoſition of the Clergy and the Parliament; but that the Event had diſcover'd to him the contrary. That the Edict, the moſt Curſed that ever was ſet a foot, permitted Liberty *of Conſcience to every one*, which in his Opinion was the worſt thing in the World: Freedom of Exerciſe every where: Admittance of *Heretics* into Parlament Employments, and to all other Honours and Dignities, to Ruin the *Catholic Religion*, and Advance *Hereſie*. That the King had made this Edict *during the full enjoyment of Peace both at home and abroad*; *ſo that he could not plead, that he was forc'd to it*. Upon which he compar'd his Conduct with that of other Kings, who had never Granted ſuch Edicts, but when there were Armies in the Field to conſtrain 'em; yet becauſe they had been always *Catholics*, they were exempted from any ſuſpicion of Leaning toward the *Heretics*. That the King had ſhew'd great Zeal, and been very vehement for the paſſing

1599. of the Edict: That he had us'd Compulſion to the Clergy and Parlament who oppos'd it; that he had declar'd his Indignation againſt the Arch-Biſhop of *Tours*, who had Order'd Prayers to be ſaid in his Dioceſs, that God would turn the King's Heart, that ſo the Edict might not paſs. That the King Acted much more remiſsly in Favour of the *Catholics*, and had ſhew'd that he ſtood more in awe of others, and that he had a greater Value for 'em. That he exerted his Authority when he ſpoke to the Parlament to paſs the Edict, but never ſpoke a Word to oblige 'em to publiſh the Council of *Trent*. After that he came to ſmart Language, and Taxt the King with breach of Word and Oaths, which he had Sworn to obtain the Abſolution which he gave him. He threaten'd to ſecond his Words with Deeds, if Occaſion requir'd, and declar'd that he took the Edict which was made in Defiance of him, for an Affront, no leſs injurious, then if he had giv'n him a *Slaſh o're the Face*. But at length, for fear the Cardinals ſhould not apprehend the Reaſon why he ranted ſo loud, he cleverly gave 'em a hint where his Intereſt was touch'd, by telling 'em it had done himſelf an Injury, and unhing'd all his Contrivances in thoſe Affairs which he had with the *Spaniards*, about their Uſurpations upon the Juriſdiction of the *Holy See* both in *Naples* and *Milan*: And that when he ſent to complain of thoſe Sacrilegious Attempts, they laid it in his Diſh, that he quarrell'd with them for Trifles; but ſuffer'd Edicts, that tended to the Ruin of the *Catholick Religion* to come forth, without ſaying a word: And therefore it it was, that he was oblig'd to Teſtifie his Reſentment. After that, he concluded his Diſcourſe more calmly then he began it, telling the two Cardinals that he was unwilling to do any thing without firſt acquainting them with it, and that he deſir'd their Advice. They who never ſo little underſtand the Court of *Rome*, well know the meaning of all this; that the ſluſter bluſter of theſe Complaints was only to ſtop the *Spaniard's* Mouths, when they Tax'd the Pope with the kind Correſpondence between Him and the King, and that all the Tranſport of this Diſcourſe was rather an Effect of Prudence then Cho'er.

But

But becauſe it was no leſs neceſſary that it ſhould appear that the *French* had laid theſe Complaints ſeriouſly to Heart, and that it was to the purpoſe that it ſhould believ'd the Pope had made theſe Complaints in good Earneſt; the Cardinals wrote to the King after ſuch a manner as might be ſerviceable to this End; and wherein they ſpoke of the Popes Diſguſts in ſuch Terms, as might ſatisfie the *Spaniards*. Nevertheleſs they gave him an Account of the Reaſons they had given the Pope, to appeaſe him. And they were ſo well grounded, and ſo deciſive, that there was no other likelihood, but that the Pope who was a ſhrewd Man, was apprehenſive of their Solidity. But this was written with ſo much Circumſpection, that if the *Spaniards* had grumbl'd againſt the Popes Conduct, there would have needed no more then to have Read that Letter to 'em, to have made his Apology. And thus, at the ſame time, the ſame Reaſons juſtify'd both the Pope and the King; ſince the one could not with Juſtice carry his Complaints too far, and the other had done no more then what the public Welfare oblig'd him to do. The Cardinals therefore in their Anſwers to the King, told him, that they began their Replies to the Pope, by aſſuring him, that they labour'd under the ſame Sorrows as himſelf: That they had preſuppos'd, that ſuch Edicts being evil in themſelves, the King had never Granted the Edict in Diſpute, but with a great deal of Reluctancy, as being too much concern'd to extinguiſh that Faction, which they look'd upon as too prejudicial to his Authority to fomenr it: That afterwards they laid before him, that the Edict was no New thing, but only a renewing of that in the year 1577. the moſt eaſie to be tolerated of of all thoſe that had been Granted for ſeven and thirty years together in Favour of the *Reformed*: That the Treaties made with the Cheiftaines and Cities of the League had made ſeveral Preaches in that Edict: And that they of the contrary Religion being ready to take Arms and Recommence the War, there was a neceſſity of renewing the Edict, and ſupplying it with ſome new Articles inſtead of thoſe, of which they had been deſpoyl'd by thoſe Agreements: That the Pope believ'd there were ſome things in the Edict that

1599.

Anſwers of the Cardinals de Joyeuſe, *and* d'Oſſat.

1599. were not there; as for Example, among the Reſt, permiſſion to Preach all over the Kingdom, which never was, never had been, nor never would be, in regard that all the preceding Edicts forbid it, and for that the particular Treaty of the City of *Paris* was contrary to it: That what was contain'd in the Edict was look'd upon by the Pope to be greater, and of greater Conſequence, then really it was: As for Example, the declaring the *Heretics* capable of Honours and Dignities; which was alſo in the former Edicts, and yet the *Heretics* were never advanc'd to the higheſt Employments in the Kingdom; in regard it was one thing to be declar'd capable of a Dignity, another thing to be in poſſeſſion; Employments never being conferr'd in *France* but according to the King's Pleaſure. From thence they paſt to explain the meaning of the *Chamber of the Edict*, and the *Miparties*, and to ſhew the little prejudice which the Counſellors of the *Reformed* Religion could do the *Catholic*, becauſe their Number was ſo inconſiderable. They added that Peace was more neceſſary, and would be more Beneficial to the Clergy then to any other Orders in the Kingdom; that the *Catholic* Religion alſo would gain great Advantages by it: That it would be admitted into all the Cities where the *Reformed* were moſt powerful, and from whence it had been a long time exterminated: That the *Eccleſiaſtics* would be Reſtor'd to the enjoyment of their Eſtates: That the King alſo by means of this Edict, having heal'd up the Jealouſies of the *Reformed*, would deprive the Lords of that Party of ability to ſuſtain their Faction, which only ſerv'd for maintenance of *Hereſie*, which looſing once the main ſupport of it, would be more eaſily deſtroy'd by the Care which the King would take in conferring of Biſhoprics, and his painful endeavours to convert the principal Lords: That he was not to impute the Edict to the King's Intention, of which the *Pontiff* had Reaſon to be well aſſur'd, but to neceſſity and the Conjuncture of Time; which they ſupported by Examples of other Princes, who had done the ſame in Caſes of the like Nature. And becauſe they knew it would find a Gracious acceptance at *Rome*, they Repreſented the King as one who was perſwaded, that his Authority would never

never be well ſecur'd, ſo long as that Faction continu'd in the Kingdom; from whence they concluded that he would bring it down as low as he could: But that was a Task that requir'd time, and was to be done *by fetching a compaſs, and winding about*, for that was the expreſſion they us'd, like a Pilot who fails not to reach the Port he aims at, thô he cannot always ſteer directly forward. After this, to ſhew that the Edict was not made in a time of ſettl'd Peace, they look'd backward as far as the ſurprize of *Amiens*, and made it out, that it was then, that the King was conſtrain'd to grant the Edict, to hinder the *Reformed* from taking Arms: That althô they had not as then betak'n themſelves to Force, yet he lay under a ſufficient Reſtraint, in regard he might be juſtly afraid they would not forbear what they were uſually wont to do, when they ſuſpected a Revocation of the Treaties made with 'em; and for that he knew that a War would be no leſs pernicious to the *Catholics* then to others, as it had been found by experience: The *Huguenots* being both Reſolute and Politic; being Maſters of ſo many ſtrong Holds; able to Command Foreign Aid, and ſure to be aſſiſted by Numerous Additions of *Catholic* Male-contents, Looſe-Livers, and ſuch as ſought an *Aſylum* for their Crimes, who would be the firſt to Pillage the Prieſts, Churches and Monaſteries: That the Oppoſitions of the Clergy, and the delays of the Parlaments were accuſtom'd Artifices, to ſhew that the Clergy did not conſent to War; and that the Parlament were no leſs unwilling to hearken to that boyſtrous Remedy; thô both the one and the other knew it would come to that, at length: That the King had neither conſtrain'd nor threaten'd 'em, but quite the contrary had graciouſly receciv'd the Clergy's Petition, and the Remonſtrances of the Parlament, and in purſuance of both, had limited and qualify'd many Things; and therefore that they had branded with falſehood a Writing that had appear'd at *Rome*, under the Title of *The King's Anſwer to his Parlament*. Afterwards, they Diſcours'd of the difference between the Edict of *Nantes*, and the Council of *Trent*, which they pretended to be ſuch, that there was no Compariſon between the one and the other; upon which they made an Explanation at large. 1599.

1599. The Rest contain'd only Justifications of the Pope against those who undertook to blame his Conduct. To which they added, by way of giving him that Council which he had demanded of 'em, that it no way behov'd him to show his Resentment against the King, nor to threaten him in the least.

Accommodated to the Popes liking.

The Pope, who was not so much offended as he would needs seem to be, as may be easily gather'd from the Observations I have made, was half appeas'd by these Answers; so that his Resentment made only a Noise at *Rome*, where Policy requir'd that he should give some Marks of his Displeasure, to see *Heresie* protected in *France*, from Persecution and the Inquisitors. Only he Resum'd his Discourse from time to time concerning the Council, of which he was greatly desirous that the King would have made Publication, in despite of the Parlament, as he had done of the Edict. Cardinal *Aldobrandini*, whom the two others went to visit, after they had left the Pope, was much better satisfy'd; only he again propos'd the Publication of the Council, as the greatest Consolation which the Pope could Receive: To which he added the Re-establishment of the *Catholic* Religion in *Bearn*. *d'Ossat* wrote himself to *Villeroy*, some days after, that all the Popes Wrath would be appeas'd, if there were but once a Publication of the Council; and that it would satisfie all the *Catholics* in the Court of *Rome*, who were unseasonably Scandaliz'd at the Edict. Which shews, that they would have bin content that the King should have Granted greater Favours to the *Heretics*, would he also have allow'd the Pope some considerable Advantage by way of Compensation. Moreover the Cardinals complain'd, that the King had never sent 'em any Order what to say at *Rome* concerning the Edict; so that they were forc'd to return such Answers to the Pope, as came into their Thoughts. By which 'tis easie to be seen, that the King's Intentions and Reasons for granting the Edict, were not to be lookt for in their Replies, in regard the King had never imparted 'em to their Knowledge, but that they had fram'd Answers of their own Heads, such as would be grateful to the Court of *Rome*, and serve the Pope for an excuse to wipe off the Reproaches of the *Spaniards*. The same Affair

Affair is often variouſly repreſented by the Miniſters of Princes, and Attributed to divers Motives, on purpoſe to render it agreeable to the Reliſh and Intereſts of the ſeveral Courts to which they are to give an Accompt of it. So that neither the Diſcourſes of the ſaid Miniſters, nor many times their Inſtructions are any great Helps to diſcover the Intentions of their Maſters. The King, who did not find things ſo well prepar'd within his Kingdom for the Publication of the Council, was nevertheleſs willing to gratifie the Pope upon the Second Article of Conſolation which Cardinal *Aldobrandini* had propos'd. Therefore, while he lay at *Fontain Bleau*, he Granted an Edict for *Bearn*, no leſs favourable to the *Catholics* of *Bearn*, then the Edict of *Nantes* to all the *Reformed* throughout the Kingdom. He Re-eſtabliſh'd two Biſhops, one at *Leſcar* and the other at *Oleron*; and promis'd the one a Penſion of 3000, to the other a Penſion of 1800 *Livers*; for the payment of which he undertook himſelf. He ſet up the Maſs again in Twelve places, and in all places under *Laic Patronage*, the Patron being a *Catholic*. He admitted the *Catholics* to Offices and Employments like the Reſt, provided they ſhould not exceed the Number of the *Reformed*. He alſo by the ſame Edict confirm'd all the Eccleſiaſtical Regulations that had bin made either by himſelf or his Predeceſſors, from which he declar'd he would never derogate by his Edict; and gave it, as to that of *Nantes*, the Title of perpetual and Irrevocable. 1599.

Edict for the Principality of Bearn.

The States of the Country had Refus'd to Obey an Edict which *Henry*, when he was only King of *Navarr*, had granted at *Paris*, after the Maſſacre in 1572. aſſerting that their Prince was not free, and that the Edict had been extorted from him under the Terror of Death. But this they never oppos'd; nor did they murmur at all becauſe it was put in execution without their Conſent; thó the Attempt were directly contrary to their Priviledges. But two things oblig'd 'em to be ſatisfy'd with this Change. The one was, that the *Catholics* who demanded the Free and publick Exerciſe of their Religion, promis'd what as time made appear they had no Intention to ſtand to, that they would make no more

Which is receiv'd.

New

1599. New Demands, if the free Exercise of their Religion might be allow'd 'em. The other was, because the Churches were afraid of a greater Mischief then that which they suffer'd; in regard that nothing was taken from 'em to be bestow'd upon others, and that they left 'em their Regulations and their Priviledges. So that they took a small Mischief for a Favour, because they were afraid of a greater; and for that knowing how earnest the Pope was for the Re-establishment of his Authority in that Province, they thought themselves rid of it at a cheap Rate, by the moderate Course which the King had taken to content all the World.

But in all other parts of the Kingdom the *Reformed* were not so well satisfy'd; and the Assembly which sate still, tho not in a full Body at *Chatelleraud*, expecting the Verification of the Edict, had labour'd with great earnestness to hinder the Alterations which the Court was resolv'd to make in that which was Sign'd at *Nantes*. So that it requir'd a great deal of pains to perswade 'em to receive it with a General and Unanimous Consent. It happen'd therefore, that the Assembly drew up Ample Memoirs of those Alterations, which they form'd into Complaints, and sent to the King, demanding Justice. They Mark'd out the Alterations which had been made in a dozen of Articles, where they had blotted out, added and alter'd several words, as also whole Clauses, and Periods. There were some of those Alterations which seem'd too slight to be taken Notice of. Nevertheless the sequel made it appear, that they were of greater Importance then they seem'd to be; in regard they were made use of in our Time, for a Pretence of several considerable Acts of Injustice. The first thing therefore that they excepted against, was an Equivocal Word in the last Line of the Third Article of the Edict, where the Word *Houses* of the Ecclesiastics, wherein the Exercise of the Reformed Religion was forbid'd, might be adjudg'd to comprehend their *Fefs* and *Signiories* in the Prohibition. They also complain'd that the words, *by them Establish'd*, were added in the Ninth Article, as being Words which might give an occasion of Dispute upon the Explanation of the Right and Freedom of Exercise which had been Granted 'em. They could

Complaints of the Alterations made in the Edict.

could not Reliſh the two Clauſes made uſe of in the Eleventh Article, which excepted out of Places, where the ſecond Place of the Bailliage might be allow'd, Cities Epiſcopal or Archiepiſcopal and Eccleſiaſtical *Signiories*. They Complain'd, that the Clauſe forbidding the rebaptizing Infants that might have been Baptiz'd by the Miniſters, was raz'd out of the Eighteenth Article. They were not pleas'd with the manner of forbidding people to work, tho their Shops were ſhut, ſet down in the Twentieth Article, and permitting Informations againſt Tranſgreſſors of the Inhibition. They demanded that the Words which imported Prohibitions to inſert in Grants of Offices the Clauſe of Catholic Apoſtolic Religion, which had been taken out of the 27 Article, might be put in again. They pretended, that the Promiſe to create a Subſtitute to the Proctor General in the Parlement of *Paris*, ought not to have been par'd off from the the 37 Article. They lookt upon as derogatory from the Juriſdiction of the *Chambers of the Edict*, that part of the 34 Article which forbid'd the bringing Cauſes thither in Reference to Suits that concern'd Benefices, and which debarr'd 'em of taking Cognizance of Criminal Proceſſes, where Eccleſiaſtics were Defendants. They Complain'd that the Chambers were not ſettl'd within Six Months, as was Ordain'd by the 43 Article. The Words which were added to the 35 Article concerning Particulars to oblige the *Reformed* not to aſſemble their Synods without the King' leave, were left out, which might be of ill Conſequence; either by Reaſon of the Charges of obtaining the King's permiſſion; or becauſe of the danger that would accrew for want of the due exercise of Church Diſcipline, if the King refus'd his Licence. Laſtly, 'twas ſaid, that by the Alteration made in the 45 Article, the *Reformed* were depriv'd of all that was formerly favourably allow'd 'em, in reference to the Enterrment of their Dead. Now to underſtand the Reaſon why they complain'd of this Article, 'tis requiſite to know, that at firſt it was couch'd in theſe Terms. *In caſe His Majeſties Officers provide no commodious Places for thoſe of the ſaid Religion, in the time prefix'd by the Edict, after Requeſt made, and that there ſhould be any delay or remiſsneſs in that Reſpect;*

1599.

1599. *Respect; it shall be lawful for those of the said Religion to bury their Dead in the Church-yards belonging to the* Catholics, *in Cities and Towns where they are in possession to do it, till due provision be made.* The Clergy could not brook this Article; and therefore caus'd it to be Reform'd in such a manner, that there was not one Word left of what it contain'd before: And whereas it had been drawn up in Terms that had a Reference to the Future, and which put the *Catholics* to an absolute Necessity, either to afford the *Reformed* convenient Burying Places, or permit 'em to enterr their Dead in the Ancient Church-yards; instead of that, I say, they drew up the Edict in Terms that only regarded the time past. These New Terms imported, *That for the Enterrment of those of the said Religion that had been formerly Buried in* Catholic *Church-yards, in any Place or City whatever, 'tis not His Majesties meaning that there shall be any Inquisition, Innovation or Prosecution, and his Majesties Officers shall be enjoyn'd to stop their Hands,* This debarr'd the *Reformed* from having any Priviledge for the Future to Bury in the same Places, nor did it compel the *Catholics* to allow 'em any other. For which Reason, ever since they began to Treat about the Affair of Burying according to this *Reformed* Act, they always met with Vexations and Cavils about that matter, which were never terminated but by the Revocation of the Edict.

Particular Complaints

The Assembly also drew up a Paper of Particular Complaints, which they would not intermix with the General. The first had Reference to an Affair which the Parlament of *Tholouse* had Transacted in the Chamber *de Castres.* The President *de Paule* had been sent thither by the Parlament, together with the *Catholic* Counsellers that were to compose the Chamber. This President tho the younger of the two, would needs take place of *Canaye* the *Reformed* President; Which having been disputed with him at *Castres*, he return'd to *Tholouse*, and there got a Decree pass'd in his Favour, all the Chambers being Assembl'd. The *Reformed*, not willing to submit to it, complain'd to the King of the matter of Fact as a Breach of Common Right, which adjudges the Precedency, among persons of equal Dignity, to the first Preferr'd. Besides

Precedency pretended by the Catholic Officers that compos'd the Chambres Miparties, over the Reformed.

sides that this Attempt was contrary to the 36 Article of the Generals of the Edict, and to the 48 of the particulars; of which, the one Ordain'd, that the Presidents and Counsellors of the Chambers should be accounted Members of the Parlament where they were settl'd; and the other, that the most Ancient President should have the Precedence. The Parlament, on the other side, pretended, that the Presidents Elected out of their Body were to have the Precedence, tho, Junior over those of the Chamber, tho their *Seniors*: And this pretension was become a leading Card for the Degree of Counsellors, who had the same Reasons and the same Interests as the Presidents. They alleag'd therefore, that the Chamber not being incorporated into the Parlament, their Officers were to give place in all things to the Members of Parlament; more especially because *Tholouse* is one of the most Ancient Parlaments in the Kingdom. That the President of the Chamber of the *Dauphinate*, where the Precedency belong'd to the Eldest, made nothing for the Chamber of *Castres*, because That of the *Dauphinate* was incorporated, and for that the Officers belonging to it, were reputed Members of the Parlament of *Grenoble*, where they had Seats and Suffrages in all Affairs that were handl'd in the Assembl'd Chambers. They added, Cavilling upon the Order of Words, that in the Erection of the Chamber of *Castres*, the King always Nam'd the *Catholic* President the first, and the *Reformed* the second; as if it had been his Pleasure to distinguish the two Employments by their Degree; and to declare thereby, that the Office of first President was to be held by a *Catholic*. Upon this Occasion they magnify'd the Pre-eminency and Dignity of the Catholic Religion; and forgot not to alleadge that in regard the *Reformed* President did not wear the Morter Cap, which a President in Parlament wore, as a Badge of his Dignity, that very difference decided the Question, and set the *Catholic* a Degree above the *Reformed*, which oblig'd him to give place and precedency to the other. The same Remonstrance demanded, that the Hostilities committed before 1985. should be comprehended in the *Amuesty* Granted to the Province of *Languedoc*. The third Article concern'd the Inconveniencies which 1599.

1599. the *Reformed* suffer'd for want of Burying Places for their Dead, by Reason they were deny'd convenient places for that purpose. The fourth had Reference to a particular matter of Fact that was done in the City of *Pamiers* which was almost all *Reformed*, and which the Parlament of *Tholouse* would enforce to pay a Legacy left to the Jesuits, thô the Consuls were priviledg'd in the Chamber half Catholic, half Reformed. The Deputies who presented these Complaints were enjoynd to demand by Word of Mouth, that the Catholics should forbear the Exercise of their Religion in Churches and Chappels within Gentlemens Houses: Which was of great Importance, because there were few Gentlemens Houses without a Chappel. Which constrain'd the Reformed Gentlemen to keep their Houses open, whither they would or no, for the Catholics to come and say Mass in 'em.

Verbal demands concerning Chappels in Gentlemens Houses.

The Papers answer'd.

These Papers were answer'd toward the end of *August*, but the manner of answering 'em was very particular, and Merits to be consider'd, because it may be useful for the understanding of the Edict; and to shew what were the Kings Intentions touching the Execution of it. There were some of the Articles that concern'd the Alterations made in the Edict, upon which the King would not Grant any thing at all, nor would make any New Alteration. Such was the Article about Unbaptizing of Children, the Prohibition of which the King lookt upon as insignificant; the Repeating of Baptism being disapprov'd by the Clergy it self, and there being very few Examples of Priests that ever practiz'd it. Of the same Number was that, touching the Observation of Festivals; that of the Chamber settl'd in the Parlament of *Paris*; That of Creating an Office of substitute to the Proctor General; and lastly, That concerning Burials. All these Articles remain'd in the same Form to which they had reduc'd 'em, on purpose to facilitate their passing in Parlament. 'Tis true that by a *Tacit* Permission the Article about Burying recover'd the Force and Efficacy which it had before. The Commissioners put it in Execution as it had been Decreed at *Nantes*, as I have said in another Place; and in the Printed Copies this Article was couch'd in the first Form, according as it was Granted. And it was a-

bove

bove twenty years before the leaſt alteration was made in it; be- 1599.
ſides that there was ſo much Juſtice in a Regulation that left the Catholics Maſters of their Church-yards, provided they would allow of others, that no body grumbl'd at the Ordinances of the Commiſſioners conformable to thoſe allotments. But in the next Government the Scene was quite chang'd. They would needs perſwade the *Reformed*, that they had falſify'd the Article, and that during ſo long a Series of years they had deluded the King, the Council, the Commiſſioners, the Clergy, and the whole Kingdom, cauſing that to paſs for an Article of the Edict, which was no more then a falſe and unjuſt Pretenſion. The Reader may judge whither ſuch a Deluſion were poſſible. The truth is, that becauſe they would not draw upon themſelves the Complaints of the Clergy, they let the Article go in the Clergies Terms, but enjoyn'd their Commiſſioners to Execute it according to the firſt Regulation. Otherwiſe, I leave it to any Mans Judgment, whither it be Credible, that in three or four different Deputations, the Catholic Commiſſioners ſhould have conſpir'd for Twenty years together, all over the Kingdom, with the *Reformed*, to Cheat the World, and Violate their Inſtructions. But there were others wherein the *Reformed* obtain'd their deſires as that for the Explanation of the Equivocal Term of *Houſes Eccleſiaſtical*, which was order'd to their Advantage; the ſignification of the Terms being reduc'd to Buildings deſign'd for Perſons, or Service Eccleſiaſtical. Alſo upon the delay of Eſtabliſhing the Edict, they obtain'd a New Order to ſettle 'em in three Months, upon pain of Interdicting the Parlaments that refus'd to do it. Upon other Articles they were referr'd to the Chancellor, to know the Kings Intentions; as upon the inconveniences they were afraid of, if they ſhould be oblig'd to Requeſt the Kings Permiſſion for holding their Colloquies and Synods; or elſe they were remitted to the Inſtructions of the Commiſſioners, to which the *Reformed* had likewiſe agreed, and according to which the Edict was to be Executed. Such was the Article wherein they complain'd of an Addition of the Equivocal Words, *By them Eſtabliſh'd*, in the 9th Article of the Edict. From

1599. whence, it appear'd that they were to seek for the Meaning of this Term, in the Manner of the Commissioners or Judges ordering the Confirmation of Right or Priviledge grounded upon this Article; whereas in our days, they would needs derive the Interpretation from the Discipline it self of the *Reformed*; as if it could not be said, that an Exercise had been *Establish'd by them*, if they had fail'd to observe the least Formalities therein. Lastly in others, besides the General Instruction, which was written on the side of the Article Answer'd, there was a secret Reservation, according to which they were to Govern themselves in the Execution of the Thing; and those Reservations were always to the Advantage of the *Reformed*. So that altho the King left the two Clauses complain'd of in the 11th Article, because said he, in his Answer, That the second Place of Bailliage was a favour, which he might have Limited with all the Restrictions which he thought proper to add; Nevertheless there was this Reservation, That if it prov'd more difficult to Establish the second Place of the Bailliage, either because of the Exception of Ecclesiastical Demeans, or for want of some convenient place in the Kings Demesnes, it should be settl'd upon the Feife of some Catholic Lord. Also upon the Exception of Ecclesiastical Causes, which the Chambers are forbid to take Cognizance of, tho the King preserv'd this Priviledge to the Clergy, yet there was this Reservation, That the Leading-men of the Parlament should be treated with, to send back Causes of that Nature to the Chamber of Edict, since there would be but one *Reformed* Counsellor in that Chamber. But the Clergy would never surrender this Point, for fear it should be taken for too expres a Mark of their Consent to the Edict, should they own the Jurisdiction of a Chamber that bare the Name of it. As to the Change that was made in the 27th Article, from whence they had taken away the Prohibition to insert the Clause of the Religion Catholic and Apostolic in Grants of Offices, 'twas answer'd that the Prohibition was made in the Chancery; and so that they would make that Prohibition pass for Insignificant, because it had been put in Execution.

Execution. But that Alteration was one of the moſt Important, and *Lewis* XIII. took his Advantage of it, to debar the *Reformed* from all Offices and Employments. The truth is, that the King ſuppoſing always in his Grants and Patents the Religion and Good Manners of the Perſon who enjoys any Place of Truſt, had ſlid in, after the Word Religion, the Words Catholic, Apoſtolic, and Roman, to exclude from all Employment all thoſe that made Profeſſion of any other Doctrine. But now that the Edict declar'd as well *Reformed*, as *Catholics*, indifferently capable of Employments, it was but juſt to take away that Mark of Diſtinction, and to require only Teſtimonials of the Religion of the Perſon to be preferr'd, without expreſſing what Religion, ſince it was indifferent what Religion the Perſon admitted Profeſs'd, whither the one or the other. This was very uſeful to the *Reformed* for the time it was obſerv'd; but *Lewis* XIII. thought it the better way to mark the difference of Religions, to the end that the Name of Pretended *Reformed* being inſerted in the Grants, might be a ſignal to give notice to the Juriſdiction where the Parties were to be Preſented, to ſtart Scruples upon the Admiſſion of thoſe that were the Bearers of 'em. 1599.

The particular Remonſtrance was anſwer'd much after the ſame manner. The King ordain'd, upon the point of Precedence, that the Articles of the Edict ſhould be obſerv'd; and there was a private promiſe that the Preſident *de Paule* ſhould be commanded to return to *Caſtres*, and obey the Regulations. Thus the *Reformed* gain'd their point; but for the Honour of the Parlament of *Tholouſe*, the Matter was privately adjudg'd. The Amneſty of Hoſtilities committed before 1585, was granted to the Province of *Languedoc*, and promis'd to all the reſt that ſtood in need of it; as alſo to particular perſons who might be put to trouble under that pretence. The Affair of Church-yards and Burying-places was referr'd to the Commiſſioners; but there was this Reſervation, that the Commiſſioners ſhould order Places for Burying the Dead to be allow'd *Gratis*; or otherwiſe, that they ſhou'd order the Corporations to purchaſe 'em, without putting the *Reformed* to any Charges of Contribution. As to the Proceſs of the Jeſuits

Precedency preſerv'd to the moſt Ancient Preſidents.

Article of Church-yards.

1599. Jeſuits againſt the City of *Pamiers*, it was order'd, That the Decrees of Council made in favour of the City ſhould be put in execution, notwithſtanding any Decrees of the Parlament of *Tholouſe* to the contrary. As to what concern'd the Churches and Chappels in *Reformed* Gentlemens Houſes, as it was only propos'd by Word of Mouth, ſo it was determin'd after the ſame manner. The King gave leave that particular perſons, who were concern'd therein, ſhou'd appeal to him, and he would treat with the Clergy, in order to perſwade 'em to remove into other places, and to rebuild at the Charges of the *Reformed*, in places left to the Biſhops choice, Chappels and Churches endow'd, wherein the Catholic Service ſhould be continu'd for the future. But as for places not endow'd, and where the Service was only perform'd at the pleaſure of the Proprietor, that the Clergy ſhould agree to leave 'em at the Diſcretion of thoſe to whom they belong'd. This ſeem'd to be nothing but Juſtice then, but the Law being alter'd in theſe later years, the Clergy is become Maſter of all the places of this Nature, without any other pretence then that of the Name of Chappel, which thoſe places bore, or ſome Figure of a Croſs, or ſome other Footſteps of the Roman Worſhip ſtill remaining.

But while the Aſſembly, that kept firm at *Chaſtelleraud*, were buſily employ'd in drawing up Papers and getting Anſwers, the Zealous Catholics were preparing new Devices to diſturb their Repoſe; and not finding the Wiſer ſort diſpos'd to make new Broils, they reſolv'd to ſtir up the Mobile, by means moſt proper to put 'em in a Ferment. *Martha Broſſiere*, the Daughter of a perſon of mean Extraction, Born at *Romorantin*, having a good Wit, but a very Infirm and Diſeas'd Body, and joining *Hypocriſie* to her Infirmities, would needs ſet up for one poſſeſs'd by the Devil. Her Father, being Advis'd by ſome Bigots, or Flatter'd by the Hopes of Profit, by reaſon of the Concourſe of people to ſuch Sights, and the Alms which they pour forth upon people under ſuch Circumſtances, carry'd her up and down from Province to Province, under pretence of getting Relief and Cure for her. But the Biſhop of *Orleance*'s Chancellor ſoon perceiv'd it to be a Cheat, and the Biſhop

Mary Broſſiere feigns her ſelf poſſeſs'd by the Devil.

Biſhop of *Angers* convinc'd himſelf of the Fallacy by a very pleaſant Experiment. For 'tis Reported, That while he feign'd to put his Epiſcopal Croſier in her Hand, which ought always to be very well repleniſh'd with Relicks, he dexterouſly ſlipp'd into it the Key of his Cheſt, where *Obloquie* tax'd him to keep lockt up ſuch things as never frighten the Devil; but the Daughter deceiv'd by the Coldneſs of the Key, fell a Crucifying and Tormenting her ſelf with the ſame extravagant Poſtures and Contortions of her Body as ſhould have been the effects of the real Relicks, according to the Opinion of the Catholics: Which cauſing the Prelate to ſmile, as it did all the people who were preſent, he refus'd to have any more to do with her. But in regard this was not ſufficient to diſabuſe the people, the pretended Female Demoniac was to be carry'd to *Paris*, where by Men of Prudence the thing was lookt upon to be a meer Trifle, and it was adjudg'd to be an Artifice that only tended to the reviving of New Troubles. Now the Diſtemper'd Patient in her Raving Fits talk'd of nothing but the *Reformed* and the Edict, and of the Toleration of Countenanc'd Hereſie; threatning withal, the Wrath of Heav'n againſt them that were the Authors of it. 'Twas eaſily underſtood by that, that this Comedy was the Contrivance of ſome Cabal; nor did they deal by this pretended Demoniac as one that ſtood in need of Eccleſiaſtical Remedies, but as one that was ſeiz'd with a Diſtemper of which others endeavour'd to make an ill uſe. Nevertheleſs the Party that favour'd the Impoſture, either out of Malice or Suſpicion was ſo great, that they durſt not take thoſe due Courſes with the Counterfeit as ſhe deſerv'd. The *Capuchins*, whoſe Credit is grounded upon an Affectation of outward Mortification, and who for the moſt part are Ignorant and Zealous to the loweſt and meaneſt degree of ſilly Bigotry, were the firſt that made themſelves Maſters of this Unfortunate Wretch, and ſpent a World of Exorciſms upon her, as if ſhe had been really poſſeſs'd. The Biſhop of *Paris* ſtood upon his Guard, unwilling to hazard the High Opinion which People had of his Judgment and his Religion, by taking her part too ſoon; and therefore caus'd her to be viſited and obſerv'd by ſeveral Phyſicians.

1599.

The Sequel of this Comedy within and without the Kingdom.

1599 Physicians. Among these, there was one whose Name was *Duret*, famous in the Faculty, who alone by himself maintain'd that she was possess'd; and his single Suffrage prevail'd so far, tho contradicted by three Opinions directly contrary, which would hardly allow her to be troubl'd with so much as the slighter Distempers of the Spleen and Hypochondryac Melancholly; as also by a fourth, who would neither give his Opinion *Pro* nor *Con*, till he had had a Trial of three Months; This single Suffrage, I say, prevail'd so far, that it encourag'd, and in some measure Authoriz'd the Exorcists to send for other Physicians, who, to the Eternal Ignominy of their Profession, Voted all of 'em, that the Hypocrisie and Vapours of the Patient were the effects of a Supernatural Distemper. Upon this, there was a necessity, that to silence the noise which this Business made, the Parlament should interpose their Authority, and appoint other Physicians to examine the matter. Those Physicians agreed unanimously, that there was nothing of Supernatural in the Maids Distemper; thereupon the Parlament, who had a long time ago banish'd from their Considerations the frivolous Stories of Witchcrafts, and Diabolical Possessions, put her in Prison, to the end they might be the better enabl'd to distinguish, whither it were a Distemper or an Impolture. A little after they discharg'd her, and return'd her to her Father, commanding him to keep her at home, and to have such a strict hand over her, that she should not wander from Province to Province as she had done before.

But it was not so easie to impose silence upon the Predicants, who loudly declaim'd against those who stifl'd that Voice which they call'd Miraculous, and which they would have to be an Oracle very proper to convince the Heretics. Time did more then all the Authority and Remonstrances of the most Sage and Prudent, and by degrees asswag'd this Tempest; but it had like to have broken out again in a more dangerous manner. An Abbot of St. *Martin*, whose Name was *Roch Foucaut*, Brother of the Bishop of *Clermont*, and of the Family of *Randan*, which had been strictly devoted to the League, and which had put the King to a great deal of trouble in the Province where it had an Interest, got this Maid into

into his Cuſtody, and undertook to make ſomething of her Impoſtures; but the Cheat was ſo known, and ſo cry'd down in *France*, that the Abbot was conſtrain'd to ſeek for Credulous Supporters out of the Kingdom. He thought that he ſhould find Protectors anow at *Rome*, but he was deceiv'd; for *D'Oſſat* being advertis'd of the Buſineſs, foreſtall'd the Pope, and the Pope was not ſo much offended at the Publication of the Edict, as to make uſe of this Ridiculous pretence to uphold his Exclamations. The poor Abbot therefore found himſelf abandon'd by all the World; Nay the very Jeſuits, unwilling to offend the King, with whom there was ſome diſcourſe of a Reconciliation, would not ſo much as meddle with this Intreague, tho ſince their Re-eſtabliſhment it had been ſeen, that for ſeveral Years together they had always had ſome Demoniac or other at their Devotion, to Rave according to their Inſtructions for the ſupport of their Intereſts. At length the Maid was ſhut up in a certain Nunnery, and her Patron was conſtrain'd to have more Wit, becauſe that all the Meaſures of his Project were quite broken. 1599.

Diſſolution of the Kings Marriage.

In the mean time all Endeavours were us'd in earneſt to Diſſolve the Kings Marriage with Queen *Margaret*, that he might be free to Marry another; and the Kings Miſtreſs being Dead, as I have already ſaid, the Queen ſhew'd her ſelf to be leſs ſcrupulous then ſhe had been any time before. 'Twas requiſite that ſhe ſhould prefer a Petition her ſelf, that ſhe might be Degraded; and ſhe agreed to every thing that the King deſir'd. The greateſt difficulty was to find pretences ſufficiently plauſible for the Diſſolution of this Marriage; Nine were produc'd, which were thought prevalent enough to do the Turn; but which, to ſpeak ſincerely, were at the bottom of ſo little Validity, that had it been the caſe of a private Perſon, they would not have been ſo much as liſten'd to. *D'Oſſat* alſo frequently wrote, that there was but one that could be thought to ſtrike home, and that at *Rome* they would make but little reckoning of all the reſt. That which he thought would be of greateſt weight, was a pretended Violence which Queen *Margaret* alledg'd had been offer'd to her, for which proofs were produc'd more proper to excite

1599. Laughter then procure Belief. Nevertheleſs the Witneſſes were carefully Inſtructed, and ſome had their Depoſitions ready drawn to their hands. The Pope was willing to preposſeſs himſelf, and tho he were to be a Judge of the Affair, he could not forbear, in ſome meaſure, to come in himſelf for a Witneſs of the Conſtraint of which the Queen complain'd, by repeating the Words that were ſpoken by *Charles* IX. to Cardinal *Aldobrandini*, whoſe Domeſtic Servant he was. So that in ſhewing he had particular Reaſons for giving Credit to the proofs of the Violence which that Princeſs had ſuſtain'd, he prepar'd Mens Minds to lay aſide all Doubts, that he would make it a point of Conſcience to ordain the Diſſolution of the Marriage. For at the bottom, if the proofs that appear'd were not ſolid, he had Reaſons which he reſerv'd in his Breaſt, which render'd the Divore Lawful even in the Judgment of the *Reformed*; and it behov'd him to be ſatisfy'd with what he could find, for fear that if better Reaſons were alledg'd, it might chance to coſt the Queen her Life. Every one had his particular proſpect in this Affair, beſides Reaſons of State and Conſcience. The *Reformed* were in hopes of being firmly ſettled under an Heir bred up by a King who was belov'd by 'em, and who was beholding to 'em; and the Pope ſaw well the Advantage that would redound to Him, that there would be a King in *France* one day, that could never queſtion the Authority of the Holy See, without putting in doubt at the ſame time his Right to the Crown.

A Decree of the Parlament of Bretagne, *touching the Oath refer'd by a* Reformed *to a* Catholic.

I might here paſs over in ſilence a particular Affair that happen'd this Year in the Parlament of *Bretagne*, did I not think it uſeful to ſhew how the Parlaments were enclin'd at that time toward the *Reformed*. The Chamber that was to be Erected at *Paris* was not yet ready; for which reaſon they could not make uſe of the Priviledge of removing Cauſes where the Suit was proper, out of the Juriſdiction of the Parlament of *Bretagne*. Now a *Reformed* pleading there againſt a *Catholic*, in a Cauſe about ſomething that depended upon Honeſty and Sincerity, declar'd that he would be concluded by the *Catholic*'s Oath, provided he would take it upon the Sacrament, which was the moſt Sacred Thing in his Religion.

But

But the *Catholic* being willing to avoid the Oath, or elſe to take it only according to the uſual Forms, the Parlament adjudg'd the propoſal of the *Reformed* not admittable, becauſe he had not the ſame Veneration for the Sacrament as the Catholic. Caſuiſts, much more equitable then the Judges of that Parlament, might have blam'd the *Reformed* perhaps, becauſe he requir'd his Adverſary to Swear by that which he did not believe was the Object of Worſhip; but would have diſpenc'd with the Catholics taking it, becauſe the Oath taken under a certain Name Diſhonours not the Object there Nam'd, but on the contrary, has a great Veneration paid it by him that Swears. At leaſt the Primitive Churches were much of this Opinion; they would have condemn'd a Chriſtian, who ſhould have requir'd a Pagan to Swear by the Name of one of his Deities; but they would have pronounc'd thoſe Judges Unjuſt that ſhould have diſpenc'd with a Pagan for taking ſuch an Oath, under pretence that the Chriſtian abominated Idols. For in truth, the Religion of an Oath is grounded upon this, That he who takes the Oath is always preſum'd to Swear by thoſe things which he eſteems moſt Amiable and moſt Sacred. The Catholics who now Trade among thoſe whom they call Infidels or Heretics, would think it ſtrange that thoſe people ſhould not be permitted to Swear by what they believe moſt Venerable, under pretence that the Catholics have not the ſame Veneration for the ſame Things. 1599.

Toward the latter end of this Year, the King in favour of *La Trimouille*, added the Dignity of Peer to that of Duke, which he had already, and he took his Oath at the beginning of *December*; which favour proceeded not ſo much from the Kings Affection, as from the Fear and Awe that he ſtood in of the Duke's Wit and Courage. The Court was full of Malecontents, but the Dukes of *Bouillon* and *Trimouille* were not the leaſt formidable, either by the Puiſſant Alliances of their Families, or their Reputation among the *Reformed*; therefore to prevent their joining with others, they endeavour'd to gratifie 'em with ſome particular Favours. And the *Peerage*, which had not as yet been conferr'd upon all ſorts of people, was eſteem'd an Honour that might ſatisfie the moſt Ambi- Trimouille *made a Peer of* France

1599. tious. However the Duke was not rais'd to that Dignity, without murmuring at it. But Marshal *de Bouillon* already enjoy'd the same Honour, and by consequence it was no Novelty, since there was already a President for it; nevertheless, the *Spaniards* made a great noise about it, at *Rome*, and the Pope complain'd of it. They had put it into the Popes Head, that together with the Dignity of Peerage, he was to enjoy the Office of High Admiral, the Authority of which, as he thought, extended to Command in all the Sea Towns. But *d'Ossat* appeas'd him, by making it out to him, that the Edict being Granted, the Granting some Honours to those that were declar'd Capable could not be avoided; more especially, when they were persons of that Merit and Quality as the Duke; that the Title was an Honour without profit, and which Invested the Duke neither with any more Power, nor any more Revenue then he had before, but which engag'd him to greater Expences, without affording him wherewithal to defray 'em; that neither Offices nor Governments were annex'd to it; that in bestowing such sort of Favours the King had always a regard to the Good of the Catholic Religion, and by kindnesses of that Nature sought to gain the principal Heads of the Heretics to his Party. The Pope relish'd these Reasons, and so the Noise spread no farther. They were yet more tractable at *Rome*, in reference to the Business of *Lesdiguieres* and *Roni*, whose Religion they well knew, would never transport 'em so far as to displease the Pope. There appear'd some discontent that *Roni* had obtain'd the Superintendency of the *Finances*, which the King had conferr'd upon him about the time that the Edict was concluded. But in all probability, this discontent was rais'd by a Cabal of the Council, of which *Villeroi* was the Chief, who not being able to waste the Kings Treasure, by reason of *Roni*'s severe Management, would fain have had that Employment in the hands of a Courtier more remiss; for which reason, *d'Ossat*, a Creature of *Villeroi*'s, engag'd himself too far in this Intreague for his Profit, for that having written those things to the King, which tended indirectly to the taking away the *Finances* from *Roni*, the Cunning Treasurer made him suffer for it, by reducing

1600.

Roni's Advancement not much wonder'd at.

ducing him almoſt to Beggery, for want of his Penſions duly paid. Nor was this any obſtruction, but that within a little time after, *Roni*, without quitting the Adminiſtration of the *Finances*, was made Maſter of the Ordnance, Duke and Peer, Governour of the *Baſtile* and a Province, no body oppoſing this great Preferment of a *Heretic*. 'Tis very true, that when he wrote to the Pope, he gave him the Title of *His Holineſs*, as a Catholic would have done. 1600.

Commiſſioners for the Execution of the Edict and their Power.

The Obſtructions of the Edict had laſted almoſt till the beginning of this Year, tho they had begun to put it in Execution in ſeveral places, and that the King had appointed two Commiſſioners in every Province, to act in ſuch a manner as to content both Parties. One of theſe two was a *Catholic*, the other a *Reformed*; but the *Catholic* was Elected alſo with the Approbation of the *Reformed*, becauſe they were their fears of being depriv'd by the Cavils of a Bigotted Commiſſary, of what was Granted 'em by the moſt Solemn Edict that ever was Granted by a Prince, in favour of his Subjects that were to be heal'd. Now, tho their Power were equal, nevertheleſs, to the end the Catholics might have the Advantage in every thing, the Catholic Commiſſioner had the Upper hand almoſt every where, and bore the greateſt Sway. They were Impower'd to receive all manner of Petitions and Complaints, touching the Execution of the Edict, and to decide all Differences that might ariſe upon that occaſion. Their Orders were as good as a Law, eſpecially in things that were not Conteſted, and where both Parties Conſented; nor is there any Preſident, that I know of any Appeal to the King, upon any Decree of that Nature; but when any Diſpute aroſe, they were to give an Account of their Sentence to the King; and their Decree was only made with a Proviſo, till the King had pronounc'd his Judgment. And indeed, to ſpeak properly, their Commiſſion was no more then the Act it ſelf explain'd, and limited by particular Articles, and the King by Word of Mouth reduc'd their Inſtructions to two Heads; The one was to Re-eſtabliſh the Exerciſe of the *Roman* Religion in all places where it had been diſturb'd; and the other was to ſettle Peace over all the Kingdom by a due Obſervation of the Edict.

Thus

1600. Thus hitherto I have given an Account of the Negotiations and Treaties that preceded the Edict of *Nantes*, and which prepar'd the Matter, and form'd the Articles; And I have set down the principal Obstructions that so long hinder'd either the Conclusion, or the Verification of it. Henceforward I am to speak of the Observation of it, or of the Breaches and Violations of it, till our very days. But in regard that this is in some measure a New Subject, my Opinion is, that I can no where better insert then here, some General Considerations upon this Edict, to shew the Force and Nature of it, that so the Reader, coming to see the Recital of Matters of Fact, upon which I intend to build my Reflections, and not being oblig'd to go far to seek for the Heads from whence I shall derive my Consequences, may the more easily apprehend and observe the Truth of 'em. To which purpose I shall speak of three Things. First, I shall give a brief Account of the Reproaches, at that time, cast upon the *Reformed* by the Catholics, and afterwards so many times reviv'd. Secondly, I shall set down in few Words the Replies of the *Reformed* in their own Defence. Lastly, I shall make more ample Reflections upon the Justice, Benefit, and Importance of the Edict; from thence to conclude, that of it self, and in its own Nature, it was Irrevocable, tho it had never been so stil'd; and withal, I shall Reply to some Objections, which were the first occasion of all the Clergies Enterprises to destroy it. I shall handle this Matter by the way of Historical Remarks, leaving the Lawyers to explain 'em by Observations agreeable to their Principles.

General Observations upon the Edict.

From the time then that the Edict was set forth, there were several Discourses and Writings concerning it, to and fro. The *Reformed* were assail'd with many Reproaches, and they set forth several Apologies in defence of themselves. The Zealous Catholics, who were mad to see a Party, which they Mortally hated, Establish'd in such a manner that they could not be stirr'd, reveng'd themselves by Invectives; and the *Reformed*, secur'd by the Edict, sought no further then to Ward off their Calumnies with Words. But the main Reason which induc'd the Catholics to frame these several Accusations,

Accuſations, was, Becauſe the Edict ſeem'd to perpetuate, to their laſting ſhame, the remembrance of the League, contriv'd among 'em to Exclude their Lawful Prince from the Throne, under the pretence of Religion. 'Tis true, the Edict forbid the Reviving the Memory of Things paſt, but we know that theſe ſort of Prohibitions can never hinder Poſterity from coming to the Knowledge of ſuch things as others would fain obliterate by ſuch precautions; Amneſties do but keep up the Remembrance of thoſe Crimes which they pardon. In a word the Meaſures that are taken to ſtifle thoſe events of which the Memory is odious, may put a ſtop to the Inquiries and Purſuits that may be made after 'em, without ſuch Inhibitions, by Proſecutions and Indictments at Law. But ſuch proceedings are ſo far from razing ſuch Events out of the Memory of Men, that they Engrave more deeply in their Minds ſuch an Inſcription as will never permit their being Bury'd in Oblivion. The Edict therefore, by forbidding to revive things paſt, ceas'd not however to be a kind of Monument to preſerve 'em always in their Thoughts. It appear'd by the Edict that there had been Hoſtilities, Mortal hatred of each other, Oppreſſions and Ravages; and altho the *Reformed* ſhould have forborn to upbraid the Catholics with 'em, who had been the Authors of the greateſt part of thoſe Miſchiefs, and the occaſion of the reſt by their Cruelties and Violations of ſo many Treaties, it ſeem'd that the Edict alone caſt a Reproach upon 'em ſo much the more uneaſie to be endur'd, becauſe it is perpetual; 'tis a Voice that always repeats as loud the Inhumanities, the Maſſakers, and the Treaſons of Time paſt, as that of the Law which prohibits their Contrivance. 1600.

Reproaches of the Catholics thrown upon the Reformed.

The *Catholics* then, who began to bluſh at things paſt, and knew well they could never be Interpreted to their Advantage, endeavour'd to pick out ſomething that was equally liable to Reproach in the Conduct of the *Reformed*; to the end that by way of Compenſation, both the one and the other might appear equally Guilty or Innocent. To which purpoſe, they were about to turn the Edict to the Diſhonour of the *Reformed*, and to raiſe up againſt 'em a perpetual Character of Criminal Behaviour. They ſought for pretences that might

1600. might be ſerviceable to 'em, in the Time and Manner of obtaining ſo favourable an Edict. They forgot not that the *Reformed* had taken the opportunity of the Siege of *Amiens* to put a value upon themſelves, and to draw from the King more Advantagious Conditions, through the Neceſſity of his Affairs. They lookt upon it as if the *Reformed* has loſt all the Honour of their former Services, by their coldneſs and indifferency at that time, and that that ſame kind of Deſertion was as Criminal as all the Attempts of the League; but it may be ſeen, that the *Reformed* very well defended themſelves from that Accuſation, as I have made appear in its due place. They were upbraided alſo with this, That it was a piece of Felony to tranſact with their King concerning Peace; That what they obtain'd by force of Arms was an Eternal Monument of their Rebellion, how advantagious ſoever it otherwiſe appear'd; That a King could not make Peace with his Subjects, but it muſt appear that he had made War againſt him; Nor Pardon 'em, but that it muſt be evident they were Criminals. That the *Reformed* at firſt Aſſembl'd without Arms, and ſtrove with Emulation to pray to God for thoſe whom they call'd Perſecutors; ſo far were they from repelling Violence by Violence; but that at length, they had taken Arms to render themſelves Formidable. That after the firſt War they were contented to take the Royal Word for a Pledge and Security of the Peace; but that afterwards they would have ſtrong Towns, Gariſons, Chambers half one, half t'other, and a hundred other Securities. From whence they branch'd out another Calumny, that their Religion was degenerated into Faction; that their aim was to ſet up another State in a State, and that they aſpir'd to get themſelves looſe of the General Laws, by the help of particular Conceſſions.

The moſt part of theſe Objections were no more then a Reviving of thoſe that had appear'd in the Reign of *Charles* the Ninth, and which had ſince that time been ſolidly refuted. But there had happen'd, after that, ſo many Novelties, that had augmented the Rights of the *Reformed*, and given new Demonſtrations of the Juſtice of their Complaints, that 'twas eaſie to judge, the *Catholics* did not revive thoſe Idle Calumnies,

nies, but only becauſe they knew not where to find any other fit for their turn. 1600.

Anſwers The *Reformed* confeſs'd a great part of what their Enemies laid to their Charge, not without ſome Aggravations of their own; but either they made it out that there was no Harm in what they had done, becauſe they had done nothing but what was grounded upon the Law of Nature it ſelf; or if they had done amiſs, that the Guilt lay not at their Door, but that the real Authors were to be blam'd. That when there is a Neceſſity of endangering the Life of an Enemy, the Reproach ought not to fall upon him that ſtands upon his Defence, but it is to be charg'd upon the Violence of the Aggreſſor; That the inſiſting upon Cautions and Securities was not to be imputed to thoſe that demand 'em, but to thoſe whoſe breach of Faith reduc'd the others to require 'em. That Negotiations of Peace between Subjects and their Kings might be Stil'd Felonious Acts, had the Kings been always the Fathers of their Subjects, and the Juſt Conſervators of the Rights and Priviledges, which by Nature, or by Birth, belong'd to 'em; for that being preſuppos'd, there can be no pretence for the taking up of Arms. But in regard that Self-defence was the only occaſion of the War on their ſide, when the Princes had lent out their Names and their Authority to Patronize the Cruelties, Treacheries, and Perjuries of Perſecutors; when they had given 'em the Command of Armies to Extirpate the pretended *Heretics*; when they were the declar'd Heads of that Deſtroying Party; when they had Sworn the Ruin of their own Subjects without Pity or Compaſſion; when they had engag'd to Sacrifice the Blood and Lives of thoſe Unfortunate Wretches to the Intereſts of Foreign Power, which had no other reaſon to bear an Antipathy to the pretended *Heretics*, but becauſe they deteſted the Tyranny it aſpir'd to; and went about to free the Neck of their Kings from the Yoke which it ſtrove to impoſe upon their Necks; when they had Sworn never to keep their Oaths with their Subjects, unleſs they were forc'd to it; nor to ob-

1600. ſerve any Treaties of Peace, but when they could no longer make War upon 'em with Advantage; that then they might Lawfully betake themſelves to their Arms, and by conſequence were not bound to lay 'em down, till after a Treaty of Peace concluded, by which the Partys oppreſs'd might find themſelves ſufficiently ſecur'd. That the *Reformed* had never ſought Relief by Force of Arms, while they were under the Protection of any Form of Juſtice, by leaving 'em the means to be anſwerable for their Faith, and to unfold their Doctrine againſt the Accuſations of their Adverſaries: That they had patiently ſuffer'd all the Miſchievous Injuries that had been done 'em, for Thirty Years together, by Bloody Edicts, that ſtirr'd up all ſorts of perſons againſt 'em, and depriv'd 'em of all manner of ſhelter and Sanctuary; that they had with the ſame Conſtancy endur'd their being hal'd from Juriſdiction to Juriſdiction, when their Enemies were both Parties and their Judges; that is to ſay, The Eccleſiaſtics, whoſe hatred they had only Merited, by revealing the Corruption of their Doctrine, their Diſcipline and their Manners; and when they had alſo Erected New Tribunals to their Ruin, and had deliver'd 'em over to the Inquiſition. That they were ſtill Maſters of their Patience, when the Clergy put Thouſands to Death, by Decrees drawn up in form indeed, tho both Cruel and Unjuſt; when there were no leſs then Eight Thouſand Sentences of Death Recorded in the Public Regiſters, not to ſpeak of Impriſonments, Confiſcations, Baniſhments, and ſeveral other Vexations and Oppreſſions which they were forc'd to undergo. That they never took Arms, till after the firſt Edict for Liberty of Conſcience had been Violated by the Court in ſeveral Branches, and after ſeveral Manners; but that they had laid 'em down agen, both upon that, and ſundry other Occaſions, upon the firſt Offers of Peace. In reference to which, they forgot not the Maxim of *Kathern de Medicis*, who never made it a Matter of Conſcience to break her Word with 'em, becauſe if ſhe did not find her Perfidiouſneſs ſtood her

her in any ſtead, ſhe had always a ſure way to Diſarm 'em, by giving 'em, to uſe her own Expreſſion, *Their Belly full of Preaching*. 1600.

They made it out that the firſt Edict was Granted before the War began; and that it was obtain'd by Petitions and Conferences only; that the Enterprize of *Amboiſe* was only a Politic Affair, wherein Religion had never been concern'd, but becauſe the Heads of both Parties profeſs'd a different Religion; That the Treacheries, the Cruelties, and more eſpecially the Horrid Maſſacre of 1572, had made it evident that the Royal Word was made a May-game, and a Snare, to ſurprize the Innocence and Credulity of the *Reformed*; that after they had caus'd 'em, by Fraud and fair Promiſes, to loſe the opportunity of obtaining an Advantagious Peace, while the King and the Catholics themſelves ſtood in need of their Aſſiſtance, they had amus'd 'em by a Thouſand delays, provok'd 'em by a Thouſand contempts, and a Thouſand injurious flouts, for having ſo little Prudence and Policy; of which however the Catholics had all the reaſon in the World to Repent, when at the Siege of *Amiens* they ſaw how Neceſſary the Union of the *Reformed*, with the reſt of the Kingdom, was for the preſervation of it. After this, to load the *Reformed* with Accuſations, becauſe they would not Surrender themſelves, without bargaining for their Security, to the Diſcretion of their Old Enemies, was to imitate the Juſtice of Highway-men, that ſhould go about to bring their Actions againſt Travellers, becauſe they refus'd to confide in their Words; or elſe, becauſe they rather choſe to make 'em run the half of the Danger, by putting themſelves upon the Defenſive part, then to ſuffer their Throats to be Cut without Reſiſtance. That as for the pretence of a State in a State, it was a meer Chimera; that the ſtrong Holds which were left in their Hands belong'd to the King as well as the reſt in the Kingdom; Poſſeſs'd by him; Paid with his Money; Kept in his Name; and that the Truſt of 'em was not Perpe-

1600. tual, since they were to be no longer in their hands, then till the Catholics should be at leisure to Accustom themselves to live at Peace and Unity with 'em; and therefore, if they desir'd they should be Surrender'd, without any Trouble, at the end of the Term prefix'd, that the Catholics had no more to do, but to observe more faithfully the New Edict then they had done all the rest.

The End of the Sixth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Edict of NANTS.

BOOK VII.

The Epitome of the 7th. *Book.*

QUestions upon the Nature of the Edict. The Benefit of it. The State of the Kingdom before and after the Edict. Wars about Religion are the most Cruel. What diversity of Religious Policy ought not to suffer in a Kingdom. What is the Nature of the Reformed Religion. The Justice of the Edict which restor'd Humanity and Sincerity. Services done to Kings by the Reformed. The Justice of Rewards after Service done. What Recompence is. The Edict grants nothing

to

1600. *to the Reformed which diſtinguiſhes 'em from the reſt of the* French, *in the Quality of Subjects. For that reaſon the Conceſſions in it are ſo much the more juſt. What the Edict grants the Reformed do no body any prejudice. The Catholic Religion has been a great Gainer by the Edict. The Edict ought to be Irrevocable. A Conſideration upon the Word and the Thing. Rights of Conſcience. The Force of Edicts that maintain the Liberty of it; and thoſe that are Granted for the Preſervation of Societies. The Preſervation of their Subjects the Chief Obligation of Soveraigns. There is Naturally an Expreſs or Tacit Treaty between the Soveraign and the Subjects; as alſo between Maſter and Servant. The Force of Treaties. The Edict of* Nantes *is a Treaty, which the Form of an Edict renders more Venerable. Two Conſiderations of a Treaty in the Edict. 1. Between the King and the Reformed. 2. Between the Reformed and the Catholics. The Reformed Treat with the King. 1. About Reward for their Services. 2. About Security againſt their Enemies. Places of Security. Kings may Treat with their Subjects. Proofs. The Reformed were in a Condition to Treat with the King. Six Conſiderations that make it out. Other Reflections. Conſiderations upon which the King Treats. The King Arbitrator between himſelf and his Subjects, to Grant the Edict with the Conſent of the Catholics. A Maxim of the Clergy in the Queſtions of the Regale. The King Security for his own Edict. Succeſſors bound to obſerve the Treaties made by their Predeceſſors. That the Parlaments, the Clergy, the Pope himſelf, have as much ſhare in the Edict as was neceſſary to remove all pretence of Complaint. A Reſuming the Series of the Hiſtory. Commotion of Mens Minds upon the Publiſhing the Book of the Euchariſt. Divers Writers attack it. The King is willing to ſatisfie the Pope, and content* du Pleſſis. Du Pleſſis *tax'd for falſe Quotations ſtands upon his Honour. He Challenges his Accuſers, and his Challenge accepted by* Perron. *A Conference Granted. Difficulties ſtarted by the Clergy as to the Matter and Thing. Others, by* du Pleſſis's *Friends. Degrees of Foul Play. 1.* Perron *has Notice, but not* du Pleſſis. *2.* Perron *is Diſpens'd with from giving in Writing the Number of the Paſſages which he promis'd. 3. The Order and Choice of the*

Paſſages

Paſſages is left to him. The Conference almoſt broken off is continu'd upon unequal Conditions. 5. Perron *preſcribes the Laws for it.* 6. *Threeſcore and one Paſſages deliver'd to* du Pleſſis *to juſtifie in eight Hours.* 7. *They deprive him of his Reſt in the Night.* 8. *The King appoints the Commiſſioners.* 9. *Gives the plurality of Voices to the Catholics.* 10. *Changes two that were firſt appointed for two others more ſuſpected.* 11. *Makes choice of two tottering Reformed : Chracters of* du Freſne Canaye *and* Caſaubon. 12. *Forbid making uſe of the Terms of* Falſe *and* Falſity. *Reciprocal Proteſtations.* Perron's *Malice. Form of the Conference.* Du Pleſſis *condemn'd in Nine Paſſages. General and particular Reflexions.* Du Pleſſis *falls Sick, and the Conference breaks off. The Catholics inſult and Triumph. Conſequences of the Conference. The Aſſembly remov'd from* Chaſtelleraud *to* Saumur ; *where it breaks up.*

BUT there are other conſiderations to be made upon this Subject, which are no leſs important. 'Tis fit to be enquir'd, whether, ſuppoſing that the means, by which they obtain'd the Edict, were Innocent, it was beneficial to Grant it: Whither it were one of thoſe Edicts that become Eſſential Laws of the Kingdom, in Reſpect of the Nature of the things which they decide, or the manner of Ordaining 'em, or rather one of thoſe which being Granted only to ſerve the preſent Occaſion, may be revok'd upon the change of Affairs. 1600. *Queſtions upon the Nature of the Edict.*

The Queſtion concerning the Benefit of the Edict may be determin'd in few Words. There needs no more then to conſider the vaſt number of Miſchiefs that render'd it neceſſary ; and which it has ſucceſsfully repair'd, and the Great Advantages which it procur'd to *France*, while it was obſerv'd with any appearance of Fidelity. There needs no more then to compare what *France* was, before the Edict had laid the more ſolid Foundation of Peace, and what it arriv'd to in a few years after the publick Tranquility was eſtabliſh'd. I ſhall ſay nothing of the Terrors of a Civil War conſider'd in it ſelf: They are well known to all the World. There is no Body but Trembles when he calls to mind, that the Members of *The Benefit of the Edict.*

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1600. one Body, that owe each other mutual Defence, are Hurry'd to mutual Destruction; that a Kingdom should employ her own Forces to prey upon her self: That Rage and Fury should violate all the Tyes of Nature and Society; that it should Arm Citizens against Citizens; Relations against Relations, and Brethren against Brethren. There may be found the same Remarks in a thousand Authors. But I cannot pass over the dreadful waste and depopulation that so many years Wars had made over all the Kingdom. The Country was almost all Ruin'd; the Houses, the Castles, the Cities were generally run to decay; nothing every where to be seen, but heaps of Rubbish and Desolation. And the strong holds that were fortify'd, were rather Ruins half repair'd, whither the people Retreated for shelter, then places that enjoy'd the Lustre and Beauty of Cities. There was no body that could depend upon his Revenue. The Nobility, Gentry and Souldiers subsisted all upon Plunder which Necessity Authoriz'd. The Bourgesses, who only Rented other Mens Lands or Houses, depended upon the strogest side, and frequently were undone by the Incursions of the Enemy. The Merchants broke, in regard of the decay of Trade in a Ruin'd Kingdom. The Ecclesiastics complain'd that their Estates were Seiz'd or Usurp'd; and that as the one part of the Kingdom was unwilling, so the other was disabl'd from paying their Tithes, and their Rents. The King also was poorer then his Subjects: His Revenues were engag'd; his Taxes ill paid; all his Duties came to little; and as I have already observ'd, he was so far from having wherewithal to support a Royal Magnificence, that during the Siege of *Amiens*, he had not wherewithal to supply his Table, and Cloath himself like an ordinary Gentleman. And the Civil War was to be continu'd, to compleat what was already brought to such perfection, the Destruction of a Kingdom by Misery, the Members of which that were most Vigorous, did but linger out and Languish upon the Brink of a Total Dissipation. It may easily be conjectur'd also what a Confusion the unequal Distribution of Justice occasion'd in differences between Man and Man; and how many incumbrances the Troubles of so many Years, which

The condition of the Kingdom both before and after the Edict.

which had interrupted almoſt all the Functions of the Judges, muſt have enſu'd by ſetting up Preſcriptions, Bickerings about Juriſdictions, with incertainties of Poſſeſſion, had not a ſtop been put to the Progreſs of theſe Irregularities, by a happy Revolution. Several faults had been made upon the Royal Authority, during thoſe long diviſions, as tho it had been no more then an Airy Title, which was neither of any Efficacy, or Power to ſupport it ſelf: And the Kingdom, which for ſo many Ages had kept up ſo high a Degree and Reputation in *Europe*, was become the Scorn or Pity of Foreigners, according as they had a kindneſs, or diskindneſs for *France*. That Kingdom which had been for ſo long time the Sanctuary, and Refuge of the Oppreſſed, was now no other then the Stage of Oppreſſion, and the *Theatre* where the ſtrongeſt ſide Acted the moſt bloody Tragedies. 1600.

However, no ſooner was the Edict ſet forth, but *France* recover'd Peace; in ſo much, that in twenty four hours, as a Man may ſay, there was a Reformation of Forty Years Diſorders. Plenty and Proſperity re-enter'd by degrees into Families; and Order and Property took place again. The Country began to be Till'd: And the hopes of a laſting Tranquility encourag'd all people to repair the Ruins of their Inheritances. Every Body took Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates; and the Courts of Law were open to Legal Suits and Demands. Nor did the Eccleſiaſtics gain leſs than any of the Reſt. But the King got more then any Body. Splendor and Majeſty Readorn'd his Palace: He reſum'd his Authority over his People; and Foreigners once more began to look upon the Flouriſhing Kingdom either with Reſpect or Dread. The repoſe of *France* ballanc'd all *Europe*: The King jealous of his word, was ſoon confided in by his Allies; and in regard he had no other Ambition then to Reign for the good of all the World, without any deſire of Uſurping what belong'd to others, without Cruelty, without Devices and Tricks, ſo ſoon as they ſaw him at Quiet, he became the Love of his Subjects, an Umpire among the Chriſtian Princes, and the Admiration of his Enemies. The Politicians dreaded his Power, and for fear it ſhould grow too great, they thought it convenient to

1600. rid themselves of him by an execrable Assassination. The Rapidness of this happy Re-establishment may be easily conjectur'd at, by the small time they suffer'd him to live, after he had restor'd Peace to his People. Hardly ten Years were expir'd, after the settlement of Peace at home, before they posted on to this dismal extremity: And if he liv'd so long, 'twas not for want of sooner Attempts upon his Life, by cruel Conspiracies. Now in regard there is no greater Proof of the Benefit of a thing then by the Effects of it; it may be judg'd by the consequences of the Edict, that never any Prince conferr'd upon his Subjects a more wholesome and comfortable Law. And therefore the principal Reasons that were made use of to satisfie those, to whom there was some excuse to be made for the Edict, were generally drawn from the benefit of it: And there was no other way then that, to stop the Mouths of those who had the most desire or Interest to hinder the encrease of the *Reformed*. They acknowledg'd that the Kingdom stood in greater need of a Peace at home then abroad; and that having been so near Destruction by their long Divisions, they could never recover themselves but by Concord.

War about Religion the most Cruel.

And this was so much the more necessary, in regard that the Dispute being about Religion, those Wars that are made under that pretence, are always the most Cruel; because the Hatred is more implacable, and becomes more violent every day then the other, through the Zeal that kindles and incenses it. The Cruelty of the most Savage, may sometimes be Govern'd by Reason; but a Devout Cruelty will hearken to no Counsels that are able to confine the violence of it. For people of that Character make a Duty of their Cruelty; and easily perswade themselves, that the more Outragious the more Religious it is. So that if the Edict had not put a Period to Wars of this Nature, the Kingdom could never have escap'd a General Dissolution; in regard the weakest Party was strong enough to reduce to Extremity those who would have undertak'n their Ruin; and so the one half of the Kingdom that would have exterminated the other, would have no longer after that, been able to support it self.

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All that can be ſaid to the contrary is this, that a Kingdom is diſfigur'd by variety of Religions; that this difference of Sentiments foſters a ſecret Alienation in the Breaſts of Men, which conſumes the Kingdom by degrees like a Hectic Diſtemper; and that it always keeps a Door open for the Renewing Civil War, becauſe it cheriſhes in the Kingdom the Immortal Seeds of Faction. I confeſs it were to be wiſh'd that Chriſtianity were more Uniform; but in regard it is not my Province to handle this Matter like a Divine; I ſhall only ſay, that there is a ſort of Variety, which Policy may Condemn; that is to ſay, ſuch a one as is attended with Evil Conſequences, and which gives one Party an opportunity to oppreſs an other. But where there is a Variety, the bad Effects of which are prevented by good Laws, it is not to be condemn'd. It would have been pernicious to the Kingdom to ſuffer two Religions, and permit 'em always to be at odds, and in a continual ſtruggle to advance the one by the Oppoſition of the other. But there is no reaſon for that Kingdom to be afraid of any thing, that engages different Parties to a mutual Toleration. There is a variety of Religions, as of ſeveral Profeſſions. If people that follow ſeveral ways of living ſhould be permitted to make War one upon another; for Example, ſhould the Lawyers be ſuffer'd by open Force to deſtroy the Merchants and Husband Men, the Damage to the Kingdom would be viſible; but by Uniting 'em together in Peace, the Kingdom looſes nothing; and they are uſeful one to the other. In like manner, when a Kingdom is reduc'd to Tolerate various Religions, 'tis impoſſible but that it muſt be a great diſadvantage to the State, ſhould both Parties be left to themſelves to deſtroy one another. This is that which creates Factions and Parties; while the Conſpiracies of the one engage the other under a neceſſity of Uniting to defend themſelves. But when they are reſtrain'd by Laws that are Juſt and Moderate, there needs no more then to have a watchful Eye upon 'em, to prevent the Miſchief ariſing from variety of Sentiments. Subjects are in a Kingdom, as Children and Servants in a Family; and the variety of Sentiments is like the Diverſity of Tempers and

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When the variety of Religion ought not to be condemn'd in a Kingdom.

1600. Inclinations. Now then as diverſity of Humours is no hindrance to the Repoſe of a Family, when the Laws of Oeconomy are wiſely and faithfully obſerv'd, in like manner, Variety of Religions never diſturbs a Kingdom, when the Members of it look mutually one upon another as Children of the ſame Father, or Servants of the ſame Maſter; and the Sovereign doing equal Juſtice to Both, notwithſtanding this difference, carefully Obſerves, on every ſide, the Laws of Peace which he has granted 'em.

Hence it comes to paſs, that in Countries, where there is a Free Toleration, and perhaps too Univerſal, that the Tranquility of the Subject is nere the leſs; and that the difference of Religion, even in *France* it ſelf, has not hinder'd the Kingdom from enjoying a Proſperity of Fifty years together, and to mount to that Degree of Power that has ſubdu'd a great part of *Europe*. Now to ſpeak like a Politician, that which never diſturbs the Tranquility of a Kingdom, that which never interrupts the Happineſs of it, that which never ſuppreſſes the growing Grandeur of it, never disfigures or deforms it. There is nothing that Offends, or Diſgraces the Ornament of a Government but that which is pernicious. Every thing is lovely, every thing is profitable, at leaſt every thing is fit to be tolerated from whence no Miſchief proceeds, This cannot be contradicted in thoſe things that never ranverſe Divine Right, nor Moral Equity and Honeſty. Conſequently this is true in Toleration. It does not in the leaſt disfigure a Kingdom, when it extends not to Sects that ſap the very Foundations of Piety Rather it ought to be taken for an Ornament, becauſe it garniſhes the Motions and Intercourſe of the People with an Air of Peace and Charity, which is one of the moſt Glorious Characters of Mankind. Now the Religion of the *Reformed*, granting it came ſhort of that Purity which is Attributed to it, is at leaſt one of thoſe Religions, that cannot be accus'd of overturning the leaſt Foundation of Piety. Neither can the Morality of it, without Detraction, be call'd Corrupted, nor the Doctrine of it be ſaid to be impious, nor the Diſcipline of it Seditious. If it be true that it has any Defect; 'tis a ſcrupulous Delicacy which will

What is the Nature of the Reformed Religion.

will not ſuffer it to believe and practiſe what it is perſwaded that God never commands nor approves, a Niceneſs to be endur'd, if ever any were; ſince there is nothing againſt which the Conſcience ought to keep a ſtricter Guard, then againſt the Doctrines or Worſhips which are introduc'd under the Name of Religion, to the prejudice of Gods Commands. Conſequently it may be tolerated, and yet the Liberty allow'd it be no disfigurement to the Government which permits it. 1600.

If the Benefit of the Edict were ſo great, the Juſtice of it is no leſs. It is juſt, not to be Cruel; or if ſome times Men have prov'd Cruel either through prejudice, blind Zeal, or Tranſports of Paſſion, 'tis but Juſtice not to be ſo always. It is alſo more juſt, to be neither perfidious nor treacherous; or if ſometimes our Reaſon goes ſo far aſtray, as to permit us to become ſo, 'tis a neceſſary piece of Juſtice, as ſoon as may be, to return home to ſincerity. Cruelty and Perfidiouſneſs are the Diſgrace and Ignominy of Human Nature; Compaſſion and Fidelity the moſt ſolid Bleſſings of Society. If they have been Wreſted from it by Fraud and Barbariſm that have aſſum'd their Room, there is nothing more juſt then to reſtore 'em to it again, by re-eſtabliſhing, as ſoon as may be, the Rights of Honeſty and Humanity. Now it was a long time ſince, that both the one and the other were Renounc'd, in Reſpect of the Catholics, and that neither Pity nor Sincerity, was to be found in their Breaſts. For above Fifty years together, the unfortunate *Reformed* were deſtroy'd and havoch made of 'em by all manner of Torments: Above thirty years together, the Catholics made War upon 'em, without giving Quarter; and only Granted 'em a little breathing time of Peace, to take better meaſures and fitter Opportunities to exterminate 'em. However, this ſame Zeal of the Catholics, tho it had been juſt and rational, ought to have ſurceas'd, after ſo many vain Effects. Tho there had been ſomething of Religious and Evangelic in thoſe Cruelties, the Catholics had done enough to diſcharge their Conſciences. It was but juſt at length to return to means more Mild and Gentle. 'Twas time to mitigate thoſe Rigours, that did but augment *The Juſtice of the Edict.*

1600. ment the Number of the *Reformed*. They had in vain attempted the Reducing these pretended Wanderers, by all the means both Lawful and Unlawful, that Invention could Devise; even to the bringing the most flourishing Kingdom of *Christendom*, within a Fingers breadth of Desolation. Allurements, Promises, Favours, Writings, Pulpit-Harangues, Conferences, Threats, Torments, Massakers, Acts of Injustice, Fraud, Treachery, all the Artifices of a Deceitful Peace, all the Violences of a Merciless War had been made use of to no purpose. They had Banish'd, Re-call'd; Dispoil'd of all, Restor'd; Prosecuted in all the Ecclesiastical and Secular Courts, even by the Cruelty of the Inquisitors, whatever carry'd the Name of *Reformed*. They had had Edicts of Peace and War so often Granted, so many times Revok'd, that it was impossible any longer to Play a Game so pernicious to Human Society. It was not Just that Religion should serve any longer as a pretence for so much Confusion; it was therefore but Just that Sincerity and Humanity should resume their Station in the World, and that Wandering Consciences should be permitted to Govern themselves according to their own Illuminations, after their Enemies had so long labour'd to subdue 'em to the Judgments of others.

Moreover, these pretended Wanderers, who had done the Kingdom no other harm, then only taken Arms to defend themselves from unjust Oppressors, had done the same Kingdom both long and faithful Services, attested by all the Records of Time that preserve the Memory of 'em, confess'd by all Impartial Historians, contradicted only by Missionaries, whose Impudence is a Shame and Scandal to all Men of Honour. Now there is a reason deriv'd from Natural Right and Equity, which binds Reward to Service, and which looks upon as an Act of Injustice, the Persecuting, Oppressing, and Exterminating, with an Outragious Fury, those from whom they have receiv'd both advantagious Succour, and kind Offices of Defence and Preservation. The *Reformed*, who had all the *French* Catholics for Testimonies of their Fidelity, some because they had gain'd by their Assistance, others because they had felt the smart of it, talk'd loudly

loudly of their long and important Services; and of these two sorts of Catholics, there were some who were not asham'd to acknowledge 'em. When *Henry* III. put the Duke and Cardinal of *Guise* to Death, the Catholic Rebels were infinitely much stronger then they who continu'd in their Allegiance; but when the *Reformed* join'd the Kings Party, the Face of Affairs chang'd, and the Honest Party were soon in a Condition to overwhelm the other. And there needs but a little Partiality and Equity, for any Man to see what share they had in the Preservation of the Kingdom, when joining with the King, they not only ballanc'd Affairs, but turn'd the Scale on the Kings side. It might be said, without doing any body wrong, that they alone preserv'd the State, since they preserv'd the Catholics who jointly labour'd with 'em afterwards in the same performance. However I shall say no more, but that they lent a helping hand to the preservation of it; that they shar'd with the faithful Catholics the Honour of supporting the Crown, and fixing it upon the Head of him to whom it Lawfully appertain'd; that after they had fasten'd it upon the Head of *Henry* III. they assisted his Successor to recover it again, and to defend his Claim against the fury of the League, and the Conspiracies of *Spain* and *Italy*. It was but just then that they should share in the Reward, after they had undergon their part of the Toils and Hazards of the War; that they should partake of the Repose and Pleasures also of the Peace. Now this is all that the Edict of *Nantes* has done for 'em. Nevertheless, there is something more to be said. When we speak of Recompence, there is something to be understood, which distinguishes one Man from another; which confers upon the one, by reason of his Merit and Services, somewhat which is not bestow'd upon another, because there is not the same reason for the preference. Between the Prince and Subject, Recompence gives to the Receiver something more then is owing to him from the Prince under the Quality of a Subject, and distinguishes him from that Equality wherein others remain. If it be Just then, and grounded upon the most evident Principles of Natural Understanding, that Faithful Subjects should have Rewards conferr'd upon 'em, that signalize

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Justice of Reward after Service done.

What Reward is.

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1600. and distinguish 'em, how much more Equitable is it, to Grant 'em for their Recompence, that which does no more then equal 'em with others, and put 'em into the same Condition? Now the Favours and Priviledges of the Edict are no more then Recompences of the last Order. The Edict Grants nothing to the *Reformed* that distinguishes 'em from others under the Quality of Subjects, or which may be taken to be any Mark of Preference before another. It grants 'em nothing but the Security of their Persons, their Estates and their Lives, the Liberty of their Consciences, free Priviledge to Worship God, and procure the Salvation of their Souls, according to their own Opinions and Judgments, to share alike with others the Protection of the Laws, and the Benefit of Justice; to have the same Liberty of Preferment to Employments and Offices, by their Merit; to Professions, by their Sufficiency; to Trades, by their Capacity: To have power to Assemble and Confer together, and Mutually to Assist each other in the Performances of Religion and Piety; to enjoy equally with the Catholics the Right which Nature gives to Fathers over their Children, to Masters over their Hir'd Servants; to participate of the Mutual Succours of Society during Life, and the Duties of Enterrment after Death. In a word, there is nothing in the Edict that grants any thing more to the *Reformed* then what all other Subjects enjoy. On the other side, the greatest part of these Common Rights are granted the *Reformed* with certain Limitations, which clearly show'd that all the Sway and Dominion was in the hands of the Catholics, and that the *Reformed* were only Associated to these Advantages by a Treaty of Mutual Toleration. The Securities also are a sufficient Proof that the Equality was not perfect, and that the *Reformed* had neither Power nor Credit. Securities are never taken but from those that are the stronger, or the most suspected; and they that require 'em, acknowledge at the same time a kind of Superiority in those that Grant 'em.

The Edict Grants nothing to the Reformed, &c.

This not being to be question'd in the least, it was but a piece of Justice to Grant the *Reformed* for their Services, those Favours that did no more then equal 'em with others. This

The Concessions for this reason Inasmuch the more Just.

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was indeed to grant 'em juſt nothing; it was no more then a Reſtitution of what belong'd to 'em, to maintain 'em in their Rights of Nature, and in thoſe which they had by Birth, like others that breath'd the ſame Air, and obey'd the ſame Prince. There is nothing can be call'd Juſt, if the Preſervation of Common Right may not deſerve that Name; more eſpecially in favour of thoſe, who have perform'd for the good of their Country, the ſame Duties and Services with the reſt of their Fellow Country-men. Let us ſuppoſe, for a moment, that theſe Advantages were refus'd the *Reformed* after their good Services; or rather, without ſuppoſing any thing, let us look upon 'em, as they were before the Edict was Granted, and what they are ſince it was revok'd. We ſhall ſee Catholics and *Reformed*, at leaſt under the ſame Obedience; preferr'd to the ſame Offices; ſharing in the ſame Exigencies of State; embracing the ſame Opportunities to ſerve their Prince; having the ſame Civil Laws, the ſame Obligations, the ſame Intereſts, the ſame Enemies. So much Equality in all theſe things, requires that it ſhould be the ſame in all the reſt; but we ſhall find it ceaſe, ſo ſoon as we ſhall but turn our Eyes upon the *Reformed*, depriv'd of the Favours of the Edict. We ſhall find 'em abus'd in their Perſons; ruin'd in their Eſtates; excluded from all Employments either of Honour or Profit; baniſh'd their Country; depriv'd of all the Priviledges of Conſcience and Nature; and notwithſtanding their Merits or Abilities, bereav'd of all Equality with others, no better Subjects then themſelves; ſo far from obtaining diſtinguiſhing Rewards. Certainly, there cannot be imagin'd the leaſt Idea of Juſtice in ſuch a prodigious diſproportion; in ſuch a violent ſeparation of Merit and Recompence, that they who might juſtly reck'n upon their Deſerts, inſtead of obtaining favours equal to thoſe which are granted to others under the ſame Circumſtances, can hardly find Subſiſtance and Security, for all their Pains and Labour. How is it poſſible that Juſtice ſhould brook, that that part of the Kingdom, which, to ſay no more, ſo ſtrenuouſly contributed with the other to preſerve it, ſhould be Oppreſs'd, Deſtroy'd, and Proſecuted, with Fire and Sword, by the other that could not have bee-

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1600. preserv'd without it. 'Tis the same thing, as if a Prince that had won great Conquests by the Assistance and Valour of his Souldiers, should order the one half of his Army to cut the other in pieces, to Reward 'em for their good Service.

What the Edict grants the Reformed does no body harm.

I confess, that after all these Reflections, one difficulty would still remain behind, were it so that others were to be depriv'd of those Favours, before they could be bestow'd upon the *Reformed*. Justice does not require that one should be dispoil'd to enrich another, seeing that the Principal Duty of it, is to secure to every Body his own Right; but the Peace Granted to the *Reformed* took nothing from the Catholics. The Rights of Nature and of Birth, are Blessings which every individual Man possesses; in the Enjoyment of which, the Advantages of the one part never injure the other. The Liberty of one Man, let it be never so far extended, never confines the Liberty of his Equal within ere a jot the narrower Bounds. While one is allur'd by the Right of aspiring to Rewards and Dignities by Merit and Services, there is a Door left open for others to ascend by the same Steps. A Father loses nothing of his Lawful Authority over his Children and his Family, tho all other Fathers enjoy the same Power. The Conscience of a Catholic is ne'r the less free, tho the Conscience of a *Reformed* Person be not put upon the Rack. In a word, all these Advantages are such, that the one may gain by 'em, and the other never lose; as the Priviledge of Burgesship is no Dismembring of his Freedom from another. In like manner the Liberty which Nature gives to every Man to breath the same Air, and enjoy the same Sun-shine, is no hindrance, but that every Man has the same share both of the Air and the Light. Moreover, the Catholics have taken all the Caution imaginable, not to be losers themselves. They have restor'd their Religion to every thing which the War had taken from it. Time has made it out that they have been great Gainers by the Edict. Their Religion wanted much of that Splendor and Pomp which afterwards it attain'd to; which is no small matter, since Worldly Lustre is one of the Principal Objects of the Politicks of that Religion. Besides, it is by the Edicts that she preserves her Superiority, her Churches, her Houses, her Revenues,

The Catholics Gainers by the Edicts.

Revenues, her Church-yards, and her Ceremonies; and far from seeing her Priviledges lessen'd, she has acquir'd new ones. So that the Concessions of the Edict being grounded upon the Nature of the Things, and the Civil Rights that every Man is Born to; and moreover, depriving no body of that which they secur'd to so many Lawful Members of the Kingdom, it was an apparent Act of Justice that the *Reformed* should enjoy it. There was no room here for the Exception of another Mans Right, which the Kings of *France* formerly excepted in all their Letters, and which ought to be Naturally understood in all Acts, intending Sincerity, and publish'd by Authority, wherein it is not expres'd. And as the Favours done the *Reformed* are things which Create no Loss or Dammage to others, there is no body that can, or ought in Justice to find fault with, or oppose 'em. 1600.

The Edict ought to be Irrevocable.

From these two good Qualities of the Edict thus join'd together, arises a third of *Perpetual* and *Irrevocable*, which agrees with nothing more Naturally then with Laws and Treaties, the Justice and Benefit of which ought never to be disputed. 'Tis not my design to insist upon these two Words, in regard they are made use of in the Edict it self. I know very well, it would be a thing that would produce extraordinary Consequences, were it sufficient to give 'em the Name of such, to render Laws Eternal and Unalterable. Altho that Vows and Oaths are the strongest Obligations with which a Man can burthen his Conscience, yet there are some that carry in themselves a Character of Nullity, that breaks the Bond of their Assurance. Such are those by which a Man is oblig'd to things Unjust or Impossible. The Epithites of *Rash* and *Inconsiderate* will always cleave to 'em, but they cannot be thought Irrevocable, tho it were so expres'd in the Draught with all the Words that imported such a meaning. There are also Laws that carry in themselves the Marks of their being fit to be revok'd; tho he that made 'em obliges himself in never so expres Words, never to revoke 'em. Such are those Laws that oblige to Injustice or Cruelty. Such are those Treaties also that oblige the Ratifiers to violate Humanity and Honesty. Such is the Edict by which *Lewis* XIV. revok'd the Edict of

1600. *Nantes*; which is nothing in the Main but a Solemn Promiſe never to do Juſtice to a great Number of his Subjects. Let 'em call theſe Acts Irrevocable as long as they pleaſe, they ceaſe not however to be liable to Revocation, becauſe they are void in themſelves; and for that the Maxim touching Oaths may be juſtly apply'd to 'em, that they ought not to be obſerv'd in things that are Diſhoneſt and Ignominious. Nevertheleſs, it is not to be imagin'd that theſe Terms are Illuſory, like certain Clauſes that are never inſerted into Contracts, but meerly for Formalities ſake; but which neither add to their perfection nor their firmneſs. 'Tis not to be thought, that thoſe words, the meaning of which is ſo well known, loſe it as ſoon as they are put into an Edict; as if they only would infer, that the thing ſhall remain in force no longer then the good pleaſure of the ſtrongeſt ſide. This would be to break all the Bonds of Civil Society, and to ranverſe all the Foundations of Honeſty and Sincere Dealing, ſhould Men go about to change the moſt expreſs Words into Deluſions, which are made uſe of to deceive thoſe that take 'em according to their Natural Idea's. It muſt be confeſs'd at leaſt, that in Things which include nothing of Unjuſt, nothing Inhuman, nor Diſhoneſt, whatever is promis'd as Irrevocable, ought unalterably to be obſerv'd. Theſe Terms then are of great weight, and give a great force to thoſe Laws wherein they are inſerted; more eſpecially when thoſe Laws proceeded from the pure and ſole Free-will and Inclination of the Legiſlator, without being admoniſh'd, requir'd or ſollicited to make 'em. It might be ſaid, that when a Prince Promulgates a Law meerly becauſe it is his Pleaſure ſo to do, the Benefit which he Grants his Subjects depending clearly upon himſelf, may be confin'd to his Pleaſure, and endure no longer then he thinks it convenient. But when thoſe Laws have been ſought for, ſu'd for, ſollicited, and obtain'd, after long and mature Conſiderations, after the Negotiations and Conferences of ſeveral Years; if they have been Proclaim'd with the Title of Irrevocable, they ought to be ſuch effectually, becauſe 'tis certain they were Requeſted and Granted under that Qualification. Otherwiſe there would be nothing ſtable in the Conceſſions of Soveraigns, nothing aſſur'd

Conſiderations upon the Word.

assur'd in the Condition of Subjects. And in regard there are always several Families whose settlements are founded upon these Concessions, they would be always in fear of approaching Ruin, if they could not rely upon the Title of Irrecoverable which the Prince has stampt upon 'em. All this ought also to be still more evident, when the Concessions are just and profitable; when they make for the Welfare and Advantage of any one, without doing any Body an Injury: When they are likewise in some measure due and necessary; either, because they who have obtain'd 'em have deserv'd 'em; or for that without 'em they could not be assur'd either of their Repose, or of their Lives. 1600.

And upon the things.

But not to insist upon Words, I have some other Reflexions upon the things themselves. I say then, that the Nature of the thing requires that Edicts should be irrevocable, either when the matter which they contain is just in it self, or when they supply the place, and have the Force of a Sincere and Honest Treaty. Both the one and the other is to be met with in the Edict of *Nantes*. The matter which it ordains is a natural piece of Justice, as I can make out by Reflexions different from those which I have already made. All that it contains may be reduc'd to two Heads; that is to say, Liberty of Conscience, and securing the *Reformed* in their Natural and Civil Rights. Liberty of Conscience is a Piece of Justice so evident, that in the very Bosom of the Roman Church it self, which looks upon it as a part of her Duty to persecute others, there are Doctors who do not hold it proper to make use of Extremities to constrain it. At least it is certain that it ought not to be forc'd because it cannot be compell'd. Whatever Violence may be offer'd to Men, 'tis impossible to force 'em not to think what they think, or not to judge things Good or Evil, according as they are represented by their Understanding and Knowledge. The Conscience was made to depend upon God alone; to whom all the Motions and Inclinations of it have a kind of Resemblance in the Nature and Constitution of it: And is as it were a kind of substitute under the Eternal Justice to give an Account to God of the Heart of Man; but never gives it to any but God himself.

Rights of Conscience.

1600. himself. So that at the same time, that you extort from a Man by Violence an outward Approbation of things which the Conscience condemns, it protests in secret against what the Lips are forc'd to utter; and even during the Torment it self, or in the rude Hands of Armed Souldiers, preserves the Liberty both of seeing and judging that a Man is compell'd to Sin, when he is made to do that which his Conscience cannot approve. Now therefore, 'tis the highest Piece of Injustice to go about to bereave a Man of that which constraint it self and utmost violence cannot force from him; neither can such a Compulsion produce any other then one of these two Effects: Either he must be made Guilty of abominable Hypocrisie, by compelling him to declare a Veneration for what he abhors; or else he must be condemn'd to Tortures and Cruelties, of which there is to be no end, but with his vanquish'd Constancy or his Life. There are some things so Sacred in the Rights of Conscience, that God himself, to whom alone it is only subject, would never assume to violate; and therefore he so wisely manages the Operations and Victories of his Grace, in the Conversion of Souls, that he never Offers Violence to that Liberty. Whence it follows, that Men who have no Jurisdiction over it, cannot go about to force it, but they must commit a most Apparent Act of Injustice. But there arises from hence a second consequence, that since it is so unjust a thing to compel the Conscience; 'tis but justice on the other side to allow it all the Priviledges that belong to it. If then the Concessions grounded upon this Justice are to be Eternal and Unalterable, like that Justice which gives 'em their Authority, there can be never any Edicts that more deserve to be exempt from Revocation, then those that secure the Conscience that Liberty which Nature gives it, and which discharges it from all constraint.

The Force of Edicts that maintain Liberty.

And of those that are granted for the preservation of the Societies.

'Tis the very same thing with Edicts that are Granted for the Preservation of Subjects, and which secure their persons, their Fortunes and their Rights. Certainly, never any people, when they first embody under certain Forms of Government, pretended either to give, or suffer others to assume an Authority to destroy 'em. Surely they never renounc'd that

that Independency wherein they are Born, every one ſingly in reſpect of others, but only becauſe they found more ſafety in their Uniting for the common defence, or in the Protection of the Stranger. Nothing can recompence 'em for that Subjection which takes from 'em one part of their Liberty, but their Aſſurance of preſerving by that petty damage all the reſt of their Priviledges. 'Tis therefore the Natural Duty of Sovereigns to ſecure 'em alike to all to whom they belong; becauſe they are advanc'd to Sovereign Power to be their Conſervators, and for that the Preſervation of their Subjects is the principal Obligation of their Crown. Their Authority is the Image of Providence that Governs only to preſerve. There is nothing but our Rebellion, either as God's Creatures, that cauſes us to forfeit the preſerving Aid of Providence; or as Subjects, that deprives 'em of their ſhare of the Publick protection. But as for Subjects Peaceable, Obedient, Faithful, and the moſt recommendable by their Merits and their Services, it cannot be imagin'd, why leave ſhould be given to bereave 'em of the Priviledges that preſerve 'em; or that a Sovereign who is oblig'd by his Character to uphold 'em, could ever revoke Edicts that were ſo neceſſary for their Defence. Either they muſt take from thoſe that live under the benefit of the Edicts, the Quality of Subjects, with which they were born, and of which they carry the Eſſential Mark in their Obedience; or elſe they ought to have left 'em as well as others, whatever appertains to 'em in the ſame Quality. But how can they take from 'em the Quality of Subjects? They are neither Forreigners nor Enemies. They are not Forreigners, becauſe they were born in the ſame Air, as the reſt were, as alſo under the ſame Authority, and under the ſame Laws. They are not Enemies, becauſe they pay Homage and Allegiance. Being then Subjects, 'tis impoſſible that thoſe Edicts which maintain 'em in the Priviledges of their condition, ſhould be thought liable to Revocation; unleſs they thought at the ſame time that a Prince might lawfully deſtroy a State that was Obedient to his Government; or that among Members of one and the ſame Dominion, one party ſhould have leave to oppreſs the other, without any regard to Juſtice or Humanity.

1600.

The preſervation of Subjects the chief Obligation of Sovereigns.

But

1600. But if such Edicts are irrevocable, in respect of the Nature of the things themselves, they ought to be yet far more unalterable, by reason of the Treaty which they include. In general it may be said, that all the Edicts of Protection which a Soveraign Grants his Subjects are equivalent to Treaties; because they are no more then a Renewing the Original and Fundamental Treaty, upon which all Societies are establish'd. Let 'em use all the shifts they can, 'tis never to be deny'd without a voluntary blindness, but that the Power of Soveraigns Springs from an Express or tacit Treaty, by which their Subjects submit their Persons and Estates to their Dominion, upon condition of doing 'em Justice at home, and protecting 'em abroad. In Conquests also the weakest Treats with the strongest, upon conditions of Surrender; and they who yield to the Discretion of the Victor, make him only Master of the conditions of Preservation which they expect. So soon as the Articles are agreed on, on both sides, the Laws prescrib'd the Conquer'd are chang'd into a Treaty, by which the Conquerour is oblig'd to leave 'em either their Estates, their Lives, or their Liberty, upon Condition that they perform those Duties which necessity imposes upon 'em. Otherwise it is not to be conceiv'd, that Men would submit themselves to be destroy'd at the pleasure of the strongest, without reserving some Assurance of being able to preserve themselves by a profound Obedience. Servitude is contrary to Nature, and according to the sentiment of several Lawyers, 'tis not in the Power of a Man, to submit his Life, without any Condition, to the fancies and Capricio's of a Master. But I am desirous to consider it here, under a less Odious Character, as a Degree of extream subjection; as the most strict engagement, to which a Man may be reduc'd, in respect of another. In this case, I say, that it includes something of Reciprocal, and the Slave does not yield his Master the Power of Life and Death over him, but to make use of it in case of Revolt and Rebellion; but supposing Obedience and Fidelity, Slavery it self has those priviledges, which the Master is ty'd to Observe. A Slave does not Sacrifice his Liberty, but for the preservation of his Life. So that he resumes the Rights of his Liberty, if his Master persecutes

An Express or Tacit Treaty naturally between Sovereign and Subject.

Also between Master and Slave.

ſecutes him, and aſſails his Life, while he perſeveres in his Duty. Liberty is priviled'd. As it is one of the moſt Natural Bleſſings of Mankind, and the moſt inſeparable from him, ſo he recovers and re eſtabliſhes his Rights, ſo ſoon as he to whom they are ſubmitted abuſes 'em to the Deſtruction of thoſe that are ſubjected to his Power. If there are Examples in the World of any contrary Uſage, that ne're proceeds from Right, which can never Authorize Tyranny; but from the Violence of the ſtronger Party, which through Terror ſtupifies and ſilences the Voice of Nature and Innocence. Beſides, it is not to be found, but among People, where Barbariſm has Uſurp'd the place of Nature; and where Force never liſtens to the Maxims of Juſtice. According to this Principle then, whereever the Leſſons of Juſtice and Nature are liſten'd to, the Relations of Soverſgnty and Subjection are grounded upon a Primitive Condition, which ſets up all Authority on the one ſide, on purpoſe to be employ'd for Common preſervation; and gives all Obedience on the other ſide, upon Condition of the Recompence of Protection. Which being a Treaty, either Tacit or Expreſs, the Articles of which are vary'd in ſeveral manners, according to the different Conſtitutions of States, all Edicts, by which this Protection is promis'd, or which are neceſſary to give aſſurance of it, are only Renovations of that Fundamental Obligation, which is the Natural Duty of Soveraignty. Theſe are therefore Treaties, becauſe they are in Truth but Ratifications of the Former; and they are no more to be Revok'd, then the Fundamental Condition of Supreme Power. 1600

The Force of Treaties.

But not to have recourſe to general Conſiderations, I ſay particularly, that never any perſon qneſtion'd the ſtability of Treaties, where the moſt Eſſential Things have been obſerv'd, which have been concluded between Parties of ſufficient Power, by perſons of Capacity fully inform'd of their buſineſs, after mature Deliberation, without Fraud or Violence. If all this were to be found in the Edict of *Nantes*, it cannot be deny'd, but that it ought to be as irrevocable, as the moſt Solemn Treaty that ever was mention'd in Story. The Appellation of *Treaty* has been likewiſe given it by the moſt paſ-

The Edict of Nantes a Treaty.

1600. sionate Catholics, even by the Jesuits themselves, who of late years having labour'd to annihilate it, acknowledg'd before it was Granted, *That the Negotiation and the Treaty held on for several whole years together.* In a Word History most evidently demonstrates it. There you shall Observe Parties having different Pretensions, who Depute, Confer, Contest, and agree. Four Years were spent in these Negotiations, if we begin from the Assembly of *St. Foy*, where the first Foundation of this Work was laid. Two Years at least were spun out; if we begin to reck'n from the time that the King promis'd to send Commissioners, with Instructions and Plenary Power. Never Treaty between a King and a King, or between a State and a State, had more Marks, or more Circumstances to make it a real Treaty. 'Tis true, that when it was Publish'd, they did not give it the Name of a Treaty, but of an Edict. However the Name did not change the Thing; and if the Title made any difference in the Outward Form of an Edict, or a Contract, nevertheless such an Edict, and such a Treaty vary nothing in substance. Treaties also that are made with Foraigners, sometimes assume the Form of an Edict, when they are Publish'd in the Kingdom. Thus in the first Civil Wars, after a Treaty concluded at the Head of the Armies, there was an Edict Compos'd, which the *Reformed* reap'd as the Harvest of the War. Besides, that the Form of the Edict, in such a Case, serves only to give it new strength, since it adds the Majesty of a Law to the firmness of a Decree. Whence I conclude, that an Edict where these two Characters concur, as in that of *Nantes*, is so much the more irrevocable, in regard that at the same time 'tis both a Law just, wisely Ordain'd, Venerable, and a sincere Treaty.

The Form of the Edict renders it more Venerable.

But to make this matter yet more clearly out, I shall consider this Treaty two ways: Either as made between the King and his Reformed Subjects, or between the *Reformed* and the *Catholics*, under a kind of Comyromise, or mutual Reference to the King, who by Vertue of that Character is the Soveraign Judge, and Born Umpire of all diforms that arises between his Subjects. I say that these two Relations are no way

Two things relating to a Treaty in the Edict. 1. Between the King and the Reformed. 2. Between the Catholics and the Reformed.

way contradictory, but may naturally be included in the ſame Act. The Edict then is at the ſame time a Treaty where both King and the Reformed oblige themſelves to certain conditions; and where the *Catholics* and *Reformed* are regulated and moderated, as to their Differences, by the King's Deciſions, the only lawful Arbitrator of their Reciprocal Pretenſions. The thing is of that Importance as Merits to be Examin'd upon theſe two Reſpects. Conſidering it then, as a Treaty between the King and the *Reformed*, I ſay that the King, when he came to the Crown, found 'em Arm'd, upon two Accounts. Firſt they had been conſtantly expoſing their Lives and Eſtates for near twenty years together, to defend the King himſelf againſt thoſe, who went about to Raviſh from him his lawful Right. And moreover they were in Arms for their own Preſervation, againſt people that had proſecuted 'em for near Thirty Years togethe, with all the Rigourous ways of Injuſtice and Cruelty. So that the Treaty which they made with him, was a Treaty touching Reward for their Services, and on the other ſide a Treaty of Precaution againſt their implacable Enemies, upon the aſſurance of which they might lay down their Arms. Whence it follow'd, that whatever is contain'd in the Edict is nothing elſe, but either Conceſſions to ſatisfie 'em upon their Demands, or ſecurities Equivalent to thoſe which they might have obtain'd by their Arms and their Courage. By that means they in ſome meaſure reſign'd their Arms into the King's Hands, who reciprocally took upon him to Defend and Protect 'em. So that they ſincerely and faithfully commit themſelves to the Care of his Protection, and he on the other ſide engages to preſerve 'em by his Authority from the Artifices and Violences of thoſe, who for ſo many years together had labour'd their Deſtruction. He could not therefore depart from his promis'd Protection, without violating his Word and Faith, which is the Soul of all Societies, and the only Bond of their ſubſiſtance.

1600

The Reformed Treats with the King. 1. For Recompence for their Services. 2. Touching their being ſecur'd againſt their Enemies.

Should it be Objected that 'tis not true, that they reſign'd their Arms into the King's Hands, ſince they held ſo many ſtrong Places and well provided Garriſons; which in reality

1600. was to remain in Arms, when all the reſt of *France* had laid down theirs; this a difficulty not hard to be unfolded. Firſt, the *Reformed* ſaw their Enemies Maſters of a great Number of ſtrong Holds, where the King was no otherwiſe Obey'd then as it pleas'd thoſe that Commanded 'em. Moreover, altho the Royal Authority began to reſume ſome Life and Vigour, yet it was but in a Tottering Condition. The King was rather Beſieg'd, then ſerv'd by the *Catholics* of his Court, and chiefly by a Great Number of thoſe who had been Leaguers. His was at their Devotion, rather then they at his. Experience of what had paſt was a fair warning to the *Reformed*, what Factious and Diſcontented Perſons might cauſe the King to do, when his Perſon was in their Hands. They were afraid and that juſtly too, leaſt he might be nonſtrain'd to Sacrifice their Lives to their Enemies, for Fear leaſt their Enemies ſhould make ſome Attempt upon his. Beſides that the Cuſtody of thoſe Places was but a Depoſitum or Truſt, which was to be Surrender'd up ſo ſoon as the Term was expir'd: And if they intended that the *Reformed* ſhould not require a longer time, 'twas the beſt Courſe the *Catholics* could take to live in brotherly Union with 'em, and to Obſerve the Edicts more Faithfully then they were wont to do. Which being well conſider'd, ſhews that the keeping thoſe Places, was but a Pledge, which the weaker Party took to aſſure themſelves of the Fidelity of the others, and no way hinder'd the Treaty on the ſide of the *Reformed* from being Real and Sincere. For Pledges given for the Performance of a Contract between Private Men, no way leſſen the Sincerity of the Treaty, nor weaken the Strength and Virtue of it.

Places of Security.

Kings may Treat with their Subjects.

There is nothing to be ſaid againſt all this; but only that it is not with Treaties between a King and his Subjects as with thoſe that are made between private perſons; as well becauſe the Obligation of Kings towards their Subjects, depends only upon their good Will and Pleaſure; as for that the Inequality between Subjects and Princes renders 'em incapable of making ſuch Treaties whoſe Obligation may be equal on both ſides. But neither the one nor the other of theſe two Aſſertions is True. Theſe Maxims are only proper for

those who desire to convert all Political Authority into Ty- 1600.
ranny. But since it it the greatest Glory of Soveraigns to be
the Image of God, 'tis ill done of Flattery to perswade 'em, *Proofs.*
that 'tis beneath 'em to deal with their Subjects, as God deals by all mankind. Now God is not so jealous of his Majesty, but that he condescends to Treat and Contract with Men, to engage himself to 'em, and bind them to him by Reciprocal Conditions. Nor does he ever alleadge the Pretence of his Grandeur, or of the Inferior subjection of his Creatures to elude the Force of those Treaties which he has made with 'em; and yet he has Priviledges much more absolute over Men, then Soveraigns over their Subjects; nor is there any Government in the World, how Arbitrary and Despotic soever, that can equal the Power of God over the Universe: Whither we consider his Infinite Perfections, or the being which he has given to the Grand Structure of Heaven and Earth. 'Tis not therefore to be imagin'd, that the Exaltation of a King above his Subjects should invalidate the Obligation of a Treaty, since the Superiority of God above his Creatures does not do it. For which Reason it is, that the Clergy make no Question but that such Contracts may be made between the one and the other. And to say nothing now of such as are enter'd into, between Princes and the Clergy every day, whereby they draw from 'em certain Concessions, upon condition of certain Assistances, which they might have requir'd from him without a Treaty, like their other Subjects; I say, not to mention these daily Contracts, the Clergy have chang'd into Treaties the Concessions which they have obtain'd at several times, through the easiness of the Princes. The Lawyers who have Written in Defence of their Interests, have made this Observation in Favour of 'em, not questioning but that their Priviledges became more certain and lasting, and by consequence that Princes and Subjects might lawfully and effectually Treat together. Whence it came to pass, that to renew the Reciprocal Obligations of these Treaties, the Kings at their Coronation Swear to maintain the Clergy in their Priviledges; and that every one of those who enjoy Benefices by the King's Nomination, Swear Fealty to him, before they take

1600. take Poſſeſſion, The Kings of *France* alſo make no doubt of the validity of theſe Treaties, which appear'd from the Politics of *Lewis* XIII. of which in due place, during the Wars about Religion, which laſted about ten years under his Reign, he always avoided the Name of a Treaty, as well in the Articles of Cities that ſurreuder'd to him, as in his Edicts, with which he amus'd the Credulity of the people, becauſe he would be Maſter of the Advantages which he Granted the *Reformed*, to the end, *ſaid he*, That all the Liberties which he left 'em to enjoy, ſhould depend meerly upon his Pleaſure and his Word. From whence 'twas evident, that when he conſented to any thing by a Treaty, he thought himſelf no longer Maſter of it: Conſequently, that he was convinc'd *that* Treaties between Kings and their Subjects are as binding, as thoſe between other Men, and their Equals; and that when there are any ſuch Treaties between 'em, the Prince has no more Right to Violate 'em, then the Subjects themſelves.

Which is grounded upon this, that altho the Inequality be very great between the Soveraign and the Subject; yet there remains a certain Equality, which the difference between Empire and Subjection cannot deſtroy: That is to ſay, an equal Obligation to be Juſt, Equitable and Sincere; without which 'tis impoſſible that they ſhould mutually render to each other what is mutually their due. Now this equality is ſufficient for Treaties, in regard that upon theſe Foundation it is, that all their Efficacy is eſtabliſh'd. If it be pretended, that at leaſt generally and according to Order, Subjects are to Treat by way of Petition and Remonſtrance, and w it for the Determination of their Prince, without Negotiation, and demanding it by Treaties; I will ſuppoſe this to be generally True, and in Affairs that follow the Regular Courſe of Government.

But there are doubtleſs ſome Caſes, that admit of another way of proceeding, wherein the Subjects may demand a Treaty, and look upon whatever they gain by it, as obtain'd by a Treaty. This is evident in Civil Wars, where Rebels themſelves, whoſe taking Arms is Unjuſt, do not always ſurrender at Diſcretion, but return to their Obedience upon Conditions agreed on with their Prince. Now it would be a moſt

most Palpable Abſurdity, that Rebellion ſhould give Subjects a Liberty to treat with their Soveraigns, and that never any thing ſhould be able to render Authentic the Treaties of Faithful Subjects. This would be an Invitation of the Subjects to revolt, every time they would be aſſur'd of their Priviledges, to pretend they could never obtain a Confirmation of 'em by Treaties, unleſs they were Rebels. If ever then there were any Occaſions upon which Subjects might be allow'd to Treat with their Princes, the Treaty upon which the Edict of *Nantes* was grounded moſt certainly, was one. 1600.

Six conſiderations that demonſtrate it.

1. Firſt, one Part of the Kingdom had declar'd againſt the other, and had perſecuted it by all the Ways that a moſt mortal and inveterate Hatred could Deviſe: And this Perſecution had laſted till the Time of the Edict for above Fifty years. They were not content with Vexations and Cavils to perplex and Haraſs the Oppreſs'd Party; but they were come to the laſt Extremities; nothing would ſerve 'em but Extermination; and they had ſhed the Blood of the pretended Heretics in all parts, by all manner of Butcheries.

2. Secondly, Theſe Violences had Oblig'd the Perſecuted to Unite together, in Defence of their Lives, and to Repel by Force of Arms the Fury of their Enemies: Which being grounded upon the Law of Nature it ſelf, cannot be lookt upon as unlawful but by thoſe, who believe that Innocent people forfeit their Innocency, when they will not ſuffer their Throats to be Cut, without defending themſelves.

3. By this means, there were two Parties form'd; of which the one was the Aggreſſor, the other ſtood upon the Defenſive Part; and which having Intereſts as different as Deſtruction and Preſervation; and Forces that were not ſo unequal that the one could exterminate the other without expoſing themſelves to half the Danger, either the Kingdom would have been laid deſolate by continual War; or both Parties muſt Treat together for the common Tranquility.

4. The King's had taken ſides in theſe Quarrels; not only becauſe it was in their Name, that ſo many poor people were Condemn'd to terrible Torments; but becauſe they were the perſons themſelves, who had rais'd Armies to deſtroy

1600. to destroy 'em; who had brok'n Treaties; revok'd Edicts of Peace; and who had Order'd and put in execution several Massakers.

5. *Henry* III. went farther then all this: He had Sworn to destroy all the *Reformed*, Root and Branch, and never to be at Peace with 'em. He had declar'd himself Head of the League, which was made under a Solemn pretence to exterminate 'em, as a Wise Man observ'd of the King, *That he was become Head of a Party, and of a Common Father, an Enemy of one Part of his Subjects.* And then it was, that those Persecuted Subjects who could not have pretended to any such Right before, were Authoriz'd to Form a Party that might lawfully Defend 'em, since their Prince had declar'd a merciless War against 'em, and had Devoted 'em as Victims to the Fury of their Ancient Enemies. Their Arms could then no longer be lookt upon as taken up against the King's Authority, but against the Violence of a Destroyer: Against an Enemy, in whom they could no longer confide; since he had Sworn never to observe any Treaties of Peace, that ever he made with 'em, but till he found a fit Opportunity to break 'em.

6. The Change which happen'd by the Death of the *Guises*, and afterwards by that of the King, had not Cancell'd that Distinction of Parties, seeing that the Catholics who were United before, to make War upon the *Reformed*, being then divided into two, the *Reformed* were actually in War with those who follow'd the Duke of *Main*, and with the other liv'd in a kind of secret Enmity, conceal'd under the Name of a Truce. On the one side, the War still continu'd; on the other it was still suspended. At that time there was a Right which render'd 'em capable of Treating one with another, to terminate their Divisions by a Peace. *Hen.* IV. also having relinquish'd the Catholics, and set himself at the Head of the Catholics, whose Religion he had embrac'd, the *Reformed* were under the same condition, as they were under his Predecessor; that is to say, in the Condition of Enemies to the rest of his Subjects, whose security depended upon the Sincerity of a Truce.

He

He was willing 'tis true, to have re-assumed the Title of Common Father; but that could not be done, but by quite surceasing the Causes of the Animosity; or by re-settling Concord by a Treaty, which might procure Confidence and Assurance. I say this moreover. The *Reformed* were if possible, more capable of Treating in his Reign, then under the Reign of *Hen.* III. 1600.

1. Because he had given 'em Authority to embody, had exhorted 'em to Unite together in their own Defence, permitted 'em to Erect Councils and Assemblies, which he had, as it were Legitimated by his Letters Patents, supposing they had not been Legitimate without it. He had been the first Author of their Union, when he put himself at their Head, to defend 'em against *Hen.* III. and by consequence, as much as their Union was just under the Reign of that Prince, as just it was under the following Reign, when they had the same Differences to dispute with *Hen.* IV. as they had with his Predecessor.

2. He had acknowledg'd those Assemblies capable of Treating with him, by sending his Commissioners to Treat with 'em according to their Commissions and Instructions; and by permitting the Proposals on both sides to be Debated, Argu'd, Explain'd, Decreed, as is usual in all Treaties.

Respects upon which the King Treats.

Now the King could not enter into a Treaty but in these two Respects: The one, as Chief of the *Catholics*, upon which he very much Valu'd himself, and whose consent he had, as will presently appear, to conclude a Peace that should for ever extinguish all Animosities and Discords: The other as King, to whom the Kingdom belong'd, and to whom it belong'd to preserve in Union all the Members of which it was compos'd. In the First Respect, that which was Negotiated between his Commissioners and the Deputies of the *Reformed*, can never be taken for any other, then a means to reconcile the Opposite Pretensions of the *Reformed* and *Catholics*, and to regulate the seperate Conditions under which they were to live: Forming out of these Agreements a New right, which was to serve as the perpetual Law of their Union in Civil Society; so that the contrary Interests of both Parties, being manag'd

1000. in such a manner in this Negotiation, that there was nothing on the one side which might turn to any remarkable Prejudice of the other, but which made a Compensation, within a little Matter equal for their Advantages and Inconveniences, it cannot be deny'd, but that whatever is comprehended in a Treaty is comprehended in this, as in all the Acts that have born the Name of it. Now it is so evident, by what I have said of the Condition wherein the King found the Kingdom after the Death of *Hen.* III. that he Treated with the *Reformed*, as Head of the Catholic Party, both as he was Successor to a Prince, who had Solemnly tak'n upon him that Quality, as for that he had also put himself at the Head of that Party, by his reconbiliation with the Church of *Rome*, that I need not make any longer stay upon it.

I pass then to the second Consideration; and I say, that he Treated in the the Quality of a King, in whose Power it was, to give his Subjects all the Assurances of the Protection which he ow'd 'em, and whatsoever else is call'd by the Name of Favour, Liberties or Priviledges. Now certain it is, that the Quality of King includes within it that of Common Father, who when Quarrels arise among his Subjects, keeps the Ballance equal between 'em, and by his Paternal Justice, limits and Bounds the Enterprizes of the one upon the other. Which being done with a true knowledge of the Cause, becomes the Decision of an Arbitrator, whose decision is the Warrant of what he has judg'd Convenient. This is that which made me say before, that the Edict ought to be consider'd as a Treaty between the Catholics and the *Reformed*, under the Authority of the King, as their their Natural Arbitrator, whose Majesty stood bound to Warrant the Edict, against all Breaches that might be made on either side. This very Warranty was clearly expres'd by the Clauses of the Edict, which imported that the Violations of it should be Prosecuted in the Kings Name, by his Proctors General. In regard it is Natural, that Treaties being Warranted by a Power which is suppos'd to be sufficient to inforce Observance, the people always apply themselves, in case of Breaches, to those that Warrant 'em, and require their Protector to reduce the Violators to more exactness of performance.

I ſay then, that the Catholics, and the *Reformed* are the Parties between which the King, as their lawful Sovereign, their Arbitrator born, procures and Warrants the Peace by his Edict; well underſtanding the Cauſe, upon a due examination of the Pretences and Replies, and having obtain'd the conſent of the Parties intereſted as far as is neceſſary. It appear'd, that the Catholics and Reformed were parties in this Treaty, becauſe they were the perſons that reap'd the benefit of it; that is to ſay, the Concord and Peace which it procur'd 'em; and for that the Differences and Conteſts between 'em ſurceas'd, ſo ſoon as the Edict came to be put in Execution. It appears, that the King determin'd 'em, becauſe 'tis he that ſpeaks in the Edict, and from whom all the Deciſions flow, in referenee to the matters in Diſpute. It appears, that what he did, was done with a true knowledge of the Cauſe: Since he was inform'd of the Demands of the Proteſtants by their Papers, their Requeſts, and their Deputations; and of the Pretenſions of the Catholics, by their Contradictions and their Oppoſitions. Laſtly, it appears, that there were ſufficient Marks of conſent on both ſides, by ſeveral Reaſons which are eaſily drawn from Hiſtory. 1600. *The King his Subjects Arbitrator.*

The Conſent of the *Reformed* is expreſs and plain from their long endeavours and purſuits to obtain thoſe things which were Granted 'em by the King's Commiſſioners; and the Conſent of the Catholics was Apparent, by what I am going to relate, after I have firſt obſerv'd that their Oppoſitions no way deſtroy their conſent. By the uſual Method of Proceeding, 'tis certain, that the Diſputes and Conteſts before an Arbitrator are no Obſtruction to hinder thoſe that raiſe 'em from ſubmitting to the Award of the Arbitrator: Thoſe Conteſts only ſerving to clear the Matters, and to inſtruct the Perſon who takes Cognizance of the Difference. In like manner the Oppoſitions of the Catholics were no more then a Conteſt in Form of Law touching ſuch Matters, of which the King was to be Judge, which however did not hinder 'em from conſenting to ſtand by the King's Deciſions. I ſay then, that there are ſeveral Marks of the Catholic's conſent to the Edict which the King was about to Grant the *Reformed*.

1600. First, the Truce between the two Kings is a good Proof, that the Catholics that follow'd the Kings party were no way averſe to Peace. There is no great Diſtance between the one and the other. They that can make a Truce with their Enemies, ſo as to live tegether in the ſame place, and joyn their Arms for the common Intereſt, are in a fair way to be Friends. They that conſent to a Truce, which is but a Proviſional peace, ſhew plainly that they have no Reluctancy to a Deciſive Peace. Which is more eſpecially true in this Caſe, where the Truce made in behalf of the two parties by their Chieftains was an *Interim*, in expectance of the peace in Order to which the Truce was made. In the ſecond place, the Act paſs'd between the Catholics of the Army and Court and *Hen.* IV. after the Death of *Hen.* III. by which they oblige the New King to no more then the preſervation of the Catholic Religion, without demanding the Extirpation of the *Reformed*; and that he ſhould permit himſelf to be inſtructed in the Roman Doctrine, without forcing the Reſt of his Subjects; this Act I ſay, is a proof of the ſame thing. Of the ſame Nature alſo, in the third place, is the Writing Sign'd by the Catholics Lords and Princes at *Mantes*, before the Conference of *Surene*, wherein they not only conſented that the King ſhould preſerve the *Reformed*, but they promiſe that no prejudice ſhall be done 'em by the Treaty they were about to enter into with the Leaguers. All this together makes up a kind of Compromiſe, or mutual Conſent, by which it is evident, that the Catholics of the King's party agreed, that he ſhould Judge of the Civil Differences in the Kingdom upon the ſcore of Religion.

But the Marks of the Leaguers Conſent, are yet more clear and more Authentic. There is not one one of the Treaties concluded with them, where there is not one Article for the Religion But never did that Article demand more then two things; that is to ſay, the Re-eſtabliſhing the Roman Religion in certain Places, and the reducing the Exerciſe of the *Reformed Religion* to certain Limits. The clear meaning of which is this, that upon thoſe two Conditions, they who Treat conſent, that the King ſhould tolerate the *Reformed*.

'Tis

'Tis a Law notoriously known, and a General practise, that all Restrictions confirm the Law in Cases to which that Restriction is not extended, and that the Exception of a particular Clause, is a ratification of the General Decree. We see then here the *Catholics*, even those who have been more conspicuously and more vehemently Zealous then any Others, closing with the King in reference to the means of procuring Peace between them and the *Reformed*; and excepting in two conditions wherein they include themselves, leaving his Authority at Liberty to Act as he shall see convenient. And after the passing of all these Acts it is, that the King has given a Definitive Sentence in this Great Contest, and that having call'd together both Parties upon the Heads of their Disputes, as well by the Negotiations of the Deputies, as by the Decisions which he pronounc'd in favour of the one and the other, in things wherein they could not agree among themselves, he Form'd between 'em the Irrevocable Treaty which is contain'd in the Articles of his Edict. And here we may very aptly apply the Grand Maxim of the Clergy of *France*, which carried 'em so far in the Affairs of the Regale. After the Parlament of *Paris* had began that process toward the beginning of this Century, the Clergy set all Engines at work, to hinder the Cause from resting in the hands of those Judges, who held several Ecclesiastical Priviledges for Usurpations. And they obtain'd so far, that the King summon'd the Cause before himself; and after his Council had left it undetermin'd for above Sixty years, at length the Clergy lost their Cause some years ago, and the King adjudg'd the Regale to himself throughout all the Kingdom. The Grand Reason which one part of the Clergy has made use of to perswade the other to submission is this; the Parlament was not a competent Judge of that Affair. They only judge of Causes between Man and Man, not of those that altogether concern either one of the States, or the first Estate of the Kingdom. The King alone is the only Judge of those great Questions. He has taken the business into his own Cognizance by the Citation which the Clergy demanded. They had a Right to dispute the matter till then: But now the thing

1600.

Maxim of the Clergy in the Question about the Regale.

1600. thing is at an End. The Soveraign Arbitrator has pronounc'd Sentence; the Oracle has ſpoke; and there is no more to be ſaid.

Thus likewiſe in the Affair of the Edict, there was no competent Judge but the King. 'Twas not the Buſineſs of one of the Eſtates, but of the Three Eſtates who were Intereſted in the Affair of Religion. The King was poſſeſs'd of the Buſineſs, by the Petitions of the One, and by the Oppoſitions or Acts of conſent of the other. The thing was delay'd and ſpun out in his Hands for ſeveral years; during which the whole Buſineſs was ſufficiently ſifted and diſcuſs'd to give a true underſtanding of the Cauſe. At length he pronounc'd Sentence; he made a Law; he made an Agreement between the parties upon conditions that were preſcrib'd 'em. And thus there was a Final End of this Buſineſs; nothing more to be ſaid or done in it. The conſequence is ſo much the more neceſſary, in regard that between the Cauſe of the Regale and the Edict, there is a difference advantagious to the Latter, not to ſpeak of others that may be obſerv'd there. The Clergy holds for Decreed what the King, as Soveraign Arbitrator, has judg'd in his own cauſe: But in the Edict, the King Judges under the ſame Character, without ſuſpition of partiality in the cauſe of his Subjects; where he has no perſonal part, where he intereſts himſelf no otherwiſe, then as a common Arbitrator, and Father of his Country.

The King Warranted his own Edict.

Now in an Affair of this Importance, the Deciſion of which United all the diſordering Members of the State, and by a happy Peace put an end to their long Fatal Diviſions, 'tis evident that the King became ſecurity for the Concord which the Treaty re-eſtabliſh'd among his Subjects, as being the perſon whoſe Authority had cimented it together. 'Tis the Priviledge of Supream Authority to Warrant, and put a Value upon things where it intervenes. 'Tis becauſe the Vertue and Force of particular Contracts are founded upon it, that the King's Name and Seal are affix'd to 'em; that he Judges Parties by their conſent; that as the Protector of the Rights of every one of his Subjects, he ſets up thoſe Acts which his Power Authoriſes, and which are drawn up in his Name,

in

in favour of Sincerity and Innocence againſt the Cavils of Fraud and Injuſtice. If then in thoſe Acts, where the King is not preſum'd to Judge, but becauſe his Name appears there, his Quality of Soveraign Arbitrator in all the Cauſes of his Subjects, obliges 'em to a Tacit Warranty that they ſhall be firm and inviolable, how much more evidently ought it to be preſent in a Treaty, which Unites the differing Parties of a State after a long War; and wherein the King himſelf pronounc'd the Articles with his own Lips. This Treaty ought to be inviolable to the Parties, whom it behoves to be content, after the Oracle has once ſpoke: Nay, inviolable to the King himſelf, ſince he is naturally as well the ſecurity for his Subjects Obſervation of their mutual Contracts, as the Supream Arbitrator of their Differences. Now it is not readily to be imagin'd that a Prince ſhould be Legally the firſt Violator of Treaties who is entruſted with the Warranty for their Obſervation, and tho Treaties grounded upon Principles of Honour and Fidelity can never be violated without Infamy, 'twould be leſs Igniminious for him to make a Breach, that were only concern'd as a ſimple Party in the Treaty, then for him that ſtands ſecurity for the Publick and Common Faith, and who is oblig'd by that Characted, to cauſe others to obſerve the Treaty. It follows then, that the King being on the one ſide, as Head of the *Catholics*, a Party with the *Reformed* in the Treaty upon which the Edict of *Nantes* was Granted, and on the other, being ſecurity for the Obſervation of it between the *Catholics* and *Reformed*, by his Quality of King and Common Father, 'tis impoſſible, that either as Party or Security, he ſhould ever Ordain, or permit the Revocation of the Edict, as being the Structure of his Paternal Love, his Prudence, his Juſtice, and his Royal Authority. 1600.

If it be Objected, that this indeed might properly concern *Hen.* IV. the Author of the Edict; but that the Caſe is not the ſame with the King's Succeſſors, who have met with many Alterations in the Kingdom; and for whom it was lawful to to take New meaſures, according to the alter'd condition of Affairs; I anſwer that this Objection will be more proper for another place, where I ſhall have ſome Reflexions to make upon

1600. upon the Revocation of the Edict. I shall only say by the way, that when Successors ratify what has been done by their Predecessors, they engage themselves in all their Obligations; and that they ought to imagine any Alterations of things, when the same Reasons of Justice and Humanity still continue; when the Benefit is the same; when the Parties Interested are still in Being, nor become unworthy of the same Grants and Priviledges. Here the Children supply the Room of their Parents; and this is the Reason, that certain Immunities remain perpetual in Families. Because 'tis presuppos'd, that he who has obtain'd 'em never dyes, so long as he leaves behind him a Posterity that renews his Life. Now it is so easie to apply these Verities to the Edict, that it would be needless to enlarge my Digression that must be other where Repeated.

Successors bound to observe the Treaties of their Predecessors.

I come then to the last Thing which I propos'd, and which I shall conclude in a few Words. It relates to the Objections that are made against the Edict, which are almost all grounded upon one Principle, which is deriv'd from hence, that it is an imperfect Treaty, to which the principal Catholics never were call'd; that the Edict was drawn up without hearing the Parliaments; without giving Opportunity to the Clergy to represent, or defend their own Interests; and without having the Popes Approbation, or at least his Consent, which is necessary to Legitimate the Consent of the Catholics, in things that concern their Religion. But this Objection is the most infirm, and the fallest of all the Rest; the most infirm, because, that tho it were True, 'twould stand the Raisers of it in no stead; the falsest, in regard there was an Assembly of all the Parties, as Public and as formal as could have been desir'd. I say that tho this Objection were true, it would be of little or no Use, because it would have been only a Defect of Formality, which in things of that importance, which the Edict Treats of, ought not to be taken into Consideration to the Prejudice of the things themselves, when they are both Just and Necessary. In Civil Affairs, between Man and Man, such a Default might bereave the Person that falls into it of certain Advantages which might have accru'd to him, had he been more exact in his

his proceedings; but it does not deprive him of his Rights. Where the Lives of Men lye at Stake, 'twould be yet more ſtrange, that an Unfortunate Perſon ſhould be inforc'd to looſe his Life for the bare Omiſſion of a Formality: And Nature would murmur to ſee any one Periſh, whoſe Innocence ſhould in all things elſe appear well prov'd, had not his Condemnation been grounded only upon a Miſtake of that ſort. How much more ſtrange would it be, that in an Affair which concern'd the Lives and Welfare of ſo many Thouſands of Stout and Faithful Subjects, and conſtant in the Service of their Prince, and who have no other Crime, which their Enemies can Tax 'em with, but that they bear a Conſcience too delicate to ſubmit to the Authority of another; how much more ſtrange I ſay, would it be, that in ſuch an affair, Men ſhould not think themſelves oblig'd to obſerve their Promiſes to theſe poor people, under pretence that they had not Summon'd their Adverſary's, in Form, to appear in Court, for the Regulation of the Diſſerences between 'em? But tho there were nothing more in it, the thing was Public. 'Twas impoſſible that either the Clergy or the Parlaments ſhould be Ignorant, that there was a Treaty on foot with the *Reformed*. They ſaw their Aſſemblies, their Deputations, their Writings; the going and coming of the Kings Commiſſioners. 'Twas the Diſcourſe of all the Kingdom; and it was Tranſacted in the Sight of all *Europe*. In an affair that made ſo loud a Noiſe, 'twas the Fault of thoſe that were concern'd therein, if they neglected being preſent at the places of Debate; ſo that if they were not there, it muſt be attributed either to an affected Careleſsneſs, or a ſly and over-reaching pretended Ignorance. 1600.

That the Parlaments had a ſhare in Edict.

But in the Second Place, this Objection is Falſe: The Parties that were to be Summon'd were preſent, not after the buſineſs was concluded, and the thing paſt all Recovery, but before the Edict was verify'd; that is to ſay, by conſequence, before the Edict was ratify'd and paſs'd in a determin'd matter. This is ſo true, that upon their Interpoſing, many things, were alter'd which had been agreed upon at *Nantes*. I ſhall not here ſo much as take Notice, that one of the King's Com-

That it was neceſſary not to give on the leaſt occaſion of Complaint.

1600. missioners was a Member of that Parlament: But give me leave to say, that the Interposition of this Senate is sufficiently known by the several Deputations they made to the King, after the Edict had been sent him to be Registre'd. They heard his Remonstrances; they consider'd his Objections; they suffer'd him to speak more then once, before they made a positive Order for Registring the Edict; they Granted him some of his Demands, and for other matters they gave him their Reasons. Insomuch, that the Command which succeeded that, can pass for no other then a sort of a Contradictory Decree, after both Parties had been heard, and their Pretensions and Defences duly weighed.

The Clergy. The Clergy also were present there, and they made their Remonstrances and Objections, as the Parlament had done with some Solemnity and Deliberation. They met a little after the Conclusion of the Edict, the Legat being still in *France*. They Addres's'd themselves to the King by their Deputies, and presented him with Cases and Petitions; bnt he did nothing without Consulting the Legat, and after his Departure without the advice of the Nuncio. The General Agents went farther likewise in their Oppositions then this Prelate, and behav'd themselves with so little Respect, that they were even Guilty of Undecent Language. Their Remonstrances however, had partly their desir'd Effect. They obtain'd Immunities and Favours for the Clergy; and caus'd some of the Articles of the Edict to be Alter'd. Insomuch, that afterwards no Man, with any Confidence, could say he was not heard. If the King did not Consent to every thing the Clergy desir'd, and made 'em quit some part of their Pretensions: yet it cannot be denied, but that he heard 'em, and Judg'd of the Dispute, with a perfect knowledge of the Cause. The Murmurs of the Clergy, after the matter was ended, wou'd not allow them to Complain, that they were not heard, no more then a Man has Reason to say after Sentence has pass'd against him, that the Judges did not perfectly know his Case. To which we may add, That the Clergy reap'd greater Benefit by the Edict in many things, then the *Reformed* themselves. So that, tho they had been totally excluded

cluded from having any Negotiation in the Edict, yet they cou'd have had no reaſon to complain, that Affairs were not manag'd to their Advantage, without giving 'em the trouble of attending 'em. 1600.

In ſhort, The Pope himſelf had given his Conſent as far as cou'd be deſir'd of him. He was made ſenſible from the time that the Treaty of a Reconciliation between the King and him was on foot; and that the King wou'd not be oblig'd *to Deſtroy* the *Reformed*. In the very Articles to which his Council agreed, they made uſe of General Clauſes, that imply'd a Conſent to the Edict which was to be made for *Liberty of Conſcience*. At leaſt thoſe Proctors did poſitively aſſure His Majeſty, that it was clearly the ſenſe of thoſe ambiguous Terms with which they muſt be ſatisfy'd, becauſe the Pope neither cou'd nor ought to ſuffer others; which is as much as to ſay, That the Church of *Rome* eſteeming it a point of Duty and Honor, to Maſſacre, Burn, and by all manner of means to Extirpate thoſe whom they call *Heretics*, the Pope cou'd not think it look'd well for him to Conſent in expreſs Terms, that he ſhou'd ſuffer 'em to live in Peace, and that of courſe he was oblig'd to expreſs himſelf in obſcure Significations. The Teſtimony of the King to the Parlament that the Pope had approv'd of all he had done, is a Demonſtration in this caſe, and what happen'd ſome time after the verification of the Edict confirms the ſame. The Pope vigorouſly preſs'd the Publication of the Council of *Trent*, and to obtain it, inſiſted upon the promiſe which was made him upon his demand in the Kings Name, before he gave him Abſolution. Among other things, the Chancellor anſwer'd to theſe Inſtances, *That this Article cou'd oblige the King no further than the welfare of the Kingdom wou'd allow of.* This Anſwer being carry'd to the Pope, by ſuch as had a mind to Exaſperate him againſt *France*, was expounded in ſuch a manner that it gave him no ſmall diſpleaſure. But *d'Oſſat*, who was deſirous to remove all occaſions of diſquiet from him, told him, That the Chancellor intended no more by theſe words than what *du Perron* and he had ſaid to His Holineſs himſelf, when they Treated with him about the Abſolution of the King, to wit, *That by the Publication of the Council the Edicts of Pacification ſhou'd not*

The Pope himſelf.

1600. *be Abrogated*; *That the* Heretics *shou'd not be compell'd to observe 'em*; *And that the King shou'd not be oblig'd to renew a War with 'em*; That for the same reason *du Perron* and he had refus'd to pass the Clause which was design'd to have been Inserted in the Formulary of the Profession of Faith, to wit, *That he who did it, shou'd be engag'd to cause it to be done to all his Subjects.* The Pope reply'd, *That he well enough remembred, that what was meant by the welfare of the Kingdom was so Explain'd to him; and if this Chancellor meant so, there was no great hurt in it.* These words do sufficiently evince that he agreed to observe the Edicts, and that he gave many marks of it as his Dignity cou'd conveniently permit.

We may add to this what I have said elsewhere, which shews, That he was well enough acquainted with the whole proceedings of the Edict; That he had at that time a Legat in *France*; That his Legat was inform'd of all that pass'd there; That there were people who gave him occasion to suspect the Conduct of the Kings Commissioners; That the President *de Thou* was oblig'd to give him an Account of his own particular Conduct; That this Prelate having understood it, seem'd well enough pleas'd with him, and with the proceedings, and left the management to the discretion of the Commissioners. I said also, That the presence of the Legat was the cause of delaying the verification of the Edict. He made likewise such pressing demands, that they durst not refuse him, tho we cou'd have wish'd, without this obstruction, that the Publication had been made, whilest those of the League were stunned, as it were, by the Kings Successes, lest Time shou'd force 'em to take measures to cross this design. When the Legat left *France*, a Nuncio supply'd his Room, without whom the Clergy would not proceed one step; and who was also much more moderate than the General Agents, and some Prelates of the Kingdom; in regard that, without any scruple, he promis'd the Pope's support, provided they took care of the Catholic Religion. So that, if after that, the Pope shew'd some Signs of dissatisfaction, it was only, as I have observ'd, by way of Comedy, which the Politicians know well enough how to play when they have any prospect of saving themselves.

themſelves. 'Twas neceſſary, as he himſelf ſaid, complaining of the Edict, to ſtop the mouths of the *Spaniards*, who having ſome concerns with him, ſought all occaſions of blaming his Conduct. This was the reaſon, why after the firſt claſh, he never deſir'd the Repeal of the Edict; and all he did was to preſs the Publication of the Council, and the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Jeſuits, in recompenſe of thoſe favours which the *Heretics* had receiv'd. Theſe were as great marks of his Conſent as cou'd well have been deſir'd, in an Affair where his Religion and Dignity wou'd not ſuffer him to write Briefs and Bulls of Approbation. 1600.

This is ſufficient in a buſineſs whoſe Nature chiefly requires that it ſhou'd be manag'd with Juſtice, to ſhew that nothing was wanting which was Neceſſary to Authorize the Deciſion of it. A Treaty maturely deliberated where the Sovereign himſelf is a Party; Parties that agree in many things by the Negotiation, and between whom a Soveraign, Born their Arbitrator, decides thoſe Matters which were ſtill in diſpute; A Reformation of ſeveral Articles upon the Oppoſitions of Parties Intervening, A General Compliance on one ſide, divers marks of Conſent on the other; All this makes a certain degree of Surety which ought to render theſe Deciſions Eternal and Unalterable, by how much the more it was impoſſible to revoke 'em without a downright Abuſe of Juſtice it ſelf, and the ſame Duty which caus'd 'em to be made. But 'tis now time to return to the Series of the Hiſtory.

A Return to the Hiſtory.

All neceſſary Preparations were made throughout the whole Kingdom for the Execution of the Edict; and the Commiſſioners, who were appointed to procure it, began to ſet it afoot this year, and made many Decrees upon the Conteſts that aroſe. But before they cou'd almoſt make one ſtep in their Buſineſs, we began to be ſenſible of the principal Advantage of the Edict, namely, A *Univerſal Tranquillity*, the ſweetneſs of which gave us good hopes of the reſt. However there happen'd one thing very Remarkable, which made the Catholics Triumph, as if they had procur'd an utter Extirpation of the *Reformed Religion*, tho in effect they had gain'd no-

nothing

1600. thing but the Honour of knowing how to lay a Snare better then the Wiſeſt of the *Reformed* knew how to eſcape it. The Book of *Du Pleſſis* concerning the *Euchariſt*, of which I have already ſpoken, was the occaſion of this matter.

I have obſerv'd already, that the Catholics made a great noiſe about it. I know not how many Writers indeavour'd to confute it. *Fronton du Duc*, a Famous Jeſuit, undertook it, after *Daſis* ſent away ſuch as propos'd to him the burning of the Book, and bid 'em rather to write a formal Anſwer to it. But there were many Authors of leſs Note, who engag'd themſelves in this Diſpute, and who peſter'd the Public with whole Loads of little fooliſh Pamphlets, which were rather Invectives againſt the Author, than Anſwers to his Work. The Doctors of the Faculty at *Paris* Condemn'd it by Public Cenſure. Several particular Perſons publiſh'd Inventories of falſify'd Paſſages, Catalogues of Omiſſions of neceſſary Words, and many other little Trifles of the ſame Nature. The Reaſon of this great Fermentation amongſt 'em, beſides the Importance of the Matter, the Merit of the Author, the ſlender reſpect he had obſerv'd in his Book for the Myſteries of the *Romiſh Religion*, and the manner of bringing it to light, was alſo his Method of handling the Subject. *Du Pleſſis* did not confine himſelf, as others till then had done, within the bounds of *Scripture*; he Sallied forth out into the vaſt Field of *Tradition*, and had Quoted in his Book above Four Thouſand paſſages of the School-Men, or of thoſe who were call'd Fathers. This was (as it were) a bringing the War into the very Bowels of the Church of *Rome*; Attacking her in her ſtrongeſt Entrenchments, and violently wreſting her very laſt Weapons out of her hands. There had been nothing left for her Defence, if after having taken away the Scripture from her, which the *Reformed* accus'd her for having in a manner forſaken, ſhe ſhou'd ſuffer the Fathers to be raviſh'd from her too, and the Fountains of Tradition, wherein ſhe places her laſt Refuge. But all the noiſe both of the Preachers and Writers ſerv'd only to make the Book ſell, and to advance the Glory of its Author. They Attack'd it ſo weakly, that, moſt certainly, it had been better for the *Romiſh* Church to have let it alone.

I'th'

Pdl' mean while the Refutations promis'd from *Rome* came 1600.
not at all; and the Pope was vex'd at the heart to see himself
Treated in so sharp a manner, and that too by a Person so considerable and great as *Du Plessis*. It caus'd the Pope to suspect the Sincerity of the Kings Conversion, and that he was not hearty in the Profession of the Catholic Religion. There was then at *Rome* a certain *German*, who boasted that he had learnt this secret from a Protestant of *Ausbourg*, who said, That *Bonnes*, the Kings Envoy to the Protestants in *Germany*, assur'd 'em he had not chang'd his Religion in his heart: And *D'Ossat*, who thought it convenient for the Kings Reputation to stop the course of such Reports, wou'd fain have search'd to the bottom, to see if he cou'd find out from whence these Rumors arose. Wherefore toward the latter end of this year, he acquainted the King with what he had Learnt of their Original; for these Rumors were not new; and since the Kings Conversion they were daily reviv'd; Insomuch that the Pope had opportunity enough to make his best advantage of it; whether this *Germans* Discourse came to his Ears long before the Cardinal writ to him of it, or whether he had receiv'd any Intelligence of it from the Spies which he has in every Princes Court. The King was concern'd in Interest that these Reports shou'd not make any Impression on the Minds of the Catholics, however they were advantagious to him, serving to gain him Credit with the *Protestants*, whose Alliance his Politics obliged him to preserve at any Rate whatsoever. But as the good will of *Rome* was necessary for him in his present Affairs, so he was desirous to satisfie the Pope, and to mortifie *du Plessis* and the *Reformed* by some Signal Action, which might make *Rome* believe that they had lost his favour. *Du Plessis*'s Book furnish'd him with a colourable Pretence; And he offer'd such an Indignity to this Gentleman by little Artifices, beneath the Grandeur of a King, that one may safely say, That that Action was none of the best of all his Life. Observe now how the matter went. Almost all those who wrote against *du Plessis*, how different otherwise soever they were in the Style and Method of their Writings, yet agreed in this, To charge him with false Quotations: And as such Accusations are hard to be Explain'd,

The King willing to satisfie the Pope, and to mortifie du Plessis.

1600. plain'd, to those who are not capable of throughly Examining Matters and Authors, they were made use of as the only proper Argument to seduce those whom they wou'd pervert to their Religion. Thus people are apt to be misled in such Affairs as are beyond the reach of their Capacity; Difficulties are rais'd, of which they are not competent Judges, and they are told sometimes that 'tis impossible to solve 'em, because they are not capable enough to do it themselves. This Cheat has been used in *France* among the Controvertists all along from first to last. As often as any Book of worth has come forth, the Missionaries to be sure have found out a Trick to accuse the Author of some fault or other, with which they have broke the Peoples Brains; as if every thing that they were not able to understand or refute was a sign of the falsity of his Religion: And the Credulous and Wavering people many times mistake those Reproaches, which if they were allowable, wou'd only affect the Reputation of the Author, for Reasons prejudicial to his Doctrine Yet these Deceits and Frauds serv'd chiefly to lay those flat who were already staggering, and who were only seeking for a plausible pretence to Change. Of this Number at that time, was St. *Marie du Mont*, a Gentleman, who was resolv'd to part with his Religion, and only delay'd the Formalities of Renunciation, till *du Plessis* had been ill treated at *Fontainbleau*, suffer'd himself to be perswaded by *du Perron*, and others, that *du Plessis* had falsly quoted, a great many passages; and being with him in *Paris* at the Princess of *Orange*'s, he justify'd to his face that he had found many passages of this Nature in his Book. This Gentleman was one of those, whose Learning, being very mean and shallow, gives them however a great share of Confidence; and being fully resolv'd, as I said, to turn Catholic, he was willing to think all those reasons very good with which they had inspir'd him. But *du Plessis*, who had stood firm as a Rock against all the Storms which his Book had rais'd against him, cou'd not support the Calumny of being thought *a Falsifier*, and therefore reckon'd his Honour was concern'd to make good the Sincerity of his Quotations. So toward the end of *March* he publish'd a Writing, wherein he invites his Accusers to

The Scandal of false Quotations reflects hard upon the Honor of du Plessis. *The Challenge that he makes to his Accusers accepted by* Perron.

to join with him in presenting a Petition to His Majesty to appoint Commissioners, before whom he might justify the passages from Line to Line. Some few days after *du Perron* receiv'd one of these Writings, and Answer'd it in accepting the Challenge, and Offering to shew Five hundred enormous falsities in *du Plessis*'s Book, in down-right Number and without Hyperbole; and at the same time Writ to the King to desire the Conference. *Du Plessis* would not let this Bravado pass without a Reply: But for Fear this multiplicity of Writing to and fro should break off the design of the Conference, *Villeroy* hinder'd the Bishop from Answering this. In the mean time *du Plessis* Writ to the King, and caus'd the Marshal *de Buillon* to present his Petition to him. The King being desirous of this Conference, readily comply'd with it; and at the very beginning of *April*, gave Order to the Chancellour to endeavour to procure it. 1600. *Conference Granted.*

But at first great Difficulties arose about it, which held the thing long in suspense. The Nuncio oppos'd it, for as they were to appoint Commissioners in a matter of Religion, he alledg'd it was a Prerogative of the Ecclesiastical Authority, which the King would violate, if he took upon him the Nomination of them; besides he thought it might give occasion for people to suspect, that the King had still some doubts about the Truth of the *Romish* Doctrine. The Arch Bishop of *Bourges* likewise Remonstrated the consequences of it to the King. *Benoit*, Nominated for the Bishoprick of *Troyes*, but to whom the Pope would never Grant his Bulls, because he was too good a *French man*, and too little respectful to *Rome*, represented in like manner his scruples about the same thing. Cardinal *de Gondi*, Bishop of *Paris*, was strangely surpriz'd to hear say, that this Conference was like to be held in his Dioceſs. Others likewise made their trivial Objections: But the King satisfy'd 'em all; assuring 'em, that matters of Doctrine should not be touch'd upon; that the Commissioners should not be Judges of any thing relating to Religion; that they shou'd only be meerly Spectators, Witnesses, and Vouchees of the verity of the Acts; that they shou'd only give their Opinions of the Sense of the Words, not medling *Difficulties in the thing and about the place rais'd by the Clergy.*

1600. any farther then in this particular relating to *du Plessis*, to know whether his Quotations were False or not. And he promis'd besides, that such care shou'd be taken, that the *Romish* Religion shou'd lose nothing by it. On the other hand, there were several Persons, who advis'd *du Plessis* not to carry on the thing too far; telling him, that they had left him passages enough, the Truth of which was unquestionable, to save his Honour, tho he should concede the others to them. But he could by no means endure the Word *False*; and he was so well assur'd of his own exactness, that he did not believe, that all the Bishops Craft could do him any Injury. He rely'd chiefly on the King's Justice; and tho he believ'd him not a little displeas'd with the Publication of his Book, yet he hop'd that the Memory of his Services, the Fear of too much provoking the *Reformed*, and of lessening the Royal Majesty, by a proceeding that deviated from Justice, would oblige that Prince to see that he had not the least Foul Play.

Others of du Plessis's Friends and Party.

On both sides people long'd for the Conference, every one expecting the Triumph of his Party, and even before the Combat, rejoycing at the Defeat of his Adversary. Insomuch, that on either side, there were people enough to invalidate the Reasons of those who desir'd to hinder the Dispute. It was therefore Resolv'd upon, and *du Plessis* found himself too far engag'd to Retreat. But on the King's part, such wary measures were taken, that 'twas impossible that *du Plessis* should come off with Honour. For if he should break off the Conference, then they would have Charg'd him with declining the Combat, for fear of being confounded; and if he shou'd maintain it; then they had laid the Snare so cunningly, that he could not avoid it. 'Tis very hard to know whether the King's design was in good Earnest, rather to break off this Conference, or to procure it. But it is certain however, that *du Plessis* was oblig'd to keep it up, and that on such very hard Terms, as 'tis likely they would not have propos'd 'em to him, but to engage him to quit his Resolution; for they would rather have Triumph'd in his Flight, then have undertook a Conference in good Earnest, with a person whom they knew so well skill'd in the Art of defending himself

himself; which will easily appear by the particulars of the principal Circumstances. 1600.

After those Difficulties were remov'd which the Chief of the Clergy had suggested, and that it was found more expedient to hold the Conference at *Fontainbleau* then at *Paris*; whether it were to satisfie the Bishop of that place; or to hinder the Commonalty from intermedling in this Dispute; or whether it were to deprive *du Plessis* of those helps which he might have had from the Libraries, and the Learned Men who were so Numerous there, the Chancellour Writ to *du Perron* to come to Court; but *du Plessis* had no Notice sent him for his coming there, tho the King had commanded that he should. Of which the Chancellour clear'd himself, by telling the King, when he ask'd him the Reason of it, that he did not imagine his Majesty had any such Intention. But as the Terms wherein such a Command is given, cannot be ambiguous; especially in a business where it is a Natural Right, that the persons concern'd should have equally Notice, 'tis plain enough that this was a Trick of the Chancellors, to make *du Plessis*'s not appearing at a day prefix'd, to seem as if he had a mind to shun the Dispute, after he had so much desir'd it; which would have made people believe that he doubted his Cause: Whereas the Bishop appearing first at the place assign'd, seem'd likewise by his diligence more assur'd of his Conquest. But *du Plessis* follow'd his Adversary the Bishop so close, that he had nothing wherewith to charge him about it: One arriv'd there the 27th of the Month, and t'other the next day. *Du Plessis* was immediately for Regulating the manner of the Conference, for which he made his Application to the King. He entreated that the passages of his Book might be Examin'd in Order, that so those which were not Tax'd with false Citations, might be look'd on as verify'd. And on t'other side, he thought it but reasonable, that the Bishop should give him the five hundred passages charg'd with Falsehood, in a paper Sign'd under his hand. The Bishop had more Wit then to comply with his first demand. But the Reasons he gave for it, were very Weak and Childish. He said, he had shewn Reasons for this refusal in the Answer he made to the first

The Steps of their fond Play.

Du Perron *has Notice, but* du Plessis *has not.*

Du Perron *is forbid from giving the five hundred passages under his hand,*

1600. Challenge that *Du Pleſſis* had Publiſh'd: Beſides, That *du Pleſſis* having Summon'd him to appear, without refuting his Reaſons, or Offering any thing in his own Defence, he had quitted that pretenſion by a tacit compliance: Whence he concluded, that he ought not to be permitted to renew it. Theſe Reaſons of his Anſwer oblig'd him to ſpend a great deal of time in Tranſcribing all thoſe paſſages, with the Biſhops Reflexions; as if length of time ought to be conſider'd, when things of greater Moment were in Agitation. This Evaſion, which at Court would have been Hiſs'd at in a matter of leſs conſequence, paſs'd however for current in this Affair: Tho if they had deſign'd things fairly and honeſtly, they would have ſcorn'd ſuch little Formalities. 'Tis true, that to ſupport this mean way of cavilling, *Du Perron* added, that the Buſineſs at that time was not to examin the Book, from one end to t'other; and that after the firſt buſineſs was decided, he offer'd to ſtay Six Months, without ſtirring, to make this Examination. This ſpecious offer engag'd him to juſt nothing at all; for the King could not ſo long attend a Conference of this Nature, nor ſuffer it but in his Preſence: And they well knew, that it would break off before they came to the ſubſtance of the Book. But as for *du Pleſſis*'s ſecond pretention, the Biſhop offer'd to leave the five hundred Paſſages in the King's Hands, from whence he would every day take fifty as he thought fit to examine 'em. The deſign of this Artifice was apparent enough; for if the paſſages had been given to *du Pleſſis*, he might have been aſſiſted by thoſe to whom he ſhould have Communicated 'em, and ſo have come better prepar'd to the Conference. On the other Hand, the Biſhop having every day of the Conference, his choice of the Paſſages, he might hold *du Pleſſis* in perpetual uncertainty on which ſide he meant to Attack him; ſo that he ſhould never have had any longer time to prepare himſelf, then what his Adverſary ſhould pleaſe to allow him. In ſhort, among the five hundred paſſages which he had to peruſe, the Biſhop might pick out ſuch as had carried the likelieſt appearance of being quoted Wrong; ſo to prepoſſeſs on the minds of Men by this Artifice, and to inſinuate to 'em, that the

3 *The Order and Choice of the Paſſages is left to him.*

the Reſt were all of the ſame nature. Thus is the World for the moſt part prepoſſeſs'd: The firſt Impreſſions are generally the deepeſt, and the ſuſpicious we ſuddenly entertain of any Man's Honeſty, can hardly be effac'd by all the other Proofs of his Integrity. 1600.

Du Pleſſis perceiving the Snare that was laid for him by this Wile, would not be ſatisfy'd with theſe Offers of the Biſhop; but deſir'd notwithſtanding in a New Addreſs, that the Paſſages might be left in the Hands of two of the Commiſſioners whom the King had Nominated. But *du Perron* wou'd not conſent to it. *Du Pleſſis* remain'd ſtill Reſolute for ſome time, and urg'd as a Reaſon for this his Reſolution; that he plainly ſaw, that after they had made an effort upon five or ſix Paſſages, they would find out a way to break off the Conference, ſo to fix in Men's minds a like Opinion of the Reſt: To which he added what the King's Religion, what the Religion of the Nobility, and of the Greateſt part of thoſe who were to be preſent at the Conference, gave him juſt Cauſe to fear. The Chancellour reply'd very faintly to theſe Objections: But they deſir'd *du Perron* to take ſome Courſe, that might remove *du Pleſſis*'s Jealouſie of this foul Play. The Biſhop propos'd to Examine fifty paſſages preſently, whoſe Falſities he would engage to lay open in two Hours time, and the other four hundred and fifty in nine days after; Offering not to ſtir from *Fontainbleau* till the matter was ended. *Du Pleſſis* did not find that this Propoſal remov'd his Scruples. But the Chancellour, together with four of the Commiſſioners whom the King had appointed, and *Roni*, who at this Conſultation ſate in the place of *Caſtignon*, who ſhould have been the Fifth, and the only unſuſpected perſon, adjudg'd, that *du Perron* offer'd him Fair. *Du Pleſſis* would not ſubmit to this Judgment the Partiality of which was but too viſible. But the Chancellor being very willing to perſwade him to be ſatisfy'd with it, told him, that the King was reſolv'd to know the Truth of this matter; that whether *du Pleſſis* were preſent or abſent, it muſt be Examin'd; that it would be more advantageous to him, if it were done in his preſence; that his going away would be look'd upon as a Flight; that it would turn to his diſgrace

And for ſome time refuſes theſe Conditions.

They Terrify him by threatning to Examine the Paſſages in his Abſence.

1600. Disgrace which way soever it was taken; either because he would be suspected of having spoken Falsities in Holy matters, or else they would blame him for deserting the Cause of his Religion in things that he maintain'd for Truths. 'Twas the King himself who had order'd the Chancellour to tell him, that his Absence should not any way prejudice him, but that he would cause the Citations to be rightly judg'd of, which they had charg'd him with having wrongfully Quoted. Insomuch, that they did in a manner compel this Gentleman, either to lay himself at the discretion of his Adversary, or to expose him to the disadvantageous Censures they might pass upon his Book, if it were Examin'd when no body was present to defend it. But as he very well knew, that no Men of worth would look upon his Prudence, not to throw himself Headlong into a manifest Snare, as any thing like a flight he was not at all shaken by the Chancellour's Discourse. However, he again consulted *Roni* and *Casaubon*, who did not advise him to alter his Opinion. *Roni*, who was not sorry that *du Plessis* had receiv'd some kind of Mortification that would lessen his Reputation, and absolutely remove him from business, was in that respect nothing the honester Man then the Rest of 'em, and did what he could to lead this poor Gentlman to a precipice. And from thence it happen'd, that to give the greater Reputation to the pretended defeat of *du Plessis*, he boasts in his Memoirs, according to the report of those who collected 'em, that he was the occasion of breaking off the Conference; that *du Perron* was contented to speak no more of it; and that *du Plessis* was an Obstinate person, and would never agree to it. All this past, till the third of *May* in the Morning; when the King seeing the Constancy of *du Plessis*, commanded, that the Examination of the passages should not be put off any longer, then till three a Clock in the Afternoon. But under some pretence or other, they were deferr'd till seven a Clock next Morning. Mean while, the King kept the Bishop with him all day; consulting how he should carry himself in this matter. On the other side, the breaking off the Conference made the *Reformed* Court Party very uneasie, whether they were of a Cabal with *Roni*, or whether they were intoxicated with Conferences, as there

there re but few people who are not, we know not. But *Caſelan*, *Chambret*, *Beaupre* and ſome others, undertook to renew it; and ſo manag'd *du Pleſſis*, that they made him conſent to it upon very unjuſt Terms. At the ſame time *du Perron* ſhould have ſent to *du Pleſſis* fifty or ſixty Paſſages, upon Condition that he Anſwer'd 'em all by ſeven a Clock the next Morning; and in the ſame Order that *du Perron* had plac'd 'em; he was to have been furniſh'd with what Books he deſir'd; and they to be of the Edition of *Geneva*, of *Heidelberg*, or of *Bale*. This Negotiation continuing till Nine at Night, *du Pleſſis* could neither have the Books nor the Paſſages till Eleven; inſomuch that inſtead of taking his Reſt, he was forc'd to ſpend the Night in Examining his Citations. To make him amends for this foul Play, *du Perron* ſent him Sixty one Paſſages, inſtead of Sixty which he had promis'd. The Morning came, *du Pleſſis* declar'd he could not Examin above nineteen of the Paſſages which were ſent him. But that he would maintain the truth of thoſe Citations with the Hazard of his Life. *Du Perron* complain'd loudly, that all the Paſſages were not Examin'd; as if it were Juſt or Reaſonable to expect, that a Man ſhou'd compare Sixty Paſſages with the Authors from whence he had taken 'em, and that he ſhould Examin the Contexts, that is to ſay, what preceded and what follow'd, in time almoſt, then it would take up to Read 'em. Moreover the Biſhop wou'd fain have begun with other paſſages, then thoſe which *du Pleſſis* had compar'd, as thinking he ſhould the more eaſily prove their Falſity. Only he ſhew'd himſelf Coy, becauſe he would be intreated, and that he might have an opportunity to ſay, after the Examination of the firſt, that there were yet others whoſe Falſities were more Notorious. And thus with much ado, he ſubmitted at laſt, and the Entring into the Conference was put off till one a Clock in the Afternoon.

The Conference almoſt broken off, is renewed on unfair conditions.

5. Du Perron *preſcribes the Laws for it.*

6. Du Pleſſis *Robb'd of his Nights Reſt.*

7. *Sixty one Paſſages are given him to juſtifie in Eight Hours time.*

The King had Nam'd for Commiſſioners, who ſhould determine this Matter, three Catholicks, and two of the *Reformed*; to the End that the Parties might be aſſur'd of the Plurality of Voices. That

1600. *Pithou*, and *le Fevre* the Prince of *Conde's* Tutour, were the three *Catholics*; and the *Reformed* were *Calignon* and *Casaubon*. But the King chang'd two of those he had Deputed, and Substituted *Martin*, one of his Physicians, in the Room of *le Feure*, and instead of *Calignon*, *du Frene Canaye* who arriv'd at Court just as the Conference was ready to begin. It had been much more Just and Equitable, that the Parties themselves should have chosen their Arbitrators; but the chief Reason why the King had the Nomination of them was, That the *Reformed* might not appear too Resolute and Confident. 'Twas for this Cause that *Calignon* was excluded from it, and *du Frene Canaye* put in, who came Post to Court on purpose to change his Religion, which he did in a little time after. For thence forward he industriously endeavour'd the Ruin of the *Reformed*; as it appear'd by the proposition he made to the King; to destroy 'em, in bringing over all the Nobility of that Party: Which he engag'd to do, upon condition, that a Sum of Money, of less Value then his own Estate, should be put into third hands that should still remain as a pledge for the security of this Sum. 'Tis said, that the King being Wiser then he, would not hearken to him, but told him, that if there were no Nobility among the *Reformed*, it behov'd him to send some thither, because he had always found their Gentlemen very serviceable to him. *Casaubon* was a Man of a Weak and Wavering Temper, whom *du Perron* had gain'd by his Artifices. He had promis'd to change his Religion: But he was so narrowly watched, and he knew so well how to make his Advantage of the King of *England*'s Offer, who invited him over to *England*, that he seem'd at least, to be settl'd. 'Tis certain, that before he went over into *England*, he told *du Perron*, that he cou'd be more serviceable to him in gaining that Prince, if he continu'd in the Profession of the *Reform'd* Religion, then after he had quitted it. Insomuch, that it is not known, whether his perseverance were Sincere or no. However, it is sure, that Religion was not a matter of very great importance to that Family; for a little after his Death, his only Son turn'd *Catholic*. Such were those in whose Hands

10. *He changes two of the first Nominated, for two more suspected.*

11. *He choses two of the wavering* Reformed.

The Character of du Frene Canaye.

And of Casaubon.

du

du Plessis was constrain'd to hazard his Honour. There was more Honesty to be hop'd for from *Thou* and *Pithou*, then from those very people who being of his Religion, pretended to be most favourable to him. 1600.

At the time appointed, they came to the place where the Conference was to be held, and every one being duly plac'd, the Books were laid on the Table, to which they might have recourse in the process of the Examination. I will not Justifie what is said by some, that *du Perron* having already put one Cheat upon *du Plessis*, in causing the first Leaf of the Edition of *Bale* or *Geneva* to be plac'd at the the beginning of Books Printed elsewhere, play'd him another Trick worse then that, to confound him absolutely, by Ordering other Books to be laid on the Table, then those he had made use of all the Night before. There was no need perhaps of this great Abuse, to perplex a Man that was almost quite tir'd out already, with Watching all Night long, and who besides had spent all the Forenoon in matters of great importance. But they set another Trap for him more craftily, under colour of avoiding such Words as might di oblige, when the King Order'd, that in their Discourse, they should forbear the Terms of *Fals* and *Falsity*. And thus there was a Large Feild open'd for *du Perron*, who cou'd turn the Conference as he pleas'd. It had been indeed propos'd before upon a Charge of *Falsehood*; and *du Perron* was oblig'd to convict *du Plessis* of *Enormous*, or *Irregular* Falsities And yet, nevertheless he was dispe s'd with from proving the Falsity; and he could extricate himself from those matters, by charging on *du Plessis* quite another thing, then that of having falsely quoted the passages in debate; as if he had ill understood 'em, ill translated 'em, ill apply'd 'em, *&c.* Which might be call'd *mistakes*, but could not be looked on as Falsifications. *Du Plessis* on the other hand found himself so much the less able to defend himself, as that under this pretext, of shunning Undecent and Offensive Expressions, they might raise a thousand Objections against him, which he ne're expected. And so instead of being clear'd, as he believ'd, by shewing beyond all denial, that the Authors had said what he had taken out of 'em, they might

12. *Another Artifice made use of, by forbidding the Terms of* Falsehood *and* Falsity *to be mentioned.*

1600. turn the Question and ask him, whether he perfectly understood what their meaning was.

The Chancellor who in this Affair was to preside above the King, declar'd that no matter of Right or Doctrine was concern'd in this Dispute, but of Fact and Citations; which the King confirm'd with his own Mouth, and in the same Terms. *Du Perron* highly extoll'd the King, that he would not lay his hand upon the Censor, nor meddle with Matters of Faith, which he ought not to do. And afterwards protested he extreamly Honour'd *du Plessis*, and did not design to cast on him the blame of those Falsifications which were in his Book, but only charg'd them upon those who had furnish'd him with the Memoirs; That is to say, in acquitting *du Plessis* from an Accusation of being a Deceiver, he ridicul'd him by another, which tax'd him for an Inconsiderate Person; that made use of the Citations of other people without ever inquiring into the Truth of 'em; and fill'd his Books with the Testimonies of Authors which he had never taken the pains to Read. Besides that the Accusation became by that more malicious, because it overspread and affected all the Learned of the Party, by whom he suppos'd *du Plessis* was supply'd with his passages. As if the *Reformed*, the better to Assail the *Roman* Church, had made a kind of Combination to Quote the Ancient Authors false. *Du Plessis* protested, That what was done was but a particular Act, which concern'd him only, and that what shou'd happen shou'd neither prejudice the Churches nor their Doctrine. That being over, they began the Conference. And the Order they observ'd was, That after *du Perron* had propos'd his Objections, and *du Plessis* his Reasons, the Chancellor should withdraw with the Commissioners; and after a short Consultation, should return to deliver their Opinions, which was ever declar'd Uniform. The whole management of it was as peaceable as an Affair of that Nature could permit; there happen'd but one Interruption, which was of no consequence. A Minister that had got in among the Assistants could not forbear speaking upon the occasion of a passage in St. *Chrysostom*; after which he went his way; and the King, without being disturbed

ſturbed, was pleas'd to deal with him like a Harquebuſier, that wheels off ſo ſoon as he has diſcharg'd his Carbine. 1600.

'Tis ſaid *du Pleſſis* made but an ill Defence; which may not be improbable, conſidering that he had weakned his Spirits by his Watching and Study; that the Marks of the Kings diſpleaſure might aſtoniſh him; that the Diſpoſition of the Aſſiſtants, among whom there were but a few that would do him Juſtice, might a little diſtract his Brains; that it had been much fitter for him to have conſider'd, and deliberately to have prepar'd a Paper, then to have ſpoken (as it were) *extempore* in a Scholaſtic manner, on the Cavils of Criticiſm. But on the contrary, *du Perron*, beſides the King's and the Aſſiſtants Favor, had time enoug to conſult what he had to ſay; and his Grave Deportment, the Cadence of his Voice, which was at once, both very agreeable and Majeſtic, the freeneſs of his Action, and the facility of his Expreſſions did in ſome manner impoſe on his Hearers, and gain'd 'em over to his party, even before they underſtood his Reaſons. However it was, the Judges condemn'd *du Pleſſis* in Nine Paſſages that were Examin'd: But upon which they durſt not perhaps have declar'd that the Citations were Falſe, had they kept themſelves to the ſtrictneſs of the Challenge. In two Paſſages, one of which was taken out of *Scotus*, and the other out of *Durandus* concerning Tranſubſtantiation; they ſaid that the Objection was taken for the Solution. In two other, out of St. *Chryſoſtom*, and a third out of St. *Jerome*; they judg'd that ſome Words were left out, which it had been neceſſary for him to have inſerted: Another, taken from St. *Cyril*, was judg'd not to be found there. The Seventh indeed, was juſt ſo as *du Pleſſis* had cited it from *Crinitus*: But becauſe *Crinitus* was miſtaken in citing it from the *Code*, they ſaid *du Pleſſis* ought not to have alleadg'd it upon the Credit of a Modern Writer, and one likewiſe who was of no very great Authority. They took occaſion to condemn him upon the Eight, for that he had not divided, by ſome Mark, two paſſages of St. *Bernard*, which ſeem'd but one as he had cited 'em. The Ninth, which was taken from *Theodoret*, gave 'em an Occaſion to Diſpute about the difference be-

Du Pleſſis Condemn'd in Nine paſſages.

tween *Image* and *Idol*: And they declared that that Father spoke of Pagan Idols, and not of Christian Images.

Reflections. I should transgress the limits of my design, if I should go about to excuse *du Plessis* upon these Nine passages; I do not write his Apology, 'tis the History of the Edict, where that of this Conference ought not to intervene, but only as an incident that is somewhat remarkable. But I owe so much to Truth as to say in general, That they prevaricated in this Affair, for they did not find any thing which might justly be termed *Enormous Falshood*; no, not so much as *Real Falshood*; And the way of citing in those times was much more free than it has been since; it was then sufficient to point out the passages, without Copying 'em word for word all at length; they very rarely set down any words but what they deem'd Essential: And this way of Citations was never call'd Falsity, because they only referred to an Author where the passage might be found more at large; because the Disputants having been often hard put to it to refute the passages to the purpose, stepp'd by little and little to the Circumstances, and began to Quibble upon the manner of Quoting, of Translating, and of Copying the passages; and for that, to avoid these digressions which caus'd 'em to lose sight of the principal thing in Dispute, the whole Body of the Book must have been fill'd with long Quotations, and the Margins with the Original Texts; and the Disputes must have been Immortaliz'd through the opportunity that those long passages would have given to many litigious Cavils.

And Particulars In particular, a Man may sometimes Quote the Objection of an Author which he refutes, without committing a Falsity; whether it be to shew that these difficulties were known at the time the Doctor Quoted, or to discover the propensity he had himself to a certain Opinion; altho some more Superior Authority had made him determin on the contrary. This chiefly takes place amongst the School-men, who would sometimes receive Opinions opposite to those of their Church, if the dread of her *Anathema's* did not force 'em to a blind acquiescence in her Decisions. A man might also often repeat but one Series of Words, without making any long Extracts of the whole, when the parts of an omitted passage are not Essential: And this

this was undoubtedly the case of *du Plessis*, which he has demonstrated at large, in a Book which he publish'd two Years after the Conference. Where likewise he says, that what he had Quoted out of St. *Cyril* were not his proper Terms, but a brief Extract of his Opinion; and that, therefore it was no matter to him, if this passage were not deliver'd in so many Words; that having only alledg'd *Crinitus*, his Citation ought not to have been judg'd but by *Crinitus*, who having been a Catholic Priest, could not be suspected to have falsify'd this passage; That he ought not to have been Charg'd with the omission of an, *&c.* among so many several passages of *St. Bernard*, since what was between those two, related nothing to the Subject; and that elsewhere he had alledg'd out of the same Author, passages of much greater force, for the Opinion which it was pretended he would have hidden by this omission. That, in fine, the difference was so little between the Idols of the Pagans, and the Images of the Catholics, that that might be apply'd to the one, which *Theodoret* and other Doctors of his time say of the other. By which it may be Judg'd, that in the time of these Fathers, the Worship of Images was so great a stranger to the Practice of Christians, that they could not have spoken of it but by the Spirit of Prophesie. 1600.

Du Plessis *falls Sick, and the Conference is broken off.*

But tho the matter was thus, *du Plessis* was so sensibly touch'd with the manner of their playing upon him in this Affair, that he left *Fontainbleau* the next day, without so much as taking his leave. In the mean while the King having what he desir'd, as well as *du Perron*, who thought he had sufficiently exploded the Book of *du Plessis* by this foul play, they took occasion from the Sickness of *du Plessis* to break up the Conference. And without so much as staying till his departure, the Commissioners were discharg'd that Night, to the end that, though *du Plessis* had Recover'd, they might have had an Excuse ready not to renew it. *Du Plessis* could not with-hold his Complaints; and his Son, a young Gentleman of great hopes, spoke louder then he. Indeed they spoke too much Truth to please. And it was so visible that the King had Sacrific'd *du Plessis* with a desire to satisfie the Pope, that it was impossible that the Reproaching him with this Injustice

1600. justice should not offend him. The Chancellor made Remonstrances to *du Plessis*; but that did not hinder him from speaking yet louder, when once retir'd to a place where he had no more occasion to fear any thing. In the mean time the King vaunted his Triumph upon this occasion as high as he could raise it; and it was observ'd, that, tho he did not love the Duke *Espernon*, yet he was pleas'd to give him an Account of this success in rejoycing Terms, and in such as he might have written to one of his most familiar Friends. *Roni*, like the rest, Insulted o'r the unhappy Gentleman, and vented his Railleries upon him with the King himself. They boasted highly at *Rome* of this advantage, where things that succeed well are ever counted Lawful by what means soever they are brought about. They found by this a dangerous Heretic remov'd from the Kings Favour and Trust; his Credit lost, and his Reputation obscur'd; more especially they saw the King quite alienated from the *Reformed*, since he could prevail with himself to give 'em so great an occasion of Discontent, at a time when they seem'd to have the greatest hopes of his Favour.

The Triumphs and Insults of the Catholics.

But altho the Conference was broken off, yet the Noise of the Dispute continu'd for a long while. The Parties Interess'd writ against one another upon this Subject. *Du Perron* Publish'd the Acts of the Conference, and that he might not want a considerable Witness, he got the Chancellor to Write a Letter to him, containing a Relation of the whole matter; and wherein he made great Protestations of his Sincerity. *Du Plessis* on his part forgot not to make his Apology, and to take notice of all the Cheats and Injuries that had been done to him. He justify'd above all things, the Allegation of the Nine Passages in a Book sufficiently large, which he Publish'd two Years after, as I have said; wherein he gave an Account, not only of the Integrity of their Citation, but he likewise made it appear by a great many Authorities, that he had as much reason of his side to have had Justice done him, as he had been Sincere in matter of Fact; and that he made the Authors Quoted speak no more then what effectually they did. More especially, he there Charg'd *du Perron* with the Falsification of the Acts of the Conference, which he had made himself; and that he did both alter and

The sequel of the Conference.

and change 'em divers times before he publiſh'd 'em: Inſo- 1600.
much, that after he had ſhew'n 'em to ſome perſons at *Lions*, who could not forbear ſpeaking, he Tore 'em, to make others which he ſet forth. But *du Perron* was not much troub'd at theſe Reproaches. 'Twas none of his Ambition to be an honeſt Man, but to fawn upon the Court and raiſe his Fortune. Never was Man overwhelm'd with ſo many Accuſations of Frauds, Falſities, Ignorances and Contradictions: Nay of all the Crimes that a Writer can be Guilty of. But the pleaſure of wearing a Cardinals Hat, and to ſee his Adverſary diſgrac'd, eaſily Atton'd for theſe little Injuries. *Aubigne*, who put as great a value upon himſelf as he could, would have re-aſſum'd the Conference againſt him, and ſome things were written on both ſides, which were left in the King's Hands: But there they ſtopp'd. *Aubigne* was not ſo conſiderable as *du Pleſſis*; and *du Perron* would not ſtake the Reputation he had acquir'd, againſt him.

There was one thing in the mean time which ſtuck in the King's mind. The Aſſembly of *Chatelleraud* had remov'd to *Saumer* the twenty fourth of *November*, the foregoing year; where they had paſs'd the Winter, without much advancing Affairs; becauſe the Duke of *Savoy* being come into *France*, about the Diſpute of the Marquiſate of *Saluces* which he had Uſurp'd, and the King had a mind to Recover, the Council was wholly employ'd in Negotiations and Intrigues. But it ſeem'd they had no deſign to Adjourn, till the Edict was Executed throughout the whole Kingdom; leſt it ſhould be but diſadvantageouſly Executed, when there was no body to look after it. 'Tis true, that the Edict forbid Aſſemblies of this Nature; and this at *Saumer* ſeem'd to be a formal breach of this Article: But they did not think they were oblig'd themſelves, to be the firſt to put the Edict in force, ſeeing the Catholics croſs'd the Execution of it with a thouſand Obſtacles from all ſides. The Place and Time made it more ſuſpicious then ever; and 'twas difficult to be apprehended what the Diſcontents about *du Pleſſis* grumbling in that Aſſembly might then produce. In a word, what had paſs'd at *Fontainbleau* much troubl'd Mens Minds: But *du Pleſſis* never having made a general buſineſs of his own perſonal concerns, would not deviate

The Parliament remov'd from Chatelleraud to Saumer.

1600. viate from his usual wont upon this occasion, nor took advantage of this opportunity, to trouble those who had so unworthily Treated him. Besides the common Interest of Religion forbad the making a Publick concern of a pretended disadvantage of a particular Person, for fear the Disgrace of this imaginary Defeat should fall upon the Doctrine of the Party. However, *du Plessis* and the *Reformed* in good time found the means to be Reveng'd on the Pope, and to give New Causes of Mortification to the Court of *Rome*. The Assembly nevertheless did not break up so soon; and it was but the next year after that they deliver'd the King and Court from their fear of New broils.

When they broke up.

The End of the Seventh Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Edict of NANTS.

BOOK VIII.

The Aagument of the 8th. *Book.*

THE *War of* Savoy, *and the ſucceſs of it. The Eſtate of the Country of* Gex. *The Reformed Governours of Places on the Frontiers of* Italy. *A New Creation of Offices. The Execution of the Edict, different according to the places. The Negligence of the Reformed, and their Prejudices. The Exactneſs Commiſſioners. The difficulty on the Edict of* 1577. *favourably taken away. Limited Exerciſes. Places of Bailliage. Burying Places. Appeals of Ordinances. The Aſſembly*

1600. *bly of* Saumer. *General Difficulties on their Institution; and Alterations in the Form of Naming 'em. The Synod at* Gergeau. *Papers Answer'd.* Gex. *The Succession of* England. *The Death of a little Child of the Admiral* de Chatillon. *The Birth of the* Dauphin; *and prediction of* M. de la Riviere. *Notice given to the Reformed of a League form'd against 'em. The general Assembly at* Sainte-Foy; *and their matters. The disgrace of the Marshal* de Bouillon. *The Sedition at* Rochelle. *The Spanish Cabal in the Council, presses the Destruction of the Reformed, in hopes to withdraw the King's Forces by a Civil War. Jealousies and Fears are soved among the Reformed; whom the Assurance of being in the King's favour preserves in Peace.* Roni *is provided of the Government of* Poitou. *The Death of Queen* Elizabeth. *The Character of King* James *the First who succeeds her. Breaches of the Edict. The Duke of* Rohan. *The Recal of the Jesuits. The Synod at* Gap. *The* Theses *of* Ferrier *Professour at* Nimes. *His Character, and that of* Chauve. *An Article made to be inserted in the Confession of Faith, which imports that the Pope is the Antichrist. The King is Angry, and threatens. The Reasons of the Synod. New Editions of the Confession of Faith, where the Article is inserted. The Artifices of the Court to evade this Decree. The false Moderation of* Clement *the Eight. Other Affairs of the Synod. Conditions of the Recall of the Jesuits. Satyrs against 'em.* Cotton *Wounded. Is made the King's Confessor. The Character of that Jesuit. Questions which he ought to propose to one possess'd. The preservation of* Geneva, *against the Attempts of the Duke of* Savoy. *The palliating of this Enterprize in Writings of the Jesuits. The Death of the Duchess of* Bar. *The Progress of* du Perron's *fortune. The Treachery of an Officer of* Villeroy. *The Intrigues of* Spain *in the Court of France.*

The War of Savoy.

WHile the Execution of the Edict was a foot, the King made his Expedition into *Savoy*; and in the Progress of this Journey did many things that were very obliging to the *Reformed*, but very ungrateful to *Rome*. The Ministers of *Geneva* came to pay him their Respects near to St. *Catherines* Fort, which the Duke of *Savoy* had caus'd to be Built

to

to annoy the Town, who made open War upon it under the Protection of *France*. *Beza* being then above fourscore years Old, made him a Speech; and the King receiv'd him so Graciously, that the Catholics were Jealous. The King call'd him his *Father*: A Title rarely us'd among the *Reformed* and their Pastors; but of which the Monks are very Proud, and which they have in a manner appropriated to themselves among the Catholics. It was therefore a great Offence to them, to give the same Appellation to a Minister of the *Heretics*; and to him too, who of all the Ministers since *Calvin*, had done most hurt to the Roman Religion, by his Reputation, by his Counsels, and by his Works. 1600.

On the other side the Garrison having deliver'd up this Fort to the King, he restor'd it to those of *Geneva*, who ras'd it to the Ground with all imaginable Expedition. The Legat which the Pope had sent to Treat of a Peace between the King and the Duke, was enrag'd at this business. He complain'd, and threatn'd, as if the Roman Religion had been thereby brought to the Brink of certain Ruin. The Edicts which were made for Heretics, were never worse receiv'd at *Rome*, then this little Accident. One might have said, that *Geneva* had been a *New Carthage*, the preservation of which bereav'd *Rome* of the hopes of being the Mistress of the World. However it behov'd to be pacify'd after a fruitless Clamour; because 'twas to be wish'd, that the King were remov'd farther from *Italy*, where the Neighbourhood of the *French* always causes some suspicion. He was brought to consent to an Exchange of the Marquisat of *Saluces* for *Bresse*, the Country of *Gex*, *Bugey* and *Val-romey*, which the Duke of *Savoy* not without some regret surrender'd to him. Those of *Berne* had made themselves Masters of this Country, where the Neighbourhood of this Canton had introduc'd betimes the knowledge of the *Reformed* Religion. The Dukes of *Savoy* had tolerated it there, with a Proviso for a time so long as they were Masters there, in expectation that a Council would have determin'd the Controversies: But some years after the End of the Council of *Trent*, they commanded all their Subjects to submit to the Doctrine that had prevail'd in that Assembly. This rigour did not extinguish

And it's success.

The State of the Country of Gex.

1600. the Reformation in that little Country; And those of *Berne* having made themselves Masters by Force of Arms, it was there so well Establish'd, that there were fewer Parishes in the Country of *Gex*, then places where the Exercise of the *Reformed* Religion was Publick. The Roman Religion was only tolerated; and those few people that profess'd it, no longer Exercis'd it with that Pomp that attends it where it is Mistress. The *Reformed* enjoy'd all the places, and apply'd the Ecclesiastical Revenues to their Use. They were in possession of Houses and Church-yards. There was no Town but only that of *Gex*, within whose Walls had not yet one Church.

This was the condition of this Country when it fell under the Dominions of *Henry* the Fourth, who, as soon as he had taken Possession, gave the Government of the Citadel of *Bourg*, Capital of *Bresse*, and the only place of Defence that there was in those parts, to a Gentleman of the *Reformed* Religion. The Reason of this Choice was, that he believ'd these places better secur'd to him by the *Reformed*, then those he had given to the Catholics; in regard he did not look upon the latter to be resolute enough to hold out against the *Spanish* Faction: When as he was perfectly assur'd of the Fidelity of the other; and this was a third thing that displeas'd *Rome*, which could not digest that a Man inaccessible to all the Intrigues that are hatch'd beyond the Mountains, should be Master of a Place so near *Italy*; chiefly because his Relgion was the Cause that he was prefer'd before the Catholics. There was yet another, that the Pope could not endure; to remove whom he was long very Importunate with the King: This was the Governour of *Chateau Dauphin*; an inconsiderable Castle on the very extremity of *Dauphine*, which a *Reformed* held, not only as Governour for the King, but also by a Deed of Engagement. He had establish'd his own Religion there, and a *Reformed* Garrison. The Duke of *Savoy* exasperated the Pope upon this occasion; for that this Castle incommoded him, and that he would fain have remov'd a Man thence, that would not easily engage in his broils. Insomuch that this Trifle made a great Noise at *Rome*, so that they appear'd there sufficiently

ſufficiently troubled to ſee all *Dauphine* intirely, and a 11 or 12 ſtrong places in particular, at the Command of *Leſdiguieres*. 1600.

A New Creation of Offices.

The Creation of New Employments in all the Jurisdictions of the Kingdom, ev'n in the Parlaments which was one of the Expedients that *Roni* propos'd to Raiſe Mony, may be look'd upon as one Buſineſs of the Edict. Theſe New Creations ever Vex thoſe who are in Poſſeſſion of Old Employments, whoſe Fees are made leſs conſiderable in retail, when the Number of Perſons that ſhould ſhare 'em, is Augmented. This is the Reaſon, that the Parlament of *Paris* would have confounded theſe New Offices, with thoſe out of which the King was to gratify the *Reformed*, according to the Edict; one part of which was of a Preceding Creation; and t'other of the firſt Offices of Ancient Erection which would become vacant by Death. The Parlament was deſirous by that to leſſen the Number of New Offices. But that did not accommodate the *Reformed*, who were to have the Places that were deſign'd 'em given 'em Gratis, whereas the others were to be Purchas'd Beſides this confuſion had been of no Advantage to the Kiug, who had partly loſt by that the Fruit he expected from theſe New Creations; which was the cauſe that he readily promis'd the *Reformed*, that their Offices ſhould not be comprehended in the Number of New Employments.

But the moſt important Affair of this Year, was the Execution of the Edict, to which End Commiſſioners were ſent into many Provinces. But the meaſures they took were not alike: For there were ſome places where they did acquit themſelves, with the ſame exactneſs that was done in others. There were ſome Provinces where they went from Town to Town, from Jurisdiction to Juriſdiction, and where they Viſited the Places, which ought to be deliver'd for their Exerciſe therein, in Order to ſettle all things as cloſe to their Commiſſions as poſſibly they could. Others only went to the Capital Cities, contenting themſelves to receive the Petitions, the Pretenſions and Objections of Parties, without coming near the particular places where the Diſputes aroſe to which nevertheleſs they commonly ſent Subdelegates. There were likewiſe ſome Provinces to which they

1600. they never went at at all. There were Places where the Catholics were more ſcrupulous; others where they were more Moderate and Tractable. There were ſome where the *Reformed* were Exact and Diligent, and others where they did their buſineſs with a great deal of Negligence. Which was grounded upon divers conſiderations. They waited an approaching decadency of the Roman Religion, as if they had had expreſs Revelations: And they doubted not that their Doctrine would make great Progreſſes in a little time; for that they might Embrace it without expoſing their Goods, their Lives or their Hopes: As if there had been nothing to ſurmount but the Prejudices of Intereſt and of Fortune, to the End that the Truths, of which they were convinc'd, might become evident to all the World. This was the Reaſon that they did not think it neceſſary to take their meaſures in many things, in which this Happy Juncture might have been much more ſecurely provided for. This thought inſpir'd 'em with another of vexing the Catholics a little, in placing themſelves, as far as the Edict would permit it, in thoſe Places where the Clergy were troubled to ſee 'em. This was one little Mortification which they would have put upon 'em, in return of thoſe many acts of Injuſtice and Cruelties with which they had Treated them. This was the Cauſe that in ſome places they had leſs regard to their own profit, that they might have the pleaſure of putting their Enemis to more Pain. A third conſideration ſerv'd as a Foundation for their Negligence. They rely'd too much on the Integrity of theſe who made 'em believe, that no interruption ſhould be given to the eſtabliſhments once made; and as they were reſolv'd to make no Attempt on the Catholics, they were apt to believe that the Catholics would never conſult to diſturb their Poſſeſſion with Wranglings. In fine they imagin'd, that as theſe ſettlements were made in the ſight of the Catholics, and that the Grounds of that Right which they had acquir'd were publick and manifeſt to all the World, the Children would never come to diſpute what had been ſo Evident and Notorious in their Fathers time. One or other of theſe Conſiderations caſt the *Reformed* in many places into a Negligence, common to thoſe who believe that

The Negligence of the Reformed and their Prejudices.

that what they once poſſeſs ſhall never be taken from 'em. Many were contented with the notoriouſneſs of the things as ſufficient proof of their Poſſeſſion, never minding to have it atteſted by the Commiſſioners. Many were ſatisfy'd with the Verbal or tacit conſent of the Catholics, in the places where it was neceſſary for the Eſtabliſhment of their Rights. There were *Bailliages* where they had forgotten to demand the deliverance of a convenient place, wherein to hold their Publick Exerciſes: Others where the demand having been made, it was not purſu'd: Others where the demand appear'd made for one place, and the Order given for another: Somewhere the Rights were confounded, and that of the *Bailliage*, for Example annexed to a Gentleman's Demeſnes: Others that were taken in places where there were ſo few of the *Reformed*, that they never did 'em any good: Others ſo inconvenient, that they were oblig'd to forſake 'em These little inadvertencies have given great Opportunities to the Injuſtice of our time, where the Treachery of the Bigoted Cabal has given us to underſtand, how neceſſary it was that our Fathers ſhould have taken more exact Precautions to have prevented 'em. 1600.

During this, the Commiſſioners behav'd themſelves on their part, with as much Application as was expected from 'em. To Preſerve or Eſtabliſh a Right of Exerciſe, they made Inquiries and took Informations; they took the Depoſitions of Catholic or *Reformed* Witneſſes impartially; they Examin'd all the Titles and Acts that could be produc'd; either they or their Delegates came down to the places, when their preſence themſelves was requir'd by any one of the Parties; they ſummon'd the Officers of the places; they heard the Clergy themſelves in their Pretenſions and Defences. Of whom they had as many things to demand at leaſt in many Places as of the *Reformed*, and theſe Judges frequently receiv'd from one and 'other part large Papers: Upon which they were oblig'd to give ſeveral different Judgments. The General Rules they follow'd, was to Examin the reciprocal demands upon the Grand Maxim of the Edict; and which might well be call'd the Soul of all theſe Conceſſions; to Wit, to Confirm or Eſtabliſh things *The Exactneſs of the Commiſſioners.*

1600. things *As and altogether as they were*, in the Terms ſpecify'd in the Articles of the Edict. They kept themſelves ſo exactly within the bounds of this Rule, that they gave the *Reformed* a great deal of trouble upon the Exerciſes whoſe Right was founded on the Edict of 1577. The Expreſſion of which being a little Equivocal ſeem'd to bound that Conceſſion to places where the Exerciſes had actually been made the 17th of *September*; a day that happen'd on a *Tueſday*, on which were found but few Examples of Aſſemblies for Acts of Piety. The Commiſſioners took no notice of the Proofs of the Exerciſes made the *Sunday* before; they inquir'd preciſely of this day, without minding the other. Tho to judge of Terms by the Ordinary Style of Edicts, 'twas only meant that the Exerciſe was Granted to the *Reformed*, in the places where they had not begun it ſince that day; but which they had in ſome ſort Peaceably enjoy'd before and till that day. There was the ſame ſtrictneſs in the Regulations which were made for the Places, the Buildings, the Bells, the acquiſts of Places and all the Dependances of the right of Exerciſe. There were therefore places where they Eſtabliſh'd limited Exerciſes, as well for the Number of perſons, as for the Quality of the Acts of Devotion that might there be exercis'd. In ſome, they ſuffer'd none but the Inhabitants of the Town and Juriſdiction to go to the Aſſemblies. In other places the Number of Strangers was limited who were permitted to be preſent. In others they were only allow'd to meet to pray and to ſing Pſalms without calling the Miniſter thither. In ſome 'twas permitted, that a Miniſter ſhould come and give the Lord's Supper four times a year. But ſetting aſide theſe little Diverſities, which did not extend it ſelf to many places, their Orders agreed in General Liberties, conformable to the Articles which ſpoke of the Nature of the Ezerciſe which was in hand to be Eſtabliſh'd. Theſe differences then were but an effect of the exactneſs of the Commiſſioners, who would not extend the Rights beyond that which the Poſſeſſion had gain'd, nor aboliſh 'em under pretence that the poſſeſſion did not give 'em extent enough. Nevertheleſs they have ſerv'd for opportunities in theſe latter years, to condemn theſe imperfect

The Difficulty on the Edict of 1577. favourably taken off.

Limited Exerciſes.

fect Exerciſes, as if they had been ill grounded: So that it had been happier for thoſe of the *Reformed* Religion, if the Commiſſioners had ſometimes been pleas'd to tranſgreſs the Limits of their Power: 1600.

One of the moſt remarkable parts of their Commiſſion, was the delivery of places call'd Places of *Bailliage*, 'Twas neceſſary they ſhould be taken in thoſe where another Right could not be preſum'd, for the multiplying the places of Exerciſe as much as was poſſible. Beſides it was convenient to have 'em in the moſt conſiderable places of the *Bailliage*, where there was ſome concourſe of people, for the common benefit. To Mortify the Clergy a little, they demanded of 'em, when they could, the neareſt to the Epiſcopal Cities, ſince they could not have 'em in thoſe very Cities. They of *Nimes* demanded the next place to *Pont* St. *Eſprit*, or at *Ville Neuve d'Avignon*, that was no farther diſtant from *Avignon* then the breadth of the *Rhone*, thereby to give the ſame Cauſe of diſcontent to ſee the Religion of his Enemies exercis'd, at the very Gate of a City, of which he is the Sovereign, and where ſome of his Predeceſſors have held their Sees These different proſpects were the Cauſe why they did not obtain throughout the whole the moſt important places, in as ample a manner as might have been deſir'd. *Places of Bailliage.*

The Diſpute of Burying places occaſion'd more trouble, then the ſettlement of the places of exerciſe. The Clergy oppos'd almoſt through the whole, the Liberty of burying in the Catholics Church-yards: And when the *Reformed* took it of their own accord, they complain'd againſt 'em to the King's Juſtices or to the Parlaments, where they were always favour'd. A Gentleman of the *Reformation* having caus'd one of his Children to be Bury'd in a Pariſh-Church of the *Bailliage* of Chartres, the Parlament of *Paris* made a Decree, which Order'd that thoſe ſhould be inform'd againſt who were Nam'd in the Complaint which had been deliver'd, that prohibited Burying in the Churches and Church-yards of the Catholics: But the Decree did not Order the Bodies of ſuch as were already bury'd to be taken up. The ſeverity of the Canons perplex'd the Curates, becauſe it would not permit that Service ſhould *Burying places.*

1601. be Celebrated in the Churches where the Bodies of Heretics were interr'd, unleſs they had firſt been reconcil'd. But the difficulty had not been hard to remove, if the Spirit of contradiction would have given way to the Spirit of Peace: Since that the *Reformed* accord to the Edict, being no more to be Treated as Heretics, they ought to have been as well diſpens'd with, as to the Rigour of the Canons, which depriv'd 'em of Sepulture in the Ordinary p'aces, as thoſe which declar'd 'em incapable of all Employments, or which condemn'd 'em to the loſs of Goods and Life. By theſe means a great many people had not been depriv'd of their Rights which they had acquir'd by Ancient Foundations, nor had good People wanted the ſatisfaction of being bury'd in the Sepulchres of their Fathers. But in regard this buſineſs every where occaſion'd Suits; almoſt all the Difficulties were remov'd by Orders that match'd the Decree of Parlament. Nevertheleſs, when places were to be deliver'd to the *Reformed* at the common expence, the reparations were not ſo uneaſie as the Clergy. As they had been ruin'd by the long Wars, they choſe rather to partake the Ancient Church-yards with the *Reformed*, then to be at the Charge of buying New; which was the Cauſe that the Commiſſionersdivided the Church-yards, between the *Catholics* and the *Reformed*; and the part moſt remote from the Church, was aſſign'd to theſe for their Places of Burial. There were places where theſe Portions were not ſeperated but by ſingle Diviſions. Others where they were contented to dig a little Ditch: Others where they built ſome Wall, to the end that they might give the leſs occaſion of Scandal or Tumult, when the *Bieres* of both ſides met at the ſame time, or leſt there ſhould happen any diſturbance on one ſide or other, in performing the Ceremony. Nor was it not only in the Places where the *Reformed* were in great Numbers, that theſe diſtributions were made: 'Twas the ſame thing in the Provinces where there were but few: And in *Paris* it ſelf there was one part of a Church-yard, which was call'd *Of the Trinity*; the other part of which was the common burying Place of the Poor that dy'd in the Hoſpital. Inſomuch, that the Commiſſioners could not be charg'd with having done any thing

thing contrary to their Inſtructions, whether it were in maintaining the *Reformed* in their Portions of their Churc-yards which they had already, or allotting 'em New by their Orders; ſince, that in the Face of the Court, of a Biſhop and of a Parlament, there were ſeen dividends as equal as thoſe they had made in the Provinces. By this procedure, conformable to the forty fifth Article of the particulars, ſuch as it had been drawn up at *Nantes*, this Article was tacitly re-eſtabliſh'd in its firſt form; and there was no ſcruple made to Publiſh it in this manner in the Printed Copies of the Edict, becauſe it was ſo put in practice. 1600.

It was impoſſible, that the Commiſſioners being to paſs their Judgments in ſo many places, and upon ſo many things, ſhould have the good Fortune always to pleaſe all parties. 'Twas therefore, that there were Appeals from each part, on which the King was to determine: But the *Reformed* had almoſt every day the better in thoſe Decrees; and there will be found but very few Examples, where the Orders of the Commiſſioners have been corrected to their prejudice; tho there are a great Number that redound to their advantage. From whence two things may plainly be inferr'd: One, that the Commiſſioners had rather have Executed the Edict in favour of the Catholics, then of the *Reformed*: The other, that the King's Intention was, that the Articles of the Edict ſhould not be eluded by rigorous conſtructions, ſince that every time occaſion preſented, he expounded 'em himſelf to the advantage of the *Reformed*, by favourable extenſions of what the Commiſſioners had too much contracted. But tho the Commiſſioners had labour'd in the Execution of the Edict, during part of this year and the following, there remain'd a great many things to be executed. More eſpecially there wanted many things in the principal part of the Commiſſion of thoſe whoſe buſineſs it was to attend this Affair. That is to ſay, to make all the Officers in the Provinces Swear to obſerve the Edict; which could not be done in the places where the Commiſſioners had not yet been. Wherefore the *Reformed* being Aſſembled again at *Saumur*, and fearing leſt the Execution of the Edict ſhould remain imperfect in ſo important an Article, as alſo leaſt there

Appeals of the Orders.

1601.

The Aſſembly of Saumer.

1601. being no other Assembly on Foot, to send about in order to its uniform Memoirs, they might lose many of their Rights, by the unequal manner in which they would proceed in every place, they were willing to continue this usual Remedy of all their Fears, and Translate themselves to *Loudun*. But the King would never permit it; and sent Orders to the Deputies, that were there, to seperate themselves. At the same time a National Synod was held at *Gergeau*, who sent an Express to the King, beseeching him to permit the continuation of this Assembly: But nothing prevail'd; they must Obey and Dismiss themselves. Ever since the Month of *March* they had receiv'd Order to do it; but they excus'd themselves as much as they could. The Orders were renew'd at the beginning of *May*; and were not fulfill'd till the last day of the same Month. 'Tis true, the King permitted another Assembly at *Sainte Foy*, for the 15th of *October* following, to the end, that they might Name Deputies to reside near him, and to present him the Petitions and Complaints which should be sent 'em from the Provinces. There were two Interests so opposite upon the Subject of this Assembly, that it seem'd impossible to reconcile 'em. One was that of the King's, to whom they were become suspicious, because of the Authority of the Lords, who were in a capacity of acting something against his Service. T'other was that of the *Reformed*, to whom they were necessary; for that in the Present State of Affairs there were an Infinite Number of things, to be regulated by any other Method. The Colloquies and the Synods not having Power to meddle with any but the Affairs of Church Discipline, with the Inferiour Policy of the Churches, with the distribution of the Money which the King gave for their Ministers; another Council was requisite to advise in matters of another Nature; for the execution or observation of the Edict; for Reparation of the Breach of Articles; for the Sollicitation of the Suits which might arise on each side; for the Preservation of Places, and a hundred other things, without which, the Edict might be dayly eluded by a Thousand Cavils. This Correspondence was mainly endeavour'd; for as they desir'd to preserve

preſerve it, that ſo they might be more ſecure from the At- 1601.
tempts of their Enemies by their Union; ſo likewiſe their E-
nemies labour'd to deprive 'em of means of effecting their mu-
tual Defence. But there was an inconvenience on both ſides,
to permit theſe Aſſemblies, becauſe of the Conſequences; or
to hinder 'em, becauſe of the many buſineſſes, which brought
the Deputies from all parts to Court, and expos'd the
Council to great importunities, and have thrown the *Re-*
formed into injurious perplexities, and inſupportable ex-
pences.

But the permiſſion of having Deputies near the King in the *General Deputies.*
Name of the Provinces, which was Granted 'em to take from
'em the pretence of continuing the Aſſembly at *Saumur*,
ſeem'd to make amends for all. The *Reformed* from all parts
could ſend 'em Memoirs, on the Affairs that ſhould happen.
The Fxpence of their Maintenance was not great, becauſe the
King, who was not troubl'd at their attendance upon him,
took upon him to allow 'em a certain Sum, which ſhould be
laid yearly on the Privy Purſe. But becauſe the *Reformed*
would bind 'em as well to their Cauſe by ſome Intereſt, they
reſolv'd at the National Synod of *Gap*, that if the Deputies
were not abſolutely aſſur'd of their allowances, what was want-
ing, ſhould be rais'd, half on the Money that the King gave to
the Churches, and half on what he gave to the Garriſons.
But by little and little, that which was not Order'd, but by
way of Succour, in Caſe the Allowances were not ſufficient,
became Ordinary, and was converted into an Augmentation
of the Salaries of Deputies General. This Inſtitution was
no burthen to the Council, that could not be troubled with
ſo few perſons, with whom all Affairs might be ended with-
out Noiſe and Buſtle; and who had nothing to fear from their
Intrigues. But this Innovation had almoſt abſolutely ruin'd
the Aſſemblies, which had now no more pretence to Meet,
ſince the Deputies could ſupply the uſe of them, in all things
which requir'd their ſitting. This is the Reaſon why they
were ſuffer'd no more but for the Nomination of Deputies,
which done they were Order'd to ſeperate; and to oblige 'em
to it: Their Meſſengers were neither heard, nor their Papers

ever

1601. ever Answer'd, till they had separated themselves. However they kept up their Credit as long as they could; and maintain'd themselves powerful enough, till the taking of *Rochelle*.

Of the abuses of their Institution.

The first that undertook this Employment, were St. *Germain* and *des Bordes*, Nam'd by the Assembly of St. *Foy* for one year: But they were continu'd by the Synod of *Gap*, and kept this Commission long enough. They would have joyn'd to these Deputies, one of which was chosen out of the Nobility, and the other of the Third Estate, a third who was to be a Minister. But the Court that lov'd none of the Consistory, hinder'd 'em from sending any of those people, whom it esteem'd untractable. Nor was that difficult to be done, because 'twas judg'd that a Residence at Court was not suitable to a Minister, who ought actually to abide near his Flock. The *Reformed* would have limited the duration of their Commission to a Year; but the King would have it to be longer. Both had their Reasons: The *Reformed*, under colour that the discharging them, whom they had kept at a distance from their own Affairs, to attend the prosecution of the public business, would prevent their Deputies from accustoming themselves too easily to the Court Air, if they should stay there long. And the King who knew well, that the Charms of the Court tam'd the most fierce, would avoid frequent changes, as not willing to see Affairs pass out of the Hands of a Deputy already taught and familiariz'd, into those of a New Comer; whose first Movements would always be Brisk and Severe. On the other hand, the short Service of Deputies was one Reason of renewing the Meeting of Assemblies, as often as New ones were to be Nam'd; which was the Reason that the *Reformed* would change 'em so often; and that the Council for the same consideration would have 'em serve longer. The *Reformed* desir'd again, that the King would stand to their Nomination, and that he would agree to those Deputies that they should appoint; because as they only were concern'd in the Affairs, which their Deputies were Order'd to Treat on, so it was but just that they alone should be left to choose their own Procurators. The matter pass'd thus at present: But not long after, the King would

would have 'em name to him ſix perſons, of which he would take two that beſt pleas'd him; whether it were that he would have part in the Obligation of the choice, or that he would be ſure not to have in his Retinue, perſons that diſpleas'd him. He obtain'd likewiſe with a little difficulty and time, that the duration of their Commiſſion ſhould be for three years. It ſeem'd that this Inſtitution ſhould have ceas'd as ſoon as the Edict was Executed. But becauſe it was never fully done, and that when good Proviſion was made on the one ſide, there was preſently ſome New breach of promiſe on the other to be repair'd, this Commiſſion became ordinary, and laſted as long as the Edict. This was at the time of the Aſſembly which was held four years after at *Chatelleraud*, that the King to take off the *Reformed* from concerning themſelves with Marſhal *de Bouillon*, permitted 'em to have frequent Deputies at the Court; and that the time of their Service ſhould be regulated, as well as the manner of naming 'em. 'Tis certain, that this Deputation has been chang'd ſeveral times ſince the Inſtitution of it, to the time it was put down; and *Lewis* the thirteenth was the Author of theſe changes. The firſt was, that having forbidden the Politic Aſſemblies, to whom the Nomination of Deputies belong'd, he Transfer'd the Right to the National Synod, by a Brevet on purpoſe. This was in Truth no Novelty, becauſe as much had happen'd in the Reign of *Henry* the 4th, at the Synods of *Gap* and *Rochelle*. But there was at leaſt thus much of Novelty, that under *Henry* the 4th the Synods did not meddle in this Affair but by way of Proviſo, in expectation of a Politic Aſſembly; whereas *Lewis* the thirteenth made it the Synods buſineſs, and would no longer hear of other Aſſemblies. The ſecond Change was, that he charg'd himſelf with the full Penſion of the Deputies, when he had taken from the *Reformed* all the Sums which his Father had Granted 'em. The Third was, that he ſubſtituted a New Deputy by his own Authority, in the room of one of the other two that dy'd in the Interval of the Aſſemblies. 'Tis true, he writ to the Provinces to conſent to this Subſtitution: But they underſtood well enough, that 1601.

1601. that his entreaties were those of a King, that were as good as Commands. A little after it became a Custom. The Fourth was, that the number of the Deputies was reduc'd to one, because the vacancy of one of the two that was Dead, was not supply'd. The Fifth was, that the Commission became perpetual: And the last was, that in the end, the Churches lost all the part that they had had in the Nomination; the Right of which the King reserv'd wholly to himself. So that, for near fourty years the *Reformed* have had no other General Deputies, but those whom the King has appointed 'em. This Abridgment is sufficient here: But the sequel will give occasion of speaking more at large.

Synod at Gergeau. Few matters of Importance pass'd in the Synod of *Gergeau*, where they only examin'd some Books of Reunion, which were Publish'd under all manner of Titles. They writ once again to *Lesdiguiers* for 17000 Crowns which he kept back; but they receiv'd no more satisfaction then before. They Writ to *Casaubon* to congratulate his Constancy in Religion, of which they had very much doubted; but of which he had given assurances to the Synod. They forbad Ministers to be the first Aggressors in Disputes of Controversie. It seem'd by the Measures that were taken in this Assembly, to hinder the Abuse of removing Causes to the *Chambres Miparties*, or Chambers half Protestant, half Catholics, that Litigious Cavils had made their advantage of their Institution. But what was most remarkable of all that there pass'd, is that the Brevet for 45000 Crowns for the Payment of Ministers having been given to the Churches but three years before, *Roni* was so little exact in paying his brethren, that there was due to 'em the Arrears of this Sum for three years.

Propositions Some Months after the seperation of the Synod, the King Answer'd some Papers, sufficiently Large, that had been presented to him, of which principal Articles were, that the *Reformed* in *Dauphine* were Tax'd for the places of their Churches and of their Church-yards; that in many places they depriv'd their poor of the General Alms, and thrust their Sick out of the Hospitals; that at *Bourdeaux* and *Xaintes*, the Jurats and Judges would have seiz'd upon the Money that

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was gathered for the poor at the Church-Doors; that at *Rouen* they refus'd the Petitions preſented in the Name of a *Reformed* Church, Body, or Community; that at *Orleans* and elſewhere, they tendred to the Officers at their Admiſſion, Oaths, to live in the Roman Religion: That at *Gergeau* the King's Proctor had Depos'd his ſubſtitute for the Sole Cauſe of Religion: That at *Lions* the Chevalier *du Guet* would by Force accompany the Attendants at Funerals, and exacted exceſſive Fees; and thoſe who kept the Hoſpital of the Bridge of *Rhone*, diſturb'd theſe Funeral Attendants as much as they were able. Upon all which, they had all they could deſire Granted 'em; to Wit, moſt ſevere Prohibitions againſt continuing to do 'em the ſame Injuries. Nor were their two laſt Articles leſs favourably Anſwer'd: By one of which the King was oblig'd to preſerve the Churches of the Country of *Gex* in the ſame State in which he found 'em, when he United it to the Crown; and the other, that the *Reformed* might Traffick in all the Duke of *Savoys* Dominions, without fear of being diſturb'd for their Conſciences. The King promis'd to the Inhabitants of the Country of *Gex* Liberty of Conſcience, and the exerciſe of their Religion as to the Reſt of his Subjects. This was as much as to ſay, that he Granted 'em the Protection of his Edicts, according to which the Roman Religion ought to be Re eſtabliſh'd there, and that for the reſt things ſhould remain there, in the ſame condition in which they were found: Becauſe that was properly the General Rule for Executing Edicts. In Effect he re-eſtabliſh'd the Maſs there in ſome time after, and he ſent the Baron of *Lux* on purpoſe to make this Re-eſtabliſhment: But he left the *Reformed* Churches in Poſſeſſion of thoſe Priviledges which they enjoy'd when the Country was yielded to him. He refer'd the *Reformed* for the other Article to the Fifty third of the particulars of the Edict, where what they deſir'd was intirely Granted 'em. 1601.

At that time there was a Great buſineſs a Foot at *Rome*, in which they would fain have engag'd the King. It concern'd the Succeſſion of *England*, which the Pope labour'd to have ſettl'd in the Hands of a *Catholic*. There was in proſpect a Prince of the Houſe of *Parma*; *The Succeſſion of England.*

1651. *Parma*; and a Church-man was sent over into that *Island* with the Title of Arch-Priest, to incline the Catholics of the Country to it. The King of *Spain* would have gotten this Crown for himself, or for a Prince of his House; and there were Writings dispers'd wherein the Jesuits did impudently maintain that it was devolv'd to him. The Motive of this Intrigue was Queen *Elizabeths* Age, who in all probability 'twas thought could not live long. It wasnot known how she would dispose of the Suucession: But it was well known, that she would never leave it to a Catholic Prince. And 'twas fear'd, that the King of *Scotland* her next Heir coming to the Crown, might be capable of doing a great deal of hurt to the Roman Religion, if he had an Affection and Zeal for the *Reformed*. He was yet but young, and as he had hitherto liv'd under a kind of Guardianship, his Genius and his Inclinations were not yet known. But they alter'd their measures, when they knew how to hit his Humour; and they carried things so far, that they made use of him himself to endeavour the reducing of *England* to its former Obedience to the Pope: But while they expected that things should come to that, the King did not Relish the Intrigue. He gave his hand to the project of reducing this Kingdom to the Catholic Religion; and during the rest of his Life, he was the Mediator and confident of this design: But he was not willing to aggrandize his Enemies by this change. The other designs which he had in his Head did not require that there should be no more Protestants in *Europe*.

The Death of the Grandson of the Admiral de Chatillon.

Chatillon the Admiral's Grandson, was taken off this year by a Cannon shot in *Ostend*, besieged by Arch-Duke *Albert*. Never did a young Lord give greater hopes. He was born for War; and among the good Qualities that are necessary to a Commander, he had the knack to make himself belov'd by his Souldiers, whose Hearts and Confidence he had gain'd. 'Tis said, that he had so great a Credit in the Army of the States, that Prince *Maurice* could not forbear being Jealous. Nor was he of less Authority amongst the *Reformed* of *France*, who lov'd in him Virtues equal to his Fathers and Grandfathers. He was continually talking of their Actions, and aspir'd to no more

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then to imitate 'em. The moſt Ardent of his deſires, was that of being like his Grandfather at the Head of the *Reformed*, and to fight one Battle for their Intereſt. His Merit made him lamented by the King, when he heard the News of his Death. But when Courtiers, who always ſpeak of the Dead or Abſent, what they durſt not of people in a capacity of revenging themſelves, had drawn to the King what Picture they pleas'd of the Ambition and the Deſigns of this young Lord, he took for a Sign of Proſperity what immediately before he look'd upon as a Subject of Grief. It was in this year too, that the Dauphin came into the World. His Birth gave great Joy to all true French Men, who by that ſaw all the Seeds of War ſuppreſs'd, which the ſeveral pretenſions to the Succeſſion might have produc'd. But that did not hinder the *Spaniards* from preparing all occaſions of diſturbance; nor prevented from time to time the ſpreading of a Rumour, that the King having promis'd Marriage to the Marchioneſs of *Verneuil*, there was a doubt whither the Succeſſion belong'd to the Children of *Mary de Medicis*. There were ſome Spaniſh Caſuiſts that made it a Queſtion whether the Diſpenſation was fairly obtain'd. In the Low-Countries ſome Preacher or other had the boldneſs to Preach in favour of the Negative: And at divers times Libels were diſpers'd about concerning this matter. A Capucin who was ſuſpected to have learn'd his Leſſon at the Court of *Savoy*, put off a thouſand extravagancies on this Subject in *Italy* and in *Rome* it ſelf: But there was a ſtop put to the courſe of theſe miſchievous Intentions by the Authority of the Superiour. In the mean time, as the Birth of the Dauphin made all the World talk, *La Riviere* one of the King's Phyſicians, a great Aſtrologer and much poſſeſs'd with Predictions, Erected a Scheme of his Nativity; the King that gave a little too much heed to theſe Vanities, either through his own Inclination, or by the Example of *Roni* his Favourite, who gave much way to it, or by the Inducement of the Queen, who was prepoſſeſs'd, as almoſt all the *Italians* are; the King, I ſay, having oblig'd him, notwithſtanding ſeveral denials, to tell him his Judgment of this Child according to the Rules of his Art, anſwer'd him half in Choler, that he

1601.

The Birth of the Dauphin.

The Prediction of La Riviere.

1601. should Reign; that he should destroy what his Father had Establish'd, that he should scatter all that he had husbanded; that he should leave Posterity, under which all should grow worse and worse. The State which at this day the Religion and the Kingdom are in, may make this Prediction to be Rank'd among those which make most for the Honour of Astrology.

But there were very dangerous Motions in the State, which were stirr'd up by Forreign Intrigues. The Court was full of Male Contents which were there engag'd under divers pretences. *Biron* a Man of a Presumptuous Spirit and without Judgment, was so deeply involv'd in 'em, that it cost him his Life. But 'twas believ'd, that the King was yet strong enough to quash this Conspiracy, as long as he had the *Reformed* at his Devotion; this is the Reason that nothing was wanting to engage 'em in the Party. They were admonish'd as by way of Friendship, that the Peace of the State was the way to their Ruin; that there was a powerful League concluded against 'em; seeing that the Peace of *Savoy* was negotiated; that there was a Project laid for a kind of Croisade; that the Catholic Princes had sworn it by their Deputies; that the Oath was given upon the Eucharist by the Legat; that every one was Tax'd at a certain Sum, and a certain number of Souldiers; that the League was to last till the Protestant Religion was exterminated; that there were two Originals of this Treaty Sign'd by the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy*; and that that Duke had one in his Hands, which he offer'd to Communicate to the *Reformed*. To this were added the greatest promises of security that could be thought on, provided they enter'd into the League that was propos'd to 'em.

Notice given to the Reform'd of a League made against 'em.

This Advice was confirm'd by that which one *Brochard Baron* gave to Marshal *Bouillon*, touching the Leagues Sworn against the *Reformation*. This *Baron* who call'd himself the Nephew of Cardinal *Baronius*, boasted that he was sent by the Pope to the Catholic Princes, to make 'em Sign the Project of New Croisade; and before all things to have presented the Book of this Institution to the King of *Spain*.

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He ſaid, that the Inſtructions of thoſe that were entruſted to engage the Princes to a Protection of this League, recommended chiefly three means to ſucceed in the Converſion of Heretics. The firſt was to inſtitute Miſſions to inſtruct thoſe that were gone aſtray by good Sermons and Examples. The ſecond was to tolerate the Enterpriſes of Magiſtrates againſt the Liberties of Heretics; and to make uſe of Politic Artifices and Pious Frauds, to take away their Priviledges. The Third was to uſe Force and Arms to reduce 'em. The Jeſuits buſineſs was to ſow great Diviſions between the Great ones and in the Provinces: And great Liberality was to be ſhewn to the firſt Converted, to ſerve for a Bait to others. He aver'd, that there were five and twenty thouſand gain'd in *England*, that were able to bear Arms; and Miniſters enow, to hope, that the Reformation would be Condemn'd by the the Mouth of the very Miniſters themſelves. He diſcover'd great Deſigns that were laid againſt all the Proteſtant States; and he pretended that a great part of the Nobility in *Germany* were corrupted. I know not whence he had got the Myſteries he laid open in his Diſcourſes; but in the ſequel the things he ſpoke, have been ſo exactly practic'd, and with ſo great ſucceſs, that if his Relation may be judg'd by the Event, rather then by the Picture he made of the Deſign, he muſt be look'd upon as one that ſpake poſitive Truth. 1601.

This *Baron* not being rewarded as he expected, went into *Germany* and *Holland* to put the ſame Ware off there; and if he did not perſwade thoſe who had a ſhare in the Government he found the people more apt to believe him. There were, Preachers, who during the Siege of *Rochelle*, remember'd his Diſcourſe, and apply'd it to the State to which the Reformation was reduc'd at that time in *France* and *Germany*. To elude his Teſtimony, they would have had him paſs for an Incendiary, who had invented one part of what he ſaid. Nevertheleſs, there was not in all his parts, one ſtory made at random. There was Erected a little while ſince, at *Thonon* a Town belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*, a Friary for Converſion of Heretics; and to render it more Venerable to the people, it was call'd by the pitiful Name of *The Congregation of our Lady of*

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1601. *Compassion of Seven Griefs.* This New Society was no sooner set up, but they Writ to the Catholic Princes, to invite 'em to enter into this League. *D'Ossat* did not deny to the King, that they writ to the Pope. But he assur'd him, that the Pope rejected this vain proposition, as capable of Uniting the Protestants for their mutual Defence; which could not but endamage the Catholic Religion; and give a fair Opportunity to the Turk to extend his Conquests over Christendom, during the Divisions of *Europe*. This Prelate likewise accus'd the Duke of *Savoy* for having abus'd the Commissions and Procurations of this Fraternity; on which the Work of this imaginary League was built to serve him in his Designs to imbroyl *France*. For the rest, he describes this *Baron* as a Man the most fickle and inconstant that ever was. He had been a Priest, and during that time had committed a Murther; he turn'd Protestant, it may be to avoid the punishment he had deserv'd. He marry'd; but being soon weary of a Marry'd Life, he return'd to the Roman Religion, which in the sequel he forsook a second time. This is according to the Picture the Cardinal makes of him.

But tho there had been nothing to have been said against *Baron*, the Duke of *Savoy* was too much suspected in point of Religion, to gain Credit among the *Reformed*. He had not the Reputation of having too much Honesty; and if they judg'd by what *d'Ossat* says of him, he was a Prince of a strange Character; and who had always some contrivance in his Head against the Peace of *Europe*. In the mean time the *Reformed* were Assembled at *Sainte Foye*, where they were not satisfy'd with naming Deputies General; but where they Treated on many things that regarded the General, and the particular of Churches. A little while after there was a Paper presented to the King, the first Article of which, after having Congratulated him upon the Peace of the Kingdom, and upon the Birth of the *Dauphin*, demanded a Re-establishment of the Edict, in the state it had been Granted at *Nantes*; and this demand was supported with a pretence that the King had promis'd this Re-establishment as soon as the Affairs of the Kingdom could permit it. The Chief of the other Articles demanded

A General Assembly at Sainte Foye.

manded that the Parlaments, which had not verify'd the Edict, but under certain Modifications ſhould be oblig'd to take 'em off: That ſome Immunities ſhould be Granted to Colleges, that the *Reformed* ſhould found, in purſuance of the Liberty which the Edict gave 'em. That the Counſellors which were plac'd there, ſhould be oblig'd to ſerve in the Chambers of the Edict many years; and that but half of 'em ſhould be chang'd every time ſome Change was deſir'd. They were not Anſwer'd upon this Paper, till in the Month of *March*, in the year following, and the Anſwers were firſt reſolv'd on with the Deputies, and about three Weeks after reported to the King, who approv'd of 'em. The firſt Article was abſolutely deny'd 'em, under pretence that there was no great matter in it; that theſe little Changes were made for the common good, and to facilitate the Execution of the Edict; that the Advice of the Principal of the *Reformed* had been had as being call'd to the Deliberations that had been made upon theſe matters; that they could not be revok'd; and that there was no promiſe given to do it. It may be judg'd by this, either that thoſe promiſes were not made but by people whom the King was not afraid to diſown, as there are always at Court, Managers of buſineſs, by whom ſhe puts people in hopes of an event, for which ſhe has no mind to be anſwerable; or that the *Reformed* had taken for ſerious promiſes, certain windy Words which were giv'n 'em to put 'em in Heart, that things might Change, and that then they would cauſe Reſtoration to be made 'em of what the preſent Juncture conſtrain'd 'em, to ſuffer 'em to be depriv'd of 'em: Or that in fine the *Reformed* at the Court had invented theſe promiſes as a ſecret, to keep off the Reproach of having ſo eaſily conſented to theſe Changes. Upon the other Articles they had all the ſatisfaction given that they could deſire: But becauſe they ask'd the Liberty of continuing their Aſſembly, under the pretence of the Difficulties the Parlament made of Executing the Edict, the King declar'd in his Anſwers, that he had given ſuch Orders for the redreſs of 'em, that this continuation of the Aſſembly was needleſs. 1601.

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1601. But they ſet forth much larger Papers at *Sainte Foy*; and without ſtopping long at the repeated denial that the King had made to reſettle the Edict in the ſame State that it was ſettled in at *Nantes*; they did not forbear to demand again a little after the ſame things by Retail which they cou'd not obtain in Groſs. This is the reaſon that in demanding the Execution of the Edict throughout the whole Kingdom, ſuch as it had been verify'd at *Paris*; they had hopes, one day, to repair thoſe breaches which the Council had made therein: Inſomuch, that they ſeem'd not to accept it but on condition. Many Provinces were Nam'd in theſe Articles, to which the Court had ſent no Commiſſioners; others where they had not been but in the Capital Cities; many particular Places, where the Exerciſe was not granted but under certain Reſtrictions, as I have already obſerv'd. They complain'd, that in judging the Right of Poſſeſſion acquir'd by the Edict of 1577. they limited themſelves ſtrictly to the 17th of *September*, having no regard to the Proofs of the Exerciſe that was had in the ſame month before and after that day; if it had not been likewiſe prov'd that it was had preciſely upon that day. This almoſt reduc'd the *Reformed* to a *Non-plus*, and made an illuſion of this Right, becauſe that the 17th of *September* fell that Year on a *Tueſday*, a day wherein the *Reformed* cou'd not have had their Public Exerciſes but in a kind of Hazard. It was demanded, that in the places where the Commiſſioners Nam'd the Kings Judges for their Sub-Delegates, thoſe Judges ſhou'd be oblig'd to take an adjoyn'd Partner of the *Reformed*, whom the *Reformed* themſelves ſhou'd appoint to labour diligently together, and Scot free in the Execution of the Commiſſioners Orders. They complain'd, that in many places the *Catholics* wou'd not ſuffer the *Reformed* to Inhabit: That they drove the Tradeſmen out of certain Towns: That they wou'd not allow 'em as Journey-men in their Shops: That they ſpoke Injurious things to 'em unpuniſh'd, when they went to their Exerciſes: That the Preachers in their Sermons, The Advocates in their Pleadings, took the ſame Liberty, without being repreſs'd. That the Royal Judges in many places did not do Juſtice, in the Abuſes committed

mitted on their Perſons. That in many Dioceſſes they caus'd 'em to be Inroll'd, and put certain marks on their Houſes, to diſtinguiſh 'em from thoſe of the *Catholics*: That wherever there were yet any Colleges of Jeſuits in the Kingdom, that is to ſay, in the Juriſdiction of the Parlament of *Tholouſe* and *Bourdeaux*, they had found out another manner of diſtinction, cauſing the Houſes of the *Catholics* to be mark'd with the Croſs, or Garlands of Flowers, to the end that thoſe might be better taken notice of that wanted ſuch Ornaments: That at *Vervins* they put a Miniſter out of the Town, who travelling that Road arriv'd there upon *Eaſter-day*; and that they refus'd ſo much as to give his Horſe Stable-Room. 'Twas a Complaint that in ſeveral places the Judges hinder'd 'em from Building Churches, tho the Exerciſe were there permitted: That in many others, that were Nam'd, the Exerciſe likewiſe was hinder'd, either through the oppoſition of the Lords of the Places, or by the Orders of the Commiſſioners. It was reported upon this occaſion, that at *Aubenas*, where the Marquis of *Montlaur* committed a Thouſand Violences, tho the Commiſſioners had caus'd the Steeple, the Bell and the Church-yard to be Surrender'd to the *Catholics*, and left the Town-houſe to the *Reformed* for their Exerciſes, the Jeſuits had built a Chappel againſt the Wall, through which they had made a hole, that they might ſee all over the place; that they caus'd a Bell to Ring during the Exerciſe; and that they had ſet up a Croſs over the Entry. It was demanded, That the Lords might enjoy the Right of their Precincts and Juriſdictions, and have their Exerciſe free therein, although they were inclos'd in Epiſcopal Towns; and that the King ſhou'd forbid any farther ſearching in Bookſellers Houſes for Books of Religion, at *Rouen*, *Bourdeaux*, and elſewhere, and ſeizing upon 'em, tho not expos'd to Sale. 'Twas Remonſtrated that in many Colleges they had refus'd to admit the Regents and the Scholars, for the ſake of their Religion only: That in many places the *Reformed* had no Church-yards: That to avoid the Inconveniencies of Funeral Attendance in the Night, and which expos'd the *Reformed* to a Thouſand Affronts, from which they 1601.

1601 cou'd not Guard themſelves, they ought to be permitted to Bury in the Day. To this were added Complaints againſt ſeveral Curates, who had caus'd divers Bodies to be digg'd up again, in the very places which had been aſſign'd to the *Reformed* for their Burial-places before the Civil Wars; of which they demanded leave to inform. But above all, they aggravated the Outrage done to the Body of a Lady by Cardinal *de Sourdis*, Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, a Man the moſt Paſſionate and moſt Raſh of his time, and who perplex'd himſelf in all ſorts of Affairs with the leaſt conſideration. He order'd the Body to be taken up Eighteen Years after it had been Bury'd, and made the Bones to be thrown into the High-way.

There was a long Train of Articles that concern'd the Chambers of the Edict or *Miparties*; and by their diverſity it may be obſerv'd that the *Catholics* wou'd have ſubjected theſe Chambers to the Parlaments, and have made 'em a kind of an Inferiour Jurisdiction, whereas they ought properly to have been Little Parlaments, which having nothing to do with thoſe of which they were Members, but that they were compos'd in part of Judges taken out of thoſe greater Bodies, had the ſame extent of Juriſdiction and Privileges. Theſe Articles then requir'd, that the Six Counſellors of the Parlament of *Paris*, and the Three of the Parlament of *Rouen*, might be admitted all together into the Chambers of the Edict, becauſe of thoſe Acts of Injuſtice that one alone cou'd not hinder: That the Invaſions of the Parlament of *Tholouſe* upon the Juriſdiction of the Chamber Eſtabliſh'd at *Caſtres*, of which Examples wholly new were produc'd, might be repreſs'd. That the *Reformed* Counſellers that ſerv'd at *Rouen* in the Chambers of Inqueſts, might judge of Clerical Priviledges, and of Crimes of which the Eccleſiaſtics were accus'd; That the Chambers of the Edict might take Cognizance of all Cauſes where the *Reformed* ſhould be Parties; as alſo of Cauſes relating to Benefices in Poſſeſſion, of Tithes, of Eccleſiaſtical Rights and Demains; of Criminal Cauſes where the Eccleſiaſtics were Defendants: That there ſhou'd be an Expedient found to Protect the *Reformed* from the ſeverity

of

of the Parlaments of *Tholouſe*, of *Bourdeaux* and *Grenoble*, from which no Juſtice was to be expected, in Affairs the Cognizance of which was taken away from the Chambers: That in Cauſes relating to a pretended Eccleſiaſtical Fund, the Chambers might have power to examine the Nature of the Fund, to retain the Cauſe, if the Fund was not of the Quality pretended: That the Affairs of the *Reformed* againſt the Eccleſiaſtics, in ſome Parlaments where the Judges had their Children poſſeſs'd of Benefices and Church-Employments, ſhou'd be brought before the Parlament of *Paris*, or the Grand Council: That the Chambers ſhou'd take Cognizance of the Affairs of the *Reformed* concerning Hoſpitals: That they ſhou'd be allow'd the Cognizance of Affairs of Subſidies and Accounts given to the Parlaments of *Rouen* and *Provence*, in Cauſes where the King was not to Intervene, and where only his Farmers were to be dealt with: That Matters of Corporation-Government, where the *Reformed* were Parties, ſhou'd be ſent back to the Chambers of the Edict, when they demanded it: That the Chamber of *Grenoble* might give Audience with open Doors; and that the Parlament ſhou'd admit Advocates of the *Reformed* Religion: That the Orders of this Chamber might be executed in *Provence* without demanding *Pareatis*: That in each Bailliage an Office ſhou'd be Erected, for which the Patents ſhould be given at the Nomination of the *Reformed*, empowring 'em to do whatever concern'd the Edict, and the Execution of it, becauſe that in *Normandy*, and other parts, the Parlament refus'd *Pareatis's* for the Execution of Decrees of Council, Letters Patent, and other Acts of the ſame Nature: That at *Paris* ſhou'd be Created a Subſtitute to the Advocate-General, who ſhou'd be of the Reformed Religion: That removing of Cauſes to the Grand Council ſhou'd not be granted to the prejudice of the Chambers: That the Cauſes of Preſidents and Counſellors ſhou'd be kept in the Chambers where they ſerv'd, without being conſtrain'd to go Plead at the neareſt Chamber: That Cauſes ſhou'd not be remov'd under pretence of Kindred which the Parties ſhou'd have in the Chambers: That the Exceptions ſhou'd be Judg'd there, before the King gave his Letters of Removal: That there ſhou'd be a Fund rais'd for the Maintenance of the Seſſions of Vacations in the Chambers,

1601.

The Concluſion of a peremptory Warrant, like our Hereof fail not.

1601. bers, as for those of Parlaments: That the Commissioners of Registers in the Chambers of *Castres* and *Nerac* shou'd be half Papists, half Protestants: That the Parlaments shou'd not oblige the Counsellors which they sent to serve in those Chambers, to Judge according to certain Rules, that should too much limit the Jurisdiction: That in the Criminal Instructions to Parlaments, *Reformed* Assistants should taken in, such as the Parties should agree upon, or who should be Nam'd *ex Officio*, if the Inquisitors were *Catholics*.

There were other Articles which spoke of Employments. There was a Complaint that the *Catholics* held Contests with the most Ancient Counsellors upon the point of Precedency; and that at *Paris*, upon the Request of the Attorney-General, those of the *Catholic*, *Apostolic* and *Roman* Religion had inform'd against *Mole*, Possess'd of Presidents place. There was a General Regulation demanded, conformable to the Declaration which the King had Verbally made on many particular Affairs touching the Right of admitting indifferently to Consulships, and other Elective places, without distinction of Religion, those who shou'd be call'd thereto by ordinary means, Ancient and Accustom'd. The Reason of this demand was, That the *Reformed* being the strongest in almost all the good Towns of *Guyenne* and *Languedoc*, and persons capable of these employs being no where to be fou d but amongst them, it happen'd that they always fill'd the most Honourable places, if they were given according to the Ordinary Forms, to those who should be judg'd worthy by the plurality of Voices: On the contrary the Catholics would deprive the *Reformed* of this advantage; and obstinately persisted almost every where, that there might be an equal Division of these Places between Papists and Protestants. In which they buoy'd themselves up by the Example of certain Treaties, which had been made in some places before the last Edict, that equally divided the Consulships between the Reformed and the Catholics. But there arose daily Law-Suits upon these opposite pretensions, which being carry'd to the Council either directly, or upon the Partitions that happen'd in the Chambers call'd *Miparties*, engag'd the Commonalty in long Disputes and Ruinous Expences.

There

There were yet other Articles that concern'd the places which the Reformed had in poſſeſſion; in which it was demanded that the Catholic Inhabitants ſhould be oblig'd to contribute to the reparation of the Walls, and to the charge of the Court of Guard. 'Twas likewiſe demanded, that certain Fraternities of Penitents that ſwarm'd in the Kingdom, and who turn'd the Auſterities of Mortification into a Pious Maſquerade ſhould not be re-eſtabliſh'd in the Towns of Surety; as it had happen'd in ſome places, where the Fraternity *des Battus* was reſtor'd, by Virtue of an Order made upon a Petition. There was a Complaint of ſome Caſtle which a Catholic had begun to Fortify, to incommode ſome Neighbouring place; and it was demanded that the Fortifications might be demoliſh'd. 1601.

A Sect of people that beat themſelves twice a day and once a night

There were others again that concern'd particular Caſes. There was a complaint that in many places, when the Reformed had been Fin'd, the Judges to vex 'em, declar'd the Fines applicable to the ſupport of Covents, or of *Catholic* Churches: And the States of *Languedoc* made 'em contribute to Gratuities that were rais'd upon the Province for the Eccleſiaſtics, or for the Mendicant Monks: That at *Bourdeaux* and other places they would not receive the Petitions, or the complaints of the *Reformed*, under the Name of an Agent, or an Advocate of their Corporation: That they had deny'd the Aſſiſtance of Miniſters to the Condemn'd; and that they have been forc'd to be accompany'd to the place of puniſhment by the Monks: That they have rated the Miniſters for the King's Taxes, as alſo for their Salaries. The King was Petition'd to permit the Inhabitants of the County of *Marle*, that had no place of Exerciſe within eight Leagues of 'em, to meet in the Juriſdiction of a *Reformed* Gentleman, tho he was not reſident there: And they begg'd of him to obtain for his Subjects that Traded in *Spain*, the ſame Liberty of Conſcience that was allow'd there to the Engliſh, to the Scotch, to the Danes and to the Germans. The occaſion of this Addreſs was, that a certain Man call'd *Pradilles* of *Montpelier* going to *Spain*, to recover a Sum that was due to him, the Inquiſition caus'd him to be Arreſted; condemn'd

1601. demn'd him to the *Amende Honourable*; to be kept in Priſon a year and a day, and to the Confiſcation of all his Goods.

An Ignominious puniſhment ſo call'd.

All theſe Articles remain'd a long time in the Hands of the Council, who kept 'em till the Month of *Auguſt* 1602. They were variouſly Anſwer'd: Some purely and ſimply Granted, others Extended and Amplify'd: Others abſolutely refus'd; others Granted in Part, and partly refus'd. There were a great many on which the Council took time to conſult the King's Advocates, to give Orders according to their Advice: Others where the King ſent back the Parties concern'd to redreſs themſelves before him by way of Petition: Others where he demanded to ſee the Decrees of Court, and Acts wherein they were mention'd: Many wherein he reſerv'd himſelf the Power to order what he thought good. But in General there was in all the Anſwers, a temper of Favour and Equity, which made the Intentions of the King appear openly, and that plainly ſhew'd, that without Diſguiſe or Equivocation, his meaning was that the Edict ſhould be obſerv'd, and that the Difficulties that aroſe upon the Execution of it, ſhould be favorably expounded. This favorable and equitable Mind of his appear'd above all, in the Orders he gave for the Execution of the Edict, in places where it was not yet done: In thoſe which he ſent to the Judges and Officers, to enjoyn 'em to let the *Reformed* live in all places, without being moleſted: In the explication of the Privilege of the Edict of 1577. which he thought fit ſhould be apply'd to all the places where the exerciſe had been held during the Month of *September*, without ſtopping preciſely at the ſeventeenth of the Month: In the prohibition of the Inrollments, and the ſeditious Marks that were put on their Houſes: In that of ſpeaking injuriouſly of the *Reformed* in their Sermons or Pleadings: In that of ſearching the Bookſellers Houſes: In many Articles that concern'd the Juriſdiction, the Dignity or the Privileges of the *Reformed* Counſellors at the Parliament of *Paris*, of *Rouen* and *Grenoble*; or the Juriſdiction of the Chambers call'd *Miparties*, and the execution of their Judgments. In the Declaration of his Will upon the indifferent admiſſion of the *Reformed* and *Catholics* to Conſulary Employments, according to the cuſtomary Forms,

Forms, without diſtinction of Religion, or limitation of num- 1601.
ber: In the extenſion he gave to the Right of Exerciſe, that the Commiſſioners had agreed to certain places with Inconvenient Reſtrictions. In like manner there were many others, where the *Reformed* as in the preceding obtain'd all they could reaſonably demand, purſuant to the Terms of the Edict, which was to be the common Rule of their pretenſions and their Rights. Thoſe that were refus'd 'em were only either the ſame in particular, which they could not obtain in the whole, or ſuch as Treated of things, for which there were ſpecious Reaſons not to grant 'em. This obſervation diſcover'd the King's Integrity and Exactneſs; who, that his Edict might be the better obſerv'd, Solemnly decided the difficulties that concern'd execution of it, as ſoon as they aroſe: And it appear'd by the ſame conſideration, that it was unjuſt to Renew and Inlarge theſe difficulties in our days, ſince that in the time when they were firſt invented and rais'd, they had all been decided. Theſe ſame deciſions ought to be ſo much the more reſpected, in that they were given by a King who knew what he meant by each Article of his Edict: In a time when he ſaw things near at hand, and could judge of 'em with knowledge of the Cauſe.

It is evident, That ſince they were as antient as the execution of the Edict it ſelf, and pronounc'd upon the difficulties which roſe from the Execution it ſelf, they ought to be taken for the Rule of well underſtanding it, and the true Interpretations of the intentions of the Author. All the World knows, that when there are any difficulties in any Law, there is no body can better reſolve 'em than he that made 'em.

But theſe good Intentions of the King did not hinder, but that 1602.
there were ſeveral Rumours rais'd, to fill the *Reformed* with fears and jealouſies, on purpoſe to diſpoſe 'em to an Inſurrection. 'Twas ſpread abroad, that the King was going to retrench two thirds of their allowances; that they ſhould have no more particular Penſions of him; that he would no longer continue 'em in places of Truſt; that he would give 'em no more employments, without inſerting in the Pattents the Clauſe of being *Catholics*. But theſe Artifices took with no Body. They beheld

1602. beheld likewiſe without any concern the Flight of Marſhal the Duke of *Bouillon*, who was thought to be involv'd in the Conſpiracy of Marſhal *du Biron*. And indeed the Duke Tranſported by his Diſcontents, was engag'd a little too forward in thoſe Intrigues. Tho his deſign was not to give the King any diſturbance but he would have remov'd *Roni* from the management of Affairs where he had got too great an Authority. This Favorite finding himſelf held up by his Maſter, abus'd and injur'd all the World without Fear and Wit; under pretence of his Husbandry, which flatter'd the inclinations of the King, he made all thoſe uneaſie who would fain have had to do with a more liberal Prince. The Duke had let the King know, that *Roni*'s Credit was the pretence of the Male-contents: Neither had *Roni* fail'd to do the like by the Duke, which forc'd him to fly the Kingdom, after the Death of *Biron*, leſt like him, he might have loſt his Head upon a Scaffold. The King would fain have had him left himſelf to his Diſcretion; and he gave great aſſurances of ſhewing him favour, provided he would freely confeſs his Fault. But the Duke would never truſt him: Whether his Conſcience made him fearful of his ſafety; or that he fear'd *Roni*, whom he knew able to do any thing, when he could conceal a Crime under pretence of ſerving the State, or that both theſe Reaſons together augmented his diſtruſt. But that his Innocence might be clear'd of the Accuſations that were form'd againſt him, he preſented himſelf voluntarily before the Chamber of *Caſtres*, under whoſe Juriſdiction he pretended to be, becauſe of his Territory of *Turenne*: And he writ to the Court to demand his diſmiſſion: In which he derogated from the Privilege of Dukes and Peers, whoſe Cauſes are of Courſe referr'd to the Parlament of *Paris*. The Chamber gave him an Authentic Act of his Submiſſion; but becauſe the King's Counſel took no Notice of it, he found himſelf no longer ſafe in the Kingdom; and therefore paſſing through *Geneva*, he retir'd into *Germany*, where he ſtaid ſome years before his Peace was made.

The Diſgrace of Marſhal de Bouillon.

During his abſence, almoſt all the Proteſtants Writ in his behalf. He gave 'em to underſtand, that Religion was the principal occaſion of his Perſecution; and he alledg'd Reaſons which

which might perſwade it. There were many others, ſaid he, that had a greater ſhare in the Conſpiracies then they pretended he had: Nevertheleſs they choſe to draw up an Impeachment againſt him, tho he ſtrongly deny'd to have been concern'd in it, and that they had no charge againſt him. Which could not proceed but from the difference that Religion put between him and the reſt, to whom they ſaid nothing. But neither his Reaſons, nor all the Credit he had in *France*, could make his Caſe paſs there for a Caſe of Religion: And the *Reformed* kept themſelves within the bounds of Interceſſion only. Foreigners that wrote in his behalf, did the ſame; and only pray'd that their Zeal for Religion might not over-rule their Juſtice in this Caſe. Queen *Elizabeth*, who had a great eſteem for this Lord, was the only perſon that pleaded for him in another Tone. She excus'd him by her Letters as much as ſhe could, and caſt all the accuſations that were rais'd againſt him upon the hatred of his Religion. The King diſſembl'd the diſcontent that theſe Letters gave him: But he appear'd incens'd at the Synod and the Polic Aſſemblies for concerning themſelves in the Affairs of the Duke: And he ſhew'd openly, that he took in ill part the Protection, which it ſeem'd, *The Chamber Mipartie* had given him, receiving his Petitions and retaining his Cauſe. At the end he continu'd inflexible to all the Entreaties that were made him at home, or from abroad. 1602.

But if this Affair occaſion'd no more Tumult, the King's ſeverity to the City of *Rochelle* produc'd no Effect, that much more extraordinary. An Aſſembly held at *Rochelle* like a kind of Petty State, had eſtabliſh'd a certain Right, which was call'd the * *Pancarte*. This Right was to be ſuppreſs'd at the term of ſome years: But the King's Farmers continuing to raiſe it after the time expir'd, it caus'd divers diſturbances in the Provinces. Many great Towns oppos'd this exaction by open force; and *Rochelle* among the reſt committed ſome violences; but was forc'd, like the reſt to ſubmit it ſelf to the King's pleaſure. She receiv'd *Roni* himſelf, accompany'd with twelve hundred Horſe within her Walls, and all the Intereſt ſhe had in the party could not hinder, but that the reſt of the *Reformed* remain'd in their Obedience. There

* *A Paper containing the particular Rights or Cuſtoms due to the King.*

Sedition at Rochelle.

1602. was nevertheleſs among 'em particular perſons, full of ſuſpicion and miſtruſt, who fear'd that the King had ſome hidden deſigns againſt 'em: And others that foreſaw by the Attempts that were made, that the Public Liberty was in danger of being oppreſs'd. *La Trimouille*, Free and Bold, ſpoke on this occaſion in ſuch a manner, as made him be look'd upon as very obnoxious at Court: Marſhal *de Bouillon* was formidable by means of his Intrigues, altho he was abſent; and *du Pleſſis* incens'd by the Injury which he pretended to have receiv'd from the King at *Fontainbleau*, was as much ſuſpected as the reſt. They were afraid ſo much the more, in that, 'twas well known that their diſtruſts were not without ſome Grounds. There was at the Court, and in the Council it ſelf, a Cabal intirely *Spaniſh*, who were enliven'd by the Intrigues of the Council of *Spain*, and by thoſe of the Court of *Rome*. This Cabal mov'd all ſorts of Engines to engage the King to deſtroy the *Reformed*: And after having us'd the direct means, they took indirect and remote, to bring the King to it, of which he was not aware. For that Reaſon it was, that they vigorouſly preſs'd the Repeal of the Jeſuits; that they had already form'd Projects of an Alliance between *France* and *Spain*; that they caus'd it to be loudly ſpread abroad, that at the ſame time that there was a *Dauphin* born in *France*, there was an *Infanta* born to the *Catholic* King; as if this occaſion had been a ſtroke of Providence, to oblige theſe two Crowns to Unite themſelves by the Marriage of theſe two Children, for the Deſtruction of Hereſie. *Taxis*, Embaſſador of *Spain*, preſs'd the King inceſſantly to extirpate the Heretics of this Kingdom, and to give that as an evident Sign of the ſincerity of his Converſion to the Church of *Rome*. They ſay likewiſe, that this Embaſſador having ſpoken to him one day, in Terms that offended him, this Prince Anſwer'd him, that he wonder'd that they ſhould go about to force him to deſtroy a people, who had done him good Service, and who, tho they held Errors which the Church Condemn'd, yet at leaſt Ador'd Jeſus Chriſt, and believ'd him the Son of God, while His Catholic Majeſty tolerated in his Territories the *Mahometan* Sects, whoſe Religion was nothing but a Complication of Blaſphemies againſt Chriſtianity. The

The Spaniſh Cabal in Council preſſes the Deſtruction of the Reformed.

King

King made this Answer in such Terms, as by his pronouncing 'em seem'd to imply a necessity of doing that in *France* against the *Reformed*, which the King of *Spain* had done at home against the *Moors*: Insomuch, that *Taxis* taking him in that sense, only reply'd to the King, that he beseech'd him to be mindful of his word. 'Twas thought that this was the first motive for the Banishment of those unhappy people: And that *Taxis* having given an account of his Discourse with the King upon this Subject, the Council of *Spain* had as soon form'd the design of Persecuting those miserable Creatures. But it may likewise be believ'd, that this design was form'd a long time since. That *Taxis* who well enough knew it, laid hold on the occasion, and would have made that pass for an effect of the Zeal of the King his Master, which was but an effect of his Policy. Discretion advis'd to rid himself of these people, whose inconstancy and Infidelity caus'd every day great troubles. 1602.

Not but that *Spain* had really a design to destroy the *Reformed* in *France*. It was necessary for the Projects that he had laid, and that they should be strong enough to render themselves formidable. But it was also necessary, that they should not be at peace, to the end, that they might give a diversion to the King's Forces, which might hinder him from giving succour to Foreign Protestants; because the House of *Austria* hop'd easily to destroy 'em, if they could deprive 'em of the Protection of *France*. The Council of that House, which at that time contain'd the most profound and most refin'd Politics of *Europe*, and which at that time had the Jesuits on their side, had already mov'd a long time towards the same Mark, without losing sight of it: And they kept themselves fix'd to the same design about thirty years, with hope of approaching success. But the divisions of the *Reformed*, the good Fortune of *Louis* the thirteenth, the Prosperity of *Gustavus*, and the Intrigues of Cardinal *Richlieu* overthrew all his Projects, and subrogated, if I may so say, *France* to the pretensions that this Powerful House had to the Universal Monarchy. It was then the only drift of the Council of *Spain*, to set the King to handy blows with the *Reformed*, while they labour'd to set up a Catholic King in *England*, to subjugate the United Provinces, and to Ruin

With a Prospect to divert the King's Forces by a Civil War.

1602. the *German* Proteſtants. 'Twas believ'd, that it would require ſo much time to deſtroy the *Reformed*, that *Spain* would have Leiſure to execute her Grand Projects: Nor would ſhe be wanting to employ her Money and her Intrigues, to prevent that Parties being too ſoon oppreſs'd; which may be judg'd by what ſhe did in the Reign of *Lewis* the thirteenth. At leaſt this Civil War would embroil the King with the Foreign Proteſtants; which was one of the proſpects of *Spain*, becauſe without their Alliance ſhe believ'd *France* could not hurt her, nor the Proteſtants reſiſt her. This is the Reaſon why all the other Projects having fail'd, and the Death of *Biron* having diſſipated the moſt dangerous Conſpiracies, there remain'd no other Wheel to be ſet a going to trouble the Kingdom, then to make the *Reformed* take up Arms, if it were poſſible. To ſucceed in it, *Taxis* on one ſide endeavour'd to render 'em ſuſpected to the King, in repreſenting 'em as become his Enemies, ſince they believ'd him a Catholic in good earneſt: And he added as boldly as if it had been true, that they had often deſir'd the aſſiſtance of *Spain* to begin the War. On the other ſide, he ſpread among the *Reformed* a thouſand Rumours of Leagues that were making againſt 'em; and he made 'em always believe, that the King had gone a great way in theſe Combinations, to the end that he might alienate the *Reformed* from him, by a diſtruſt.

Artifices of Suſpicions and Fears between the Reformed

He ſaid too much to be believ'd. The King knew well enough how he ought to take the Counſels that came from *Spain*; and the *Reformed* well knew, that the true Intereſt of their King was, to preſerve 'em. Every one knew, that as he had Proſpects altogether oppoſite to thoſe of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſo it was as neceſſary that he ſhould maintain the Proteſtants at home and abroad, as it was neceſſary for that Houſe to ſuppreſs 'em or deſtroy 'em. Nevertheleſs, as Men are ſubject to deceive themſelves, when they pretend to judge of the Intereſts of Princes, who having their Paſſions, or their Weakneſſes like other Men, are often ignorant of, or quit their true Advantages, for other imaginary deſigns, they who amongſt the *Reformed* were in reputation of great Prudence, were of Opinion that they ſhould provide againſt unce-

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tain accidents. They believ'd, that 'twas better warding off a Thruſt with what force ſoever made, when a Man is on his Guard to receive it, then when he does not expect it: And that it is but a Weak excuſe in Politics, and which can never repair the miſchief of a too great ſecurity, to ſay, I never believ'd it. This is the Reaſon that there were ſome who propos'd to put themſelves under the Protection of King *James* the firſt Queen *Elizabeths* Succeſſor: But the Weakneſs of this Prince which ſoon diſcover'd it ſelf; the Love of the *Reformed* for their King, and the firmneſs he ſhew'd in his Deſign to preſerve 'em, diſſipated theſe uſeleſs propoſitions. 1602.

He talk'd freely of the Affection he had for the Proteſtant Party: And it may be, he talk'd too freely for a King who had great Deſigns, who ought to have ſaid nothing which might diſcover 'em to thoſe whoſe Intereſt it was to oppoſe him. He call'd thoſe of this Profeſſion his intimate and approv'd Friends; he confeſs'd that it was not ſafe for him to renounce their Alliance; that that would but too well Fortify the party of his Enemies, in weakning his own; that he and the Proteſtant Party had mutually occaſion for one another. He teſtify'd likewiſe, that his Heart could not endure the thought of Perſecuting the *Reformed*, when he call'd to mind, that they had aſſiſted him with all their Power, when he was Attack'd on all ſides. It was not only to the *Reformed* of the Court that he ſpoke thus: But he ſaid likewiſe, yet more to the Catholics; and one time among the reſt in the preſence of many Lords, among which there was none but *Roquelaure* that was not Bigotted; he made a long Diſcourſe of the Services that the *Reformed* had done him. He teſtify'd, that he had ever found 'em Conſtant and Faithful; that they had often hazarded their Lives for his; that for this cauſe he would give 'em an equal ſhare of his Love and Bounty; that *Rochelle*, *Bergerac* and *Montauban* had always been places of Refuge to him; where none ever dar'd to Attack him; that apparently God made uſe of 'em in the time of the League to ſave his Life; that he lov'd 'em for this Reaſon, altho ſometimes they were ſomewhat faulty; and that he gratify'd 'em every year with ſomething, for their Fortifications and for their Colleges.

When

1602. When these Words were related to the *Reformed*, they fetch'd Tears into their Eyes; they gave a new Vigour to the tenderness which they ever had for their Protector; and they expected from him yet greater Actions, then the expressions were obliging. 'Tis the greatest Privilege of a King who holds his Subjects by the Heart, that he is assur'd of 'em when he pleases, and that to disperse all the Jealousies they could have of him, he is oblig'd to no greater expence then a few flattering Words. He never loses the Fruit of the tender expressions that he makes use of, and the Hearts prepossess'd with the Love of him, believe yet more then is told 'em. But as the King fear'd *la Trimouille*, who besides the General Credit he had in the whole Party, and the share he had in the Foreign Intrigues, as Brother-in-Law to the Prince of *Orange* and Marshal *de Bouillon*, was also very powerful in *Poitou*, by the places he held, by the great Number of Nobility that paid him Homage, by the Neighbourhood of *Du Plessis*, who was become formidable since he had been injur'd, because he was a Man of *Brains*, and Governour of a good Place, and in fine, by the great Number of *Reformed* that were in that Province. The King therefore to Counterpoise this Power, gave the Government to *Roni*, who having the mony and the Authority, could easily break the measures of those, with whom the Court was dissatisfy'd. He did, it may be, more then was hop'd; and *la Trimouille* did not live long after this Favourite was Establish'd in the Province.

That the assurance of being belov'd by the King kept 'em in Peace.

Roni is made Governor of Poitou.

But that did not happen till toward the latter end of the year; and before the King had lost his good Sister *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*; and the Prince that succeeded her, being by that the most Powerful of all the Protestants, it was of great Consequence to know him, and to prevent him, and to see how far his Alliance might be depended on. *Roni* was Employ'd in this Commission, and went over to *England*, to see what might be hop'd for from him. He found this Court quite chang'd. They durst not there speak of *Elizabeth*, whose Memory the people Ador'd: And King *James* the first would not suffer 'em there, to mourn for that Princess. *Roni* had

The Death of Queen Elizabeth

Orders

Orders not to Communicate the King's designs to him, if he found not his Temper inclin'd to assist him, or capable of great things. He only Renew'd a Treaty of Alliance, which hinder'd not the English from presently making another like it with *Spain*. But upon the whole he came back with a bad Opinion of the Affairs of *England*; and time made it appear, that this new King would be no great help to the other Princes of *Europe*. For he was Fearful, Irresolute, a Dissembler, Occitant and Scrupulous. He lov'd not to talk of Business; and he suffer'd himself to be Govern'd by two or three of his Council. His Wife was Imperious and Bold; and he had not Courage to Command her. He was more delighted with Contemplation then Action; and he lov'd Theological Disputes better then War. Hunting was his only Passion; and after he had taken the pleasure of it in the Morning, with a Violence that tir'd all his people, he slept all the Afternoon. It was a great complaint during his Life, that instead of endeavouring to break the Bonds that the House of *Austria* prepar'd for all *Europe*, he lost his time in studying Theology, and that he almost never remembred that he was a King. He thought to undo the United Provinces, by the disturbances he Created there: And tho he had given occasion by that, to Assemble the Synod of *Dordredcht* against the Remonstrants, he mingl'd so many politic Intrigues with those matters of *Doctrine*, that we are but imperfectly oblig'd to him for the Sage Decisions of that Assembly. The Heat of Disputes, and the Animosity of Parties did more Hurt, then the Judgment of the Synod produc'd good Fruit and Schism remain'd after the Decision. This Prince Writ a Book concerning the Power of Kings, upon the occasion of an Oath which he had exacted of his Catholic Subjects: But this Work serv'd for no more, then to shew the little Account the Catholics made of the Author. It was not look'd upon in *Spain*; 'twas burnt in *Florence*. The Inquisition at *Rome* put in the Number of Prohibited Books; 'twas ill receiv'd in *France* by the Catholics, and the King forbad it should be Translated or Printed. 'Twas only at *Venice* where the Reading it was not prohibited. These 1602.

Qualities

1602. Qualities acquir'd him the Title of Captain of Arts, and Clerk of Arms: And the *Spaniards* to make him out of Conceit with *France*, endeavour'd to perswade him, that it was *Henry* the 4th who had given it him. *Charles* his Son had no Inclination to the *Spaniards*, but he was Weak and Unconstant: Whereas the Queen was a *Spaniard* in Affection, and inclin'd her self to the Roman Religion; so that she wanted but a little of draying her Husband and all *England* after her.

Breach of promise to the Edict.

In the mean while, the Edict was not carry'd on in *France*, in a manner so Uniform and Sincere, but that there was occasion every day to make new Complaints. This is the Reason why the Deputies General presented a Paper to the King, wherein were contain'd some that were important enough. They took notice of an Attempt of the Governours, and the King's Lieutenants in Provinces, who upon a bare Petition of the Catholics, commanded the discontinuance of the exercise of 1603. the *Reformed* Religion, without taking Cognisance of the Cause. The Count of St. *Paul* had done it in some places of *Picardy*. Marshal *de Biron*, who had no Religion, but was resolv'd to play the Bigot, so far as to come out of his Coach, or to light from his Horse, that he might kneel every time he met a cross, during the course of his Conspiracies, had done the same thing in *Burgundy*, before his practices were discover'd: And *Matignon* had very lately provok'd 'em in *Normandy*. The Inferiour Officers by their Example took the the same Liberty: As among others the Lieutenant General *de Mortagne*, in the Province of *Perches*, who in spite of many Orders of Council, which gave the second place of that *Bailliage* in one Suburb of the City, without heeding the oppositions of the Catholics, forbore not to hinder 'em from holding their Exercise peaceably. The Bishop of *Eureux* a little while after did the same thing at *Aigle*, which was in his Diocess. He caus'd the Catholics to oppose the establishment of a place of *Bailliage* in their Town; and tho the Lady of the place had said she would not be backward in consenting to it, he forc'd her to disown this consent which the *Reformed* pretended to have had of her. In this Paper was likewise

likewiſe to be ſeen, that the conteſt for the Precedency had not bin determin'd, notwithſtanding all the Regulations poſſible which had bin made to that purpoſe. To theſe and ſome other Articles the King made 'em as favourable Anſwers as they could deſire. 1603.

The Duke of Rohan

This was the Year that the Duke of *Rohan* ſaw the Foundation of his Fortune laid, and of the Credit he had under another Reign among the *Reformed* Party. The King own'd him for his Kinſman by the Mothers ſide; and 'tis certain, that if he had Dy'd without Children, he had not had a nearer Heir to the Kingdom of *Navarre*. This made the King without any ſcruple call the Mother of this Lord Aunt. His Merit had already a great deal of Luſtre; and the King who deſir'd ſtrictly to unite himſelf with the Proteſtants, had a deſign to Marry him to the Daughter of *Charles de Sudermania*, Father to the Famous *Guſtavus*. This *Charles* was a declar'd Proteſtant, and wreſted the Crown of *Sweden* and *Poland* from *Sigiſmund* his Nephew, a ſtrong Catholic Prince, and who had a deſign to extinguiſh the *Reformation* in his Northern Territorys. This Marriage did not ſucceed: But ſeeing this Young Lord had a deſign to Ally himſelf in ſuch a manner as did not pleaſe the King, and to that end caſt his Eyes about on all ſides upon Foreigners, the King ſome Years after Marry'd him to the Daughter of his Favorite. This Woman was as Bold and as Zealous for Religion, as her Father was Cold and Indifferent. She got a little the Aſcendent over the Genius of her Husband, and as ſhe was aſſiſted by her Mother-in-Law, who was no leſs Zealous nor leſs Couragious, they had no great trouble to lead the Duke to all that they deſir'd; a Perſon who of himſelf had a great Heart, a perſpicacious Wit, and capable of the higheſt Undertakings. The King therefore, who had a mind to advance him, and who believ'd him a proper Subject for ſome Foreign Alliance, made him Duke and Peer this Year, and he took the Oath the 7th of *Auguſt*.

The Recal of the Jeſuits.

But it was alſo about the ſame time that the Jeſuits at laſt obtain'd leave to return into *France*. Father *Magio* had viſited the King at *Lions* in the Popes Name, during the War of *Savoy*, where he had obtain'd nothing but Words in general, and Aſſurances of Good Will. But the King having made a

1603. Journey this Year towards *Metz*, of which he resolv'd to make sure of, the Jesuits of *Pont a Mousson* waited on him at *Verdun*, and obtain'd positive Promises for their Re-establishment. The Jesuits *Armand* and *Cotton* were order'd to come to *Paris*, in which they took care not to fail: And *Cotton*, by his Flattering Conversation, by Preachments to the Palate of the Court, by a profligate Hypocrisie, of which he knew the Art better then any one of his Robe, so possess'd himself of the Kings affection, that he got immediately into the highest degree of his Favor. That which is remarkable in it, is, That this Jesuit was not known to the King but by the Recommendation of *Lesdiguieres*, who never did so great a piece of Service (it may be) to the Honest People of his Religion, as he did by this means to the Jesuits. Their principal Prop at Court was *La Varenne*, who rais'd himself by his Compliances with the Kings Amorous Intreagues, and who had a greater share in Affairs then a great many more worthy men. Nor did the *Spanish* Cabal spare any pains on their side: But every good *French-man* had so great an aversion to this Re-establishment, that the King met with great difficulties in it. This Affair linger'd on till the Month of *September*, e'r the Jesuits obtain'd any Edict: But when it was propos'd to Register it at *Paris*, the difficulties were renew'd, and the Parlament had much ado to consent to the return of a Society which they had cast out for such good Reasons. The King took occasion to make a Journey to *Rouen*, to make this Edict pass in the Parlament of *Normandy*; and he found but little Resistance. But that of *Paris* did not follow the Example; insomuch that the rest of the Year was spent before the Edict was verify'd. They wou'd likewise have made it be believ'd, that what happen'd at *Gap*, where the *Reformed* held a Synod, had forwarded the matter, which had it not bin for that, might have yet Spun out a longer time. But the affront that there had been given to the Pope, in making it pass for an Article of Faith that he was *The Antichrist*, had laid a Necessity on the King to break through all obstacles that were rais'd to the Re-establishment of the Jesuits, to the end, that by this he might make Reparation to the Pope for the injury that was done him. The Business was this:

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The *Reformed* had got leave to call a National Synod in the Month of *October* at *Gap*, a Town in the *Dauphinate*. It was one of the moſt Celebrated that ever they held, and they there Treated of great Matters. But the moſt Important of all was the Queſtion about *The Antichriſt*, which was there conſider'd. The *Reformed* Taught frequently, that this Title belong'd to the Pope; and in their Sermons and Writings, apply'd to him all the Characters, by which the HOLY GHOST gives a deſcription of him to whom it belong'd. The wrong that was done to *du Pleſſis*, and which ſtuck to the Hearts of all good Men, inflam'd their Spirits more then ever in that reſpect, becauſe that was the pretence laid hold on, that he had given the Name of *Antichriſt* to the Pope; inſomuch, that they ſet themſelves to ſpeak upon this Subject more then ever; and more then ever to foretel the approaching Downfal of *Babylon*, and the overthrow of the Man of Sin, by the Light of the appearance of JESUS CHRIST. The Pulpits reſounded nothing but this Name of *Antichriſt*; and there were likewiſe ſome Churches which the Judges diſturb'd, becauſe that this Doctrine was Preach'd there. But nothing made more noiſe then the boldneſs of *de Ferrier*, Miniſter and Profeſſor of Divinity in the Royal College of *Nimes*. He ſet up Propoſitions on Poſts which he publickly defended, and where this Theſis, *That the Pope is the Antichriſt*, was maintain'd. Nor did he ſpare *Clement* VIII. whoſe Name was clapt in all along. The Parlament of *Tholouſe* brought him to his Trial upon this matter, and ſought to have Arreſted his Perſon; but *Ferrier*, who wou'd not expoſe himſelf to the Judgment of that Mercileſs Court, provided for himſelf at the Chamber of *Caſtres*.

1603. *A Synod at Gap.*

This was enough to ſtop the Proceedings of Parlament, but to have yet a ſtronger Protection, *Ferrier* wou'd make appear by ſome Proof that his Doctrine was that of the whole Party: And as there were but few Miniſters who did not believe, and Preach, and Write the ſame thing; and for that it was evident that there were more Churches beſides that of *Nimes*, that were Perſecuted for this Doctrine, he obtain'd that the matter ſhou'd be Debated by the Synod, and his Doctrine approv'd by it. The Genius of *Ferrier*

1603. *rier* was Compounded of Good and Bad Qualities; but the Bad were moſt predominant, which was the reaſon why they drew him into a precipice; and never was the end of a Man ſo unlike the beginning. He ſuffer'd himſelf to be Corrupted by the Artifices of the Court; and the Jeſuits boaſted themſelves, that in the Year 1600 their Father *Cotton* being at *Nimes*, where he had a Conference with *Chamier*, wherein they attributed to him all the advantage, he contracted ſome Acquaintance with *Ferrier*, whom he inſpir'd from that very time with an Inclination to betray his Brethren. However it was, he embroil'd every thing in the Politic Aſſemblies wherever he came, which made the Synods forbid him to meddle any more. He Acted ſuch things in his Church and his Province, that caus'd him be turn'd out thence: And growing weary of being a Miniſter, he got to be a Counſellor in a Preſidial Court at *Nimes*, tho he had promis'd at *Paris* to continue the Exerciſe of the Miniſtry in ſome other place. At length he was depos'd as a Deſerter. In fine, he Revolted, and Dy'd a few years after, as much hated by the People as at the beginning he was belov'd. He was Self-ended, Knaviſh, Ambitious, Inconſtant, a *Bouteſeu*, without Judgment, and but little capable of the Intrigues wherein he had the Imprudence to trouble himſelf. But he had Courage enough, a quick Wit, an Imagination all Fire, a great facility of Speech, the tone of a Commanding Voice, a vehemence in Action and Diſcourſe which drew his Hearers along, and which hardly gave 'em the liberty of Contradicting him. This was the reaſon that the Multitude, who are eaſily dazled by theſe Qualities, was ever of his Party, and that he often prevail'd, even in the Synods, againſt *Chauve* his Competitor. This *Chauve* had much more Uprightneſs and Judgment, and above all a Charming Gravity, which made him very conſiderable in the Aſſemblies; but the Fire of one prevail'd over the Phlegm of the other, and the Vivacity of *Ferrier* obſcur'd the Solidity of *Chauve*.

His Character.

And that of Chauve.

In the Synod then of which *Chamier* was Preſident, *Ferrier* held the ſecond place, and was join'd with the Moderator; inſomuch that it was no hard matter to obtain, that what there was Perſonal

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in his Affair ſhould be favourably Judg'd. The Synod order'd the General Deputies to Entreat the King, not to ſuffer theſe Churches, or particular Perſons, to be put to trouble for this Buſineſs, or that the Liberty of Confeſſing ſhou'd be taken away from 'em, or of Teaching what they held for Truths. They writ to the Chambers *Miparti*, that they wou'd take into their Protection ſuch as were moleſted upon this occaſion. But they did yet more. And to the end that it might not be doubted that it was the Doctrine of all the *Reformed*, the Synod order'd that it ſhou'd be inſerted among the Articles of Faith, and that an Article ſhou'd be made, which ſhou'd be plac'd immediately after the 30th, where the equality of all the Paſtors, and all the Churches in Power and in Authority is ſpoken of. This Article, which for the time to come was to be the 31th in the Confeſſion of Faith, was to have run in this form. 1603.

The Article made to be inſerted in the Confeſſion of Faith, which imports that the Pope is Anti-chriſt.

" And ſince the Biſhop of *Rome*, having erected to himſelf " a Monarchy in *Chriſtendom*, Attributes to himſelf a domi- " nion over all Churches and Paſtors, and has Exalted " himſelf ſo even as to call himſelf GOD, for to be Ador'd, " and that all the Power of Heaven and Earth may be Attri- " buted to him, to diſpoſe at his Pleaſure of all Eccleſiaſtical " Things, to define the Articles of Faith, to Authoriſe and " Interpret the Scriptures at his Pleaſure, to make a Traffick " of Souls and of their Salvation, and to diſpenſe with Vows " and Oaths, to Ordain a New Service of God, and in reference " to Civil Government, to trample under foot the Authority " of Magiſtrates, taking away, and Giving and Changing " Kingdoms, we Believe and Maintain that he is properly " *The Antichriſt*, and the Son of Perdition foretold in the " Word of God, the Whore Clothed with Scarlet, ſitting on " the 7 Mountains, and the Great City; who had his Reign " over the Kings of the Earth, and do expect that the Lord, as " he has promis'd and begun overthrowing him by the Spi- " rit of his Mouth, will finally deſtroy him by the brightneſs " of his coming.

The King who had his Spies in the Aſſembly, had notice in good time that this Decree was framing; but he cou'd by no means hinder it, and the Article was receiv'd almoſt with

1603. a General Approbation. The Catholics were offended in the highest degree. The Nuncio made bitter Complaints. The Pope was in a Rage when he heard the News. The King himself expres'd a great resentment of it; and after the Deputies General, which had assisted at the Synod, had given an Account in Court of what had pass'd there, they had Orders to write how much the King was Incens'd at this Affront. He complain'd that the *Reformed*, whom he had put in a Capacity of maintaining themselves, had started such a thing under his Reign, which no body ever Dreamt of since the Confession of Faith was made; that they had never thought of this Decree, in the time when the Crown had reason to be dissatisfy'd with the Popes; but that they had set it on foot; now that the King and the Pope were strictly reconcil'd together; and that they had quarrell'd with a Pope who was esteem'd the most moderate in Affairs of Religion that had Sate since the Doctrine of *Luther*. To this he added Threats, That he would neither suffer the Printing of this Article, nor the Sale of the Books wherein it should be inserted; and to punish those who endeavour'd to trouble the State with Propositions so offensive and unseasonable. The *Catholics* inflam'd his Anger by remonstrating to him, That the Injury wou'd fall upon him himself, and that he was scandaliz'd in an odious manner by this means; that in re-entring into the *Roman* Church, he was become a Favourer and a Disciple of *Antichrist*; whence they drew terrible consequences against the Affection and the Fidelity of Subjects, who had such thoughts concerning the Religion of their Soveraign.

The King is offended.

And threatens.

The Synods Reasons.

The Authors of this Article defended themselves, by the necessity of loudly maintaining what they were perswaded in their Consciences. They pretended this Article cou'd not pass for new, because it was presuppos'd by all their Doctrine concerning the Church; that it was necessarily deduc'd from what they believ'd touching her Corruption, her Desolation and Ruin; That this was the reason that most clearly evinc'd the Necessity of their Separation from the Church of *Rome*; That all the rest, which made it appear, that it behov'd 'em indispensably to break with her, and which drew 'em from the depravations

depravations of her Doctrine, of her Worſhip, of her Govern- 1603.
ment, and of her Morals, were at the bottom but a deduction, and a manifeſt diſplay of this ſame, which comprehended 'em all; That in ſaying *That the Pope was the Antichriſt* they ſaid all; that ſince a full Liberty of Conſcience was granted 'em, they cou'd not take from 'em the Right of joining a Decree to the other Articles of Faith, which was naturally comprehended therein; the ſubſiſtance of which was found in the Terms of the other Articles, in all the Writings of their Doctors, in all the Sermons of their Miniſters, in all the Complaints that are made of the Popes, even many Ages before the *Reformation*; that the ſame Name had been given many times to the *Roman* See, by thoſe very People who were never ſuſpected to be bad *Catholics*; that they ought therefore to be leſs ſurpriz'd to ſee this Truth believ'd and confeſs'd by the *Reformed*, who ſaw more clearly into the matter, which they had ſtudy'd more, and of which they were convinc'd by Invincible Reaſons.

The Article then paſs'd in ſpite of all Obſtacles, and the Kings Threats hinder'd not but that there were new Editions of the Confeſſion of Faith in a ſhort time, in which it was Inſerted. The People furniſh'd themſelves with theſe New Editions, very well pleas'd to ſee their averſion to the *Roman* See encourag'd by ſo Authentick a Deciſion; and almoſt perſwaded that it was enough that the Pope was publickly call'd *Antichriſt*, to give 'em grounds of hoping thence that his fall was near. But the Court having not been able to hinder things from coming to this paſs, wou'd have eluded the Deciſion by ſome Artifice; and to ſatisfie the Pope, they made him believe that they had ſucceeded therein, and that they had rendred this troubleſome Decree unprofitable. They endeavour'd therefore to make ſome conſiderable perſons of the Party diſown it, whether without or within the Kingdom, to the end that this diſowning it might make it paſs for a particular Doctrine. Now was it a difficult matter to get *Roni*, and ſuch as himſelf, to diſclaim it, who treated the Pope with *His Holineſs*. But he had been already ſo often reproach'd with his coldneſs for Religion, and the little Care he had of advancing the concerns of his Brethren, that his Name ſtood 'em in little ſtead upon this occaſion.

New Editions of the Confeſſion of Faith, where the Article is inſerted

1603. caſion. There were a great many found, who without diſowning the Doctrine, judg'd only that the Doctrine was a little out of Seaſon, and that in the beginning of a Peace which had been ſo much deſir'd, it wou'd have bin better to have left the Articles of the Confeſſion of Faith, ſuch as they had been, till that time, then to have added ſuch a one which might re-kindle the hardly extinguiſh'd hatred of the Catholics. Some for fear, ſome in complaiſance, favour'd the deſigns of the Court, tho they had no reluctancy to the thing decided. They buoy'd themſelves up more eſpecially with the Opinion of *Scaliger*, who had condemn'd the Article: But the *Reformed* had as little reſpect for him, when he treated of Theology, as they had a veneration for his knowledge in other things. Mean while, by thus diſowning it, they diſtracted thoſe who wou'd have maintain'd the Doctrine of the Aſſembly.

But becauſe *Ferrier* was look'd upon as the Promoter of this Affair, by reaſon that he was vex'd to have been proceeded againſt for the Propoſitions which he had publiſh'd, it was believ'd that all wou'd be ſuppreſs'd if he cou'd be appeas'd. The Endeavours were ſo fortunate, that more was gain'd then was hop'd for. They corrupted both his Underſtanding and his Heart. They attack'd him with Penſions, and hopes of Intereſts at Court. He made no more uſe of his vehemence and heat but to trouble his Brethren. And in fine, he precipitated himſelf, as I have ſaid, into Deſertion and Revolt. It was of great advantage, to have for a ground to cry down the Synod, the Moderation of *Clement* VIII. of whom they did not then ſtick to ſay, That he had made no noiſe of the Edicts granted to the *Reformed*, but out of a decent Formality: And that in effect, he had given as formal a Conſent to thoſe Edicts as cou'd be expected from a Pope. 'Tis true likewiſe, that he did not ſeem like his Predeceſſors, to Adviſe Maſſacres and Puniſhments. Experience had taught him that the Reformation advanc'd it ſelf amidſt oppoſitions, and that in every place where they wou'd have deſtroy'd it by War, it had encreas'd to the danger of the Catholic Religion: That in *Germany* the War did the buſineſs

The Falſe Moderation of Clement VIII.

of

of the Proteſtants; That it ſtrengthen'd them in the United Provinces: That it was favorable to 'em in many other places; and that in *France* it might have had yet the ſame effect. In other places he fear'd that War would reunite the Proteſtants, who when they undertook to help one another had very formidable Forces. But at the bottom it was the Pope, fully deſirous to re-eſtabliſh his Authority every where, where the people had ſhaken off the Yoke: And it was under his Pontificat that the firſt knots of theſe pernicious Intrigues were knit, which coſt *Henry* the 4th his Life, and which had like to have deſtroy'd all *Europe*. He was deſirous to play a ſure Game, and procure between all the Princes of his Communion a League ſo ſecret and ſo ſtrong, that it might overwhelm the Proteſtants all at one blow, who could not foreſee this Tempeſt. 1603

The ſame Synod had likewiſe done ſome other things, which had anger'd the King. They had admitted Foreign Miniſters. They had receiv'd Letters from the *Palatine*, and had Anſwer'd 'em. They likewiſe Writ to the Duke of *Savoy*, on the Account of the *Reformed* of *Saluces* whom he Perſecuted. They receiv'd the Duke of *Bouillon*'s Letters, which they anſwer'd without any Heſitation, and the Synod themſelves took upon 'em to ſollicit for him. This did not pleaſe the King, who expreſs'd ſome reſentment of it: Tho he did not complain but in Pardoning it, becauſe he believ'd, ſaid he, that they had done it, rather out of Indiſcretion then Malice. He added nevertheleſs, that if theſe Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies did not behave themſelves with more Moderation, he would deprive 'em of their Liberty; which hinder'd not, but that they us'd it as formerly, till a great while in the Reign of *Lewis* the Thirteenth. The Deputies General alſo were Order'd to repreſent to the King many things which they drew up in Writing. The moſt Remarkable Article was that where the *Reformed* deſir'd, that they might not be oblig'd to give themſelves the Name of *Pretended Reformed* in the Public Acts, or in the pleadings of their Advocates: And the Synod exhorted 'em to abſtain from thoſe Terms. An expedient was found out to content 'em, which chang'd the *Other matters of the Synod.*

1603. Words and left the thing: And 'twas allow'd 'em to call their Religion, *Reformed in the Terms of the Edict.* But the Judges, the Advocates and Notaries preserv'd yet a long time the custom of abstaining from the New expression, and from the Word *Pretended*: And continu'd to give their Religion simply the Name of *The Reformed Religion.*

Condition of the Repeal of the Jesuits.

During this the Jesuits follow'd their business, and solli-cited the Parlament, for the Verification of the Edict by which they were Recall'd. It was founded on the conditions that the King had propos'd a long time before, and they were discuss'd at *Rome.* There were five or six which the Jesuits found very hard: Not because they were in themselves Unjust or Inhuman; but because they put too strict Limits to the desires of this Covetous and Ambitious Society. The first that displeas'd 'em, was that they were commanded, not to receive into their Order in *France*, any but Natural *French*-Men. This was very opposite to their Politics at that time, whose main drift it was to subjugate *France* to a Foreign Power. The second was, that they were to take the Oath of Fidelity; which was extreamly contrary to the Intentions of a Society naturally unfaithful. But it was not any Respect of the Oath that troubl'd 'em so much: It was because they were Mark'd with Infamy, in taking a security from them which was not demanded of the others. The Third was, that they were forbidden to purchase Lands, without the King's leave. They had well recover'd themselves of the Error into which *Laiuez* their General had fall'n, during the Council of *Trent*, when he would have had his Society excepted out of the permission of possessing Estates, which the Council Granted to the Mendicants: And they had made so good use of the Advice which the *Jacobin La Torre* gave this General, to make him desist from his Modest demand, that they could no more likewise suffer, that the Liberty of Inriching themselves by all manner of means, should be taken from 'em. The Fourth was, that those who had once taken the Habit, should not be permitted to return to the Possession of their Estates, when it should please their Superiors to turn 'em out of their Order; which

which they have retain'd the power of doing, before the fourth Vow is taken, when they cannot accommodate themſelves with the Genius of thoſe who put themſelves under their Diſcipline. This Article griev'd 'em ſorely, becauſe they drew a thouſand advantages from this Power, of ſending back into a ſecular Life, thoſe who were imbu'd with the Maxims of their Order. But there were ſuch good Reaſons not to leave 'em this means of troubling the peace of Families, that the impoſing of this troubleſome condition could not be avoided. The Fifth and the Sixth ſubjected 'em intirely to the Juriſdiction and Correction of Biſhops; and likewiſe to take from them permiſſion to confeſs thoſe of their Order. This was Hard, that a Society which ſought to trample under Feet all that was remaining of Dignity to Biſhops, ſhould be conſtrain'd to pend upon their good Pleaſure. 1603.

But by the Intereſt of Father *Cotton*, ſome things of theſe Articles were moderated; and when they have once gotten Poſſeſſion, they well enough know how to make themſelves free of the Reſt. Nevertheleſs, the Parlament oppos'd their return as much as they could. They made re-iterated Remonſtrances; they would have qualify'd the Edict which they had obtain'd: But the Edict was to be Obey'd and Verify'd juſt as it was. Indeed this was not brought about without the Quipps and Ferks of a thouſand Satyrs, a thouſand Paſquins, thouſand Bloody Railleries. All was let looſe againſt 'em; and the Negotiation of their return was likewiſe made into a kind of a Farce, where they were Treated after a very Comical manner. But they comforted themſelves for all that, with the Pleaſure of their Succeſs, and that which aſtoniſh'd all the World, was if it may be ſo ſaid, from the very next day of their Re-eſtabliſhment, that the Intereſt which they had in *France* appear'd ſo great, that there was not any perſon who had ever ſo much. Their Joys nevertheleſs, were interrupted by an accident, which had like to have forc'd 'em to begin again. *Satyrs againſt 'em.*

Cotton the Jeſuit, who ſeem'd to have Enchanted the King, whom he manag'd as he pleas'd, thought one Night, that he had *Cotton the Jeſuit Wounded.*

1603. had been kill'd in a Coach: But the Wound that he receiv'd was not Mortal. They would have charg'd this Aſſaſſination on the *Reformed*, tho there were many *Catholics*, to whom the Intereſt of this Man, who by his Inſolency abus'd it, gave more Abhorrence then to them. He was one of thoſe, who purſuant to the Conditions of their return were to remain at Court, to ſerve as Hoſtages for the Fidelity of the others. The King made him his Confeſſor, and ever ſince that, the Kings have had no other Confeſſors but Jeſuits.

He made the King's Confeſſor.

'Tis not known for what Reaſon this Man was ſet ſo high in the King's Favour. Never Man had ſo perfectly the Spirit of a Jeſuit. Deceit was ſo natural and familiar to him, that he had one piece of Knavery or other afoot; and when that ſucceeded ill, he had another juſt ready. Tho he was countenanc'd by *Roni*, he did not forbear to do him a thouſand ill turns: And after having more then once Solemnly receiv'd the Lye, for what he had prefer'd againſt him, and againſt many others, he carry'd himſelf loftily, becauſe he had not Modeſty enough to make him bluſh. Nevertheleſs, the King either fear'd him, or lov'd him ſo much, that theſe Accidents never made him loſe any of his Favor. That which happen'd to him on the occaſion of a Woman pretended to be poſſeſs'd, whom he had Order to exerciſe, had like abſolutely to have Ruin'd him: But the King conniv'd at it, and no other harm came to the Jeſuit, then to wipe off the Cruel Railleries upon it. He had prepar'd Seventy one Queſtions, upon which it was ſaid, he was to Anſwer the *Spirit* whatſoever it was, that had ſeiz'd this unhappy Woman. There were many of 'em, that in good Politics render'd him Criminal againſt the State; ſince they concern'd the Life of the King, and the Succeſſion of his Children: And as it is eaſie to make theſe pretended Devils, that are concern'd in theſe Comedies, play what Part is deſir'd, it may be fear'd, that all theſe Queſtions were prepar'd, to obtain Seditious Anſwers. There were Sixteen or Seventeen, that had regard to the *Reformed* or their Affairs. One ſpoke of the Count *de Laval*, Grandſon to *d'Andelot*, who chang'd his Religion a little after, and who dy'd the year following

The Character of this Jeſuit.

Queſtions to be propos'd by him to a Woman poſſeſs'd

lowing in *Hungary*. Another ſpoke of War; and inquir'd if the King would make it on the *Spaniards*, or the *Heretics*. Another ſpoke of *Chamier* and *Ferrier*, Men whom the Jeſuits had in their Eye, becauſe of their Credit with the *Reformed*; and very likely the Jeſuits would have known the means to deſtroy, or to gain 'em. Another concern'd the King and *Roni*: And apparently it ought to have Inſtructed the means of deſtroying the one in the opinion of the other. One that follow'd it, demanded, as by way of impoſition, what would happen concerning the Change of this Favorite. Immediately after it gave Notice, who were the *Heretics* of the Court the moſt eaſie to be brought over to the *Roman* Faith. In the ſequel, he would know what was the moſt profitable to *the Converſion of the Heretics*; That is to ſay, whether it were more to the purpoſe to come to open force with 'em, or to keep 'em in a Fraudulent Toleration. He would take likewiſe Leſſons of Divinity from the *Dæmon*, and force it to tell him which paſſage in the Scripture was the moſt clear to prove Purgatory, and to ſhew the equality of the Pope's Power to that of St. *Peter*. He demanded of it alſo, in what time the Hereſie of *Calvin* would be extinct. He queſtion'd it concerning the Depravation of Paſſages in the Scripture by the Heretics: And he had Reaſon to ask the Lights of the Prince of Darkneſs concerning that, becauſe he had prepar'd a Work wherein he accus'd the verſion of *Geneva*, of a great number of Falſifications. He paſs'd to Foreign Affairs; to know what meaſures might be taken to *Convert* the King and Queen of *England*, and all the Kingdom, and which way to ſucceed therein with moſt Eaſe: How the *Turk* might be Defeated, and the Infidels Converted: Whence it came to paſs, that *Geneva* had been ſo often preſerv'd? Then returning to the Affairs of the Kingdom, he demanded ſomething concerning the places of ſurety; concerning *Leſdiguieres* and his Converſion; and of the Duration of *Hereſie*. 1603.

The Queſtion about the preſervation of *Geneva* (no doubt) was very Curious. The Duke of *Savoy* made continual Attempts on this City, and towards the end of the foregoing year, *The Preſervation of Geneva against the Attempts of the Duke of Savoy.*

1603. year, he miss'd very narrowly of becoming Master of it. He held intelligence with *Blondel*, one of the Syndics of the City, whose Treason was neither found out, nor punish'd till many years. But his Men already Masters of the Wall, already enter'd the City, and ready to force the Court of Guards that kept the Gates, were nevertheless Defeated. Those who were not kill'd were taken Prisoners, and in the sequel were Executed as Robbers. The Duke being desirous to gain that by force, which he had been so near obtaining by surprise, the King interven'd, and told the Duke, that he must expect him to be his Enemy, if he push'd on the matter any farther: Insomuch, that the Duke was oblig'd to defer his designs till another time. *Geneva* had implor'd succours of the Churches of *France* in this business, and had written to their Deputies General, to pray 'em to make a good Collection, to assist 'em in the War which they thought to have against this formidable Neighbour; and St. *Germain* did not fail to write concerning it throughout the whole Kingdom. But the Interposition of the King deliver'd *Geneva* of this Dread, and the *Reformed* of this Expence. *Cotton* the Jesuit not being able to comprehend, how Providence so openly had favour'd this *Heretic* City, against the Pretensions of so *Catholic* a Prince, was desirous that the *Dæmon* should unfold to him the Mysteries of the Council of God; and ask'd it, whence it came that this City did never fall under the Attempts of a Neighbour much more Powerful then she.

All, or most part of these Questions were set down in half Words: But it was not hard to understand the meaning of every one of 'em, did a Man but never so little understand what was the State of the Court and Religion in that time; and that they were the Prospects and Intrigues of the Jesuits. The Jesuit was so indiscreet, as to Write all these Questions with his own hand upon a loose Leaf, and to put 'em in a Book which *Gillot* Counsellor of the Parlament of *Paris* had lent him in 1603. Some years after, returning the Book he forgot the Leaf, which the President *de Thou* found there in Reading. The thing seem'd too extraordinary to this Wise Magistrate,

nor

not to endeavour to discover the Author of this curious Interrogatory. It was plain enough, that the Jesuit had a part in it, because this Writing was found in a Book that came out of his Closet, but the suspition turn'd into certainty, when this Paper was compar'd with his Writing, which it was not difficult to find. The King did not Relish this Piece of Curiosity but the Jesuit Reign'd; there was no Noise to be made of it; and the King call'd for the Paper to suppress it. No Body could forbear Wondring at it, Murmuring at it, and fretting at it: Many diverted themselves with it, and found something very Comical in the design of questioning the *Dæmon*, not only upon Affairs of State, but upon Religion, upon the State and Conversion of Hearts, and to take the Lights of this Doctor for Guides in understanding the Scripture. Others expected, that this Jesuit should have been Mortify'd at least by this Adventure: But he did not much trouble himself about it, because he was never the Worse for it at Court. The Tractableness of his Temper, his Complaisance, his Flattering and insinuating behaviour, maintain'd him in a Degree of Favor, whose Cheats and Rashness ought to have thrown him down, if the good Will of Kings were bestow'd on Merit. 1603.

They who have Written the Life of *Cotton* the Jesuit, not knowing how to Reconcile this Adventure with all the Falsities which they put off in Honour of this Profligate Man, bethought themselves of altering the Recital by all sorts of Disguises. Principally the Last of these Authors has gone beyond the Impudence of the other: And as he has well judg'd that those who should compare the manner by which he Writes the History of him, to that by which the President of *Thou* relates it, would admire at this difference, and would make no difficulty to believe this Venerable Magistrate before the Jesuit; he endeavour'd to render him suspected of Passion and Infidelity upon this occasion. But the Integrity and Exactness of this Wise Historian is so well Establish'd, that his Testimony in things that have pass'd under his Eyes, and through his Hands, will always carry it in the Judgment of honest Men, upon that, from the whole Order of Jesuits. That which

The Disguising this Adventure in the Jesuits Writings.

these

1603. these Authors say then, that the Jesuit had not set down in this Writing, but that which was permitted him by the Canons to demand of a *Dæmon*, is altogether a pure invention to Disguise the Truth. There are also great variety of Copies of it, which appear'd in Publick. 'Tis true, the Jesuits themselves might sow among the people Memoirs made at pleasure, to perswade those that will not ascend back again to the very source, that it was a piece of Malice that was intended against their Society; that every one mingling therein what came into his mind, thereupon arose this multitude of Writings differing from one another. But it was impossible, that the President *de Thou*, and the Counsellor *Gillot*, *Roni*, and the King himself, who had seen the Original Piece, before the thing became Publick, should suffer themselves to be Cheated by this Artifice.

The Verification of the Writing which the Jesuit caus'd to be made by these who were most immediately at his Devotion, without Form of Justice, without having any party that took Notice of it, and upon such a Writing, that he pleas'd to produce to 'em, because the Original could no be found, by what his Historian says, is a Trick that ought not to prevail against the Testimony of those Magistrates, who had had the Original in their Hands, ond who before they spoke of it were assur'd by their Eyes, that it was the Jesuits Writing. It is Remarkable, that the last Author of his Life, forgetting the Apology which he had made for the Conduct of his Heroe upon this occasion, relates, in the Order of his History, the Answers which the Woman possess'd had made him, upon some Questions contain'd in the Memoir. This accident belongs to the year 1605. But I have plac'd it here, as serving to make known the Character of *Cotton* the Jesuit, and upon what Qualities his Favour was founded. I return now to the Order that I had quitted.

The Death of the Dutchess of Bar.

The Dutchess of *Bar* dy'd the beginning of this year, of a Distemper which she thought proceeded from being with Child, and which her Physicians understood not. She was Persecuted with Conferences to her Death. *Du Perron* had ac-

quir'd

quir'd ſo much Reputation among the *Catholics*, by the ſucceſs of *Fontainbleau*, that they believ'd he would ſucceed every where accordingly. But he had not ſo good an Opinion of himſelf as others; and he would not hazard an Honour ſo well eſtabliſh'd, upon uncertain hopes. When therefore there was any Conference ready, they never fail'd to break it off upon the Preliminary Conditions. They were propos'd to the *Reformed* ſo unjuſt or ſo impoſſible, that they were oblig'd to refuſe 'em: And the Biſhop took an occaſion from thence to give out that the Miniſters were afraid of him, and fled from him every time he was ready to enter the Liſt with 'em. They defended themſelves againſt this Reproach, by the exact Relations of what had paſs'd at thoſe Meetings; and the fruit of thoſe Apologies was always, that the *Catholics* referr'd themſelves to the Biſhop, and that the *Reformed* believ'd, that their Miniſters were in the Right. But theſe Relations were not Read at *Rome*, where the Biſhops Letters were receiv'd, as Teſtimonies of a perfect Victory. This was the Reaſon the King was at no trouble, after the Death of Cardinal *d'Oſſat*, to procure the Hat for him: And ſometime after, he made him Grand Almoner, and Arch-Biſhop of *Sens*. *Roni* countenanc'd as much as he could the Fortune of this Prelate. But the Heart of *du Perron* was not to be gain'd or oblig'd by Gratitude, or by Friendſhip. His Fortune was his Idol. He crept before *Roni* while he was in Authority: But he did nothing to ſerve him, when the face of his Affairs was chang'd. 1603.

The Progreſs of du Perron's Fortune.

The Spaniſh Cabal receiv'd this year a ſevere Check, and *Villeroi*, who was ſuſpected to have been one of the Number, had much ado to get off. The Council of *Spain* had Confidents in *France*, and in all the Provinces, in all the Orders of the State at Court among the King's intimates, in the Council it ſelf. The Queen who was puſh'd forward by the Councils of *Italy*, and by the *Italians* which were in her Service, aſpir'd to nothing but an Alliance with *Spain*; becauſe ſhe believ'd it neceſſary to aſſure the Succeſſion of her Children. The Agents of *Spain* knew well how to ſcare her with the Diſputes, that might one day ariſe on this Subject, and the Attempts that the Marchioneſs

1603. of *Verneuil* was capable of making againſt her Perſon. On the other ſide, the ſame Agents heighten'd the Courage of the Marchioneſs, who took for current Money the private aſſurances that were given her of protecting her againſt the Queens Pretentions. She enter'd into ſeveral Conſpiracies to ſtrengthen her ſelf; and ſhe made her ſelf unſupportable to the King, by a thouſand Malicious Tricks, and to the Queen, by a thouſand ſtinging Reparties. Inſomuch, that the King, that to mortifie her, was conſtrain'd to bring both Her, her Father, and the Count *Auvergne* her Brother to Juſtice. They had had ſo many Intrigues againſt the good of the State, that 'twas no hard matter to convict 'em; and that he had then enough to deſtroy 'em, if the King had not had a Soul too tender to ſuffer the Death of a Miſtreſs. That of the Count *de Soiſſons* may be reckon'd a Third Party; an unquiet Spirit, and who lov'd Change. He thought he was the neareſt to the Crown of all the Legitimate Princes. In the times of Confuſion, he would not (it may be) have given place, either to the Queens Children, or to the Marchioneſſes, or to the Prince of *Conde*. He would have had the places held in *Dauphine*, to have been taken away from *Leſdiguieres*, that he might have had 'em himſelf. He did not like, that that Captain who was but his Subordinate in the Province, ſhould be ſtronger there then he who was a Prince of the Blood, and had the Government of it. This Enterpriſe came to the Ears of *Leſdiguieres*, and put him in fear, that a Journey which the King talk'd of making into *Provence*, was intended to diſpoſſeſs him. But tho the deſign of this Journey was broken off, to remove the Jealouſies he had entertain'd, his mind however was not perfectly heal'd, he began to cloſe again with the *Reformed* for his ſecurity, whoſe Affairs had not much touch'd him till then. His ſuſpicions however, were not apparently well founded. Since it is not credible, that the King would ruin him in *Dauphine*, to put a Man in his place, who if he became powerful there, might do him more miſchief then he could.

All the Council was divided amongſt theſe ſeveral Cabals, and by conſequence the greater part engag'd in the Intrigues of *Spain*, which had an influence in all theſe Factions. *Ville-*

roi

roy took the Queen's ſide, and as he had a ſtrict intelligence with *Rome*, by the means of Cardinal *d'Oſſat* his Creature, it was impoſſible that he ſhould not have likewiſe a little with the *Italians* Domeſticks of that Princeſs, and by their means with *Spain* which was their firſt mover. 'Twas hardly queſtion'd, after the buſineſs of an Inn-keeper, one of his Officers. This raſcally fellow ſent Advice to *Spain*, of all that paſs'd in the Council of *France*. Inſomuch, That the King's Embaſſador at the Court of *Spain*, always found the *Spaniards* inform'd of all that he had to ſay to 'em, by the Orders of his Maſter. A *French-man* call'd *Raſis*, who was weary of *Spain*, where he had been ill rewarded for his paſt Services, becauſe that the Ruin of the League hinder'd him from continuing 'em, promis'd the Embaſſador to unfold this Myſtery to him, if he might be pardon'd what was paſt, and be permitted to return in ſafety, to end his days in his own Country. His good deſigns had like to have prov'd abortive, becauſe the diſpatches which were Granted him on this occaſion, paſs'd through the hands of *Villeroy* and his Officer: But he happily eſcap'd after he had told the Embaſſador the Treachery of the Inn-keeper; and being arriv'd in *France*, he diſcover'd himſelf to *Villeroy*, whom he found at a Country Houſe, ready to joyn in the King's Retinue at *Fontainebleau*. *Villeroy*, inſtead of ſecuring his Officer, forbore to ſpeak to the King of the matter, when he was with him. This gave time to a Courier who left *Spain* a few Hours after *Raſis*, to arrive in times, and Caution the Inn-keeper to have a care of himſelf. So this miſerable Wretch eſcap'd, and he was found Drowned 20 or 30 Leagues from *Paris*, upon the Bank of the *Marne*, which he would have ſoarded, in his way to *Flanders*. His Death ſeem'd no leſs ſuſpicious then his eſcape; and many believ'd, that *Villeroy* conniv'd at the one, and procur'd the other. 'Twas not rational to think, that a Man who had been above five and thirty years in the Miniſtry of State, ſhould not know, that the firſt thing he ought to have done, was to have ſeiz'd on the Officer: And the Neglect of ſo neceſſary a Precaution, gave occaſion to ſuſpect, that the Maſter had

1602.

The Treachery of one of Villeroy's Officers.

1603. ſome Reaſon to deſire, that the Servant ſhould eſcape. But the King was willing to take the ſorrow that *Villeroy* expreſs'd, for a Proof of his Innocency: And he accepted of the bad Excuſes of this Miniſter, as if they had been better. Inſomuch, that he continu'd in the Miniſtry as before; and if (perhaps) he loſt ſomething of the King's Eſteem and Confidence, at leaſt he loſt nothing of his Dignity.

The End of the Eighth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Edict of NANTS.

BOOK IX.

The Argument of the 9th. *Book.*

THE Reformed *are afraid that the King gives way too much to the Jeſuits. He Anſwers their Papers favourably.* Gex. *The Genius of* La Trimouille, *and his Death. The Proceſs of the Cardinal* de Chatillon's *Widow. The Pyramid pull'd down. New Factions. An Aſſembly at* Chatelle-
rault:

1603. raud: *Matters which were there to be treated on.* St. Germains *Letter to Marshal* de Bouillon. Roni *Commissioner for the King at the Assembly. His Instructions. What Reception he had. His Speech. Provincial Councils. Deputies General. General Assemblies. The Union renew'd.* Lesdiguieres *comes into it.* Roni *Excuses this* New *Oath. Breviats for the Guard of Towns of Hostage. The Assembly suffers the places of Marshal* Bouillon *to be taken. Other advantages that* Roni *gain'd of the Assembly, with which the Pope is well contented. The Deputies of the Assembly caress'd at the Court. An Assembly of the Clergy. The Artifice to hinder the Ecclesiastics from changing their Religion. An Edict in favour of the Clergy.* Roni *Duke and Peer of* France. *The Marshal* de Bouillon *makes his Peace. The Treaty with those of* Rochel *in favour of the Catholics. Priests that did not Pray to God for the King. Gun-Powder Treason. The Oath exacted of the Catholics of* England. *The Exercise permitted at* Charenton *for the* Reformed *of* Paris; *which the Lord of the place opposes in vain. Papers favourably Answer'd. The Attempt of* Seguiran *the Jesuit to Preach at* Rochel. *A Mortification of the Jesuits. The Synod at* Rochel. *General Deputies. The Question about Antichrist renew'd. Deputies gain'd at the Court. The Quick-sighted of the Church, and Fools of the Synod. The Question is deferr'd, and* Vignier *order'd to Treat largely on it. The Synod Names only two Deputies General. Affairs Treated on at the Synod. Forreign Ministers.* Malwin *call'd to* Rochel. *The King refuses the Nomination of the Deputies. He permits a General Assembly at* Gergeau. Sulli *suspected by the* Reformed *Affairs of the Assembly. Places left by the* Reformed. *Conferences and Changes of Religion. The Assembly Complies with the Kings desire. An Assembly of the Clergy. The Resolute Answer of the King, and his disowning a promise made in his Name by his Attorneys in the Matter of Absolution.* Cotton *the Jesuit, the Dauphins Master. A Fund for the Ministers that shall change their Religion. The Treaty with the Moriscos Persecuted in* Spain *is broke off by the Bigots.* Lesdiguieres *Marshal of* France. *The Kings*

Domestic

Domeſtic Vexations. Divers Sentiments on the Alliance of Spain. *Frauds to renew the Civil Wars. The Power of the Jeſuits Eſtabliſh'd at* Bearn. *Papers Anſwer'd. The Synod at St.* Maixant. *The Theatre of Antichriſt. A Blow given to Seigniorial Rights. The Juriſdiction of the Chambers. A Book found at* La Fleche. *The Diſcourſe of* Jeannin *upon Liberty of Conſcience. The Edict in favour of the Moriſco's. The Eſcape of the Prince of* Condé. *War declar'd againſt the Arch-Duke. The Formidable Power of the King. His Deſigns. His unexpected Death.* 1603.

THE *Reformed* had a great ſhare in theſe particular Accidents, becauſe they look'd up n all thoſe who held Intelligence with *Spain* as their Sworn Enemies, and they believ'd that all the Projects of that Court deſign'd their Ruin at the bottom; inſomuch, that they were always liſtening to diſcover the deſigns of that Cabal, and to hinder that it did not grow too powerful in *France*, where they had, if it may be ſo ſaid, no Friend but the King. Beſides, they were not ſo aſſur'd of him, as not to have ſome diſtruſt of his Conſtancy; and the little Reſolution they had obſerv'd in him upon the Account of Religion, made 'em fear that he had beſides as little in Point of Acknowledgment and Friendſhip. They ſaw that he ſuffer'd himſelf to be too much poſſeſs'd by the Jeſuits; and they complain'd ſometimes, alluding to the Name of his Confeſſor, that he heard his old Friends no more, ſince he had his Ears ſtopp'd with Cotton. They ſaw likewiſe in him, amidſt his great Qualities, great Weakneſſes: And that to have Peace at home, he was ſo far Patient and Compliant, that the meaneſt Citizen wou'd have hardly done ſo much. There was beſides great Reaſon to fear, that to Content the Queen, whoſe Intentions were no way favorable to 'em, he wou'd break with 'em, and ſuffer himſelf to be led to an Alliance with *Spain*, of which they did not doubt but their Deſtruction was a neceſſary conſequence. 1604.

The Reformed fear that the King gives way too much to the Jeſuits.

1604. These apprehensions which were but too reasonable, as it appear'd under another Reign, oblig'd 'em to Arm themselves every day with new precautions.

The King, who believ'd that these Alarms might serve for a pretext to those who were not well affected to his Government, was very willing to dissipate 'em by the Testimonies of the constant Will that he had to maintain the Edicts; and whatsoever discontent he had of particulars, he favour'd the General Cause as much as 'twas possible for him.

He answers their Papers favourably.

And this about the time that I speak of, he made appear by his manner of answering the Papers which the Deputies General presented him. They complain'd among other things, of certain Monuments of the late Wars, which the Catholics preserv'd, as it were to render the Memory of those Troubles eternal. Thus in the Cathedral Church of *Bazas*, was to be seen an Inscription which call'd the Reformed *Heretic Hugenots*; and which imputes to 'em Profanations and Ruins. The King had often commanded the Bishop to erase those violent Terms, but the Bishop wae not willing to obey him. They complain'd again of the affronts which were done in some places to the Ministers and their Children; of the delay of Establishing the Exercise of the *Reformed* Religion in many places where it shou'd be, according to the Edict of 1577; of the trouble that they found, when the places design'd by the Commissioners to perform that Exercise, fell by Succession, or otherwise, into the hands of Catholics; of which they alledg'd an Example in *Baujolois*, where the Propriet of a Barn, that was design'd 'em for their Assemblies, was upon the point of being sold. They made likewise Complaints of the Seditious Terms that the Catholic Preachers made use of in their Sermons, as they had done all the *Lent* long at *Blois*, at *Orleans*, at *Angiers*; and elsewhere, at *Chalons* upon *Sacne*, at *Mortagne*, at *Chartres*, the Judges to whom the Complaints were made never using their endeavours to repress 'em. They spoke also of the attempts of some Judges that wou'd take upon themselves the Authority of proportioning upon the *Reformed* the Sums

Sums of which they had occaſion for the Maintenance of their Miniſters. The Kings Anſwers were all favourable; however they were forc'd to come again more then once to deſire the Aboliſhing of thoſe Monuments which preſerv'd the Memory of the Civil Wars. Very near the ſame time, the Inhabitants of the Country of *Gex* ſollicited the Confirmation of the Regulations which they had obtain'd in the Matters of Religion, ſince their Country came under the power of the King. I have already obſerv'd, that they had there follow'd the Methods of the Edict, as in all the reſt of the Kingdom, whether for the Reſtoration of the Exerciſe of the *Roman* Religion, or for maintaining the *Reformed* in the poſſeſſion where the King had found 'em. But to have a ſtronger Title then thoſe Regulations made upon particular Accidents, they deſir'd ſomething more Authentic, that they might make 'em effectual; and they obtain'd it in the Month of *June*, by a Declaration for that purpoſe. 1604. Cer.

In the mean time they prepar'd themſelves to hold a General Aſſembly; and indeed, the following Year they held it at *Chatelleraud*. The King was much afrad leſt ſome things ſhou'd paſs there againſt his Intereſt, becauſe it was ſaid that this Aſſembly wou'd Grant their Protection to the Marſhal *de Bouillon*. The Marſhal made his Affair paſs over all *Europe* for an Affair of Religion, and when he writ to the King after his diſgrace, he ſpoke more in the Style of an Accuſer that threaten'd, then of a Criminal that humbl'd himſelf. It was dangerous in the Example, that that ſhou'd be taken for a Cauſe of Religion, in an Aſſembly of Subjects, which was held a Crime of State in the Council of a Soveraign. Moreover, the place was ſuſpected, becauſe it was at *Chatelleraud*, from whence *la Trimouille* and *du Pleſſis* were not far diſtant. For in regard the Duke had a great paſſion for Liberty, and Sentiments on that Subject becoming a Hero, if he had not been Born under a Monarchy, 'twas fear'd that he wou'd have endeavour'd to make of the Reformed Party a kind of Common-wealth; of which the Marſhal *de Bouillon* was accus'd *Ib. Genus of la Trimouille.*

1604. cus'd to have laid the Project. This likewise gave so much the more occasion to the Kings Council to think, that they had (perhaps) already some prospects of oppressing the Public Liberty by an Absolute Power. 'Tis certain at least that the suggestions which came from *Italy* or *Spain* tended that way; and little Papers ran among the people, that taught how to rise to the highest degree of Despotic Authority. The *Reformed* did not Palate these Designs of a Power without Bounds, because they knew well what they ought to expect from a Catholic Council, if once they went about to set themselves above Promises and Laws. 'Twas therefore that there were many amongst 'em that were desirous to take measures to avoid Civil Servitude, because they saw it wou'd be easie to fall into the Servitude of Conscience if the first were once Establish'd. But the Death of the Duke of *Trimouille* deliver'd the King of that pain. It happen'd so seasonably, that it might be said to have been procur'd. His Distemper began with Convulsions, which terminated in a Languishment wherein he lingred some months; and when there seem'd some likelihood of his Cure, his Convulsions seiz'd him again and carry'd him off. He had bin invited by *Roni* a little before his Distemper began; and I knew some of his Domestic Servants that were strongly perswaded that his Death was not Natural. This Death was taken by the King for a Fortunate Hit, because the Duke's Genius gave him a great deal of trouble. 'Tis a difficult matter for a Man to behave himself before Kings; if he be Fear'd, he is Hated; if he be Peaceable, he is Despis'd; and when some part of their favour is obtain'd, 'tis not agreeable to a Man who has a Soul, to be more oblig'd to blind Compliance, or a servile Dependance, then to his Merit.

And his Death.

The Process of the Cardinal de Chatillon's Widow.

There was this Year an Affair that made a great Noise, which was judg'd at the Chamber of the Edict. The Cardinal *de Chatillon* had been Marry'd ever since the year 1564. yet for all that had neither quitted his Habit nor his Dignity. His Death happening some years after, his Widow agreed for his Inheritance with the Admiral; and after that, having been carry'd

ry'd away by a Man who Robb'd her of all that she had got, it came into her mind when the Edict of *Nants* was publish'd, to demand a Review of the Contracts which she had made, and to dispute with the Heirs of the Admiral the Inheritance of her Husband. She grounded her Suit upon the Edict, which by the Nine and Thirtieth Article of Particulars, order'd a Toleration of Marriages such as Hers. But on the other side, the Quality of the Person was a great Obstacle to her pretensions. She might have succeeded better, if the Dispute had been about any other then a Prelate; but the affront had been too heinous for the Pope to bear, had the Marriage of a Cardinal been confirm'd, Bishop and Peer of *France*, who had presum'd to retain after this Marriage his Revenues and his Purple. Besides the Cardinal was the Elder Brother of the Admiral and of *d'Andelot*, and his Marriage ('tis like) cou'd not be confirm'd without the Ruin of two Families, which descended from these Lords; one of which was half Catholic, to wit, that of *d'Andelot*, whose Son had embrac'd both the *Roman* Religion and the League. *Servin*, Advocate-General, made a long Speech in this Cause. He spoke not of this Marriage of the Cardinal but as of an unlawful Conjunction, and wou'd never grant that there had been any Solemnization of this Marriage, even in the Forms accustom'd among the *Reformed*. As *Servin* inclin'd very much to their Doctrine, it may be judg'd that all his discourse was made on purpose to be sent to *Rome*, where he was necessary to make it appear, that such a Marriage had not been approv'd of. His Evidences took from the Cardinals Wife the Quality of his Widow, depriv'd her of all that she cou'd pretend to in that Quality, and did not so much as order any Provision for support of her Children. The Court order'd the Advocates to put off the Cause to be heard before the Council, for other Reasons then those that appear'd in the Decree; That is to say, That nothing might be pronounc'd in an Affair of this Nature, and to give place for an Accommodation. A very passionate Author, who has inserted *Servin*'s Pleading in his Work, says, That the Decree was agreeable to the Evidence; but he does not relate the Terms of the Decree, whereas

1604.

1604. whereas the Advocate General *Talon* relates 'em in his Reports ſuch as I have ſaid. In a word, this Affair was one of the prineipal Reaſons of making the Nine and Thirtieth Article of Particulars ſo as it is, and the oppoſite Intereſts of the Widow and the Defendants, gave room for greater Conteſts ſince the year 1600. The Cauſe of a Carthuſian who had left his Cloyſter before the Edict, and who demanded a ſhare with his Brothers; and in 1605. that of a *Capuchin*, whoſe Caſe was the ſame, were Judg'd according to the Tenor of the Article. If they deviated a little in this Widows Cauſe, 'tis eaſie to ſee that there was more regard had to the Quality of the Perſons concern'd, then to the Nature of the buſineſs.

The Duke of *Rohan* this year likewiſe receiv'd a Check at the Court. He was not willing to live unprofitable to the World; and with a deſign to advance himſelf therein, he made ſome ſteps which did not pleaſe the King: But that was calm'd by the ſubmiſſion of the Duke, who referr'd himſelf to the Diſcretion of his Maſter. But the following

1605. year the *Reformed*, and all good *Frenchmen*, with no ſmall diſguſt beheld the Pyramid thrown down, which was rear'd to Eternize in a Plate of Braſs, the Decree of the Baniſhment of the Jeſuits, after the wicked attempt of *Chatel*. Thoſe Aſſaſſins, who had the Credit to Re-eſtabliſh themſelves in ſpite of the Decree, had yet a greater Reputation to demoliſh that Monument of what they were capable to do; nor could the Parlament, who were troubl'd beyond imagination to ſee the nobleſt mark of their Zeal for the good of *France* deſtroy'd, prevent it either by Oppoſitions or Remonſtrances. All that they obtain'd was, That they were not conſtrain'd themſelves to undo their own Work, and that it was Demoliſh'd without Formality of Juſtice. Diſcourſes, Writings and Verſes, were on this Subject; but the Jeſuits, who had what they deſir'd, took little notice of theſe ſlight ſtorms, well knowing it to be a Liberty of no conſequence, which may be Granted, for his Conſolation, to an Enemy that can do no more miſchief, then only evaporate his Anger in Satyrs

The Pyramid thrown down.

tyrs and Paſquills. After this, nothing but Favours were granted to this Society, nothing but Benefices united to the Colledges, but Houſes built to Lodge their Novices more at their Eaſe. 1605.

In the mean time the Kingdom was full of Alarms, and the King received from all parts Advice of the great deſigns that the *Spaniards* had upon ſeveral places. Several Parties of the Male-contents got together, of which the one had for pretence the Publick Good; others deſign'd to raiſe up the Nobility again, which had bin too much humbled; others to pull down *Roni*, whoſe Fortune they compared to that which *Sejanus* had done under *Tiberius*, and wiſh'd that his end might be like to the downfal of that Favourite, as there had been a reſemblance in the advancement of the one and of the other, and in the abuſe which as they pretended the one in imitation of the other, made of his Maſters favour. Others pretended to Revenge the Death of *Biron*, whoſe Relations they were, or elſe his Creatures. The greateſt part of theſe Intrigues were Spun by the Marſhal *de Bouillon*, who thought to render himſelf formidable, in hopes, perhaps, to be recall'd; and who had every where ſuch great Intelligences, that he ſeem'd capable of putting all *Europe* in Combuſtion He Labour'd above all things to engage the *Reformed* in ſome League, by inſinuating a dread in 'em from the King's having promis'd the Legate to Ruin them. And he cauſed Propoſitions to be made them for Eſtabliſhing fixed Councels in all the Provinces, to Treat of the Affairs of the Common Cauſe; to exclude the Kings Officers of all the Politick Debates of their Aſſemblies; to draw up Models for Raiſing Men and Money; and to make Alliances with Strangers for their Common Defence. But I know not how they could impute to him any other Projects Inconſiſtant with theſe; as to deſign to change the Religion; to conſpire *New Factions.*

1605. conſpire the Diſmembring of the Kingdom; to deſire the *Dauphinate* for his ſhare; to diſturb the Succeſſion of the Dauphin; to make a League with the *Spaniards*; to make Peace between them and the *United Provinces*. It is impoſſible to join theſe Deſigns with the other; for his part he deny'd conſtantly ever to have had ſuch thoughts; and it was ſo much the more eaſie for him to juſtifie himſelf in, that it was not poſſible to find the leaſt Proof againſt him in Writing. Some body depoſed that Money brought from *Spain* was diſtributed by the Orders of the Marſhal to ſome private Gentlemen of *Quercy*, *Guyenne*, and *Languedoc*; and that they were promis'd at the ſame time, that they ſhould be aſſiſted with greater Succours; but the Sum, which did not exceed Ten or Twelve Thouſand Crowns, was ſo little, that it could not be thought to come from *Spain*, which would never have confin'd her Profuſions to ſo ſmall a Matter. It was believed that the Marſhal had drawn this Sum out of his own Purſe, to keep his Friends in hope of a more conſiderable Profit.

The Aſſembly at Chatelleraud.

Nevertheleſs, every thing caus'd a Jealouſie in a Kingdom where the Remains of ſo many old Factions gave occaſion to fear that new ones were forming; and the Aſſembly of *Chatelleraud* being come unlook'd for in this ſtate of Affairs, redoubled the perplexity of the Suſpicious; they well knew at Court that great matters were there to be Debated They were to conſult which way to preſerve their places of Security, of which they knew that the Council would all at once take two Thirds away from them, by diſtinguiſhing thoſe which belong'd to particular Lords from thoſe which were the Kings only. The Revolt of Gentlemen, of which already many Examples had been ſeen, made the conſequence to be feared; in regard that if one Perſon of Eſtate happen'd to change his Religion, all his Places would be loſt from the Party. Moreover, the King talk'd openly of making War againſt the Marſhal *de Bouillon*, and of ſeizing his ſtrong Holds; and nothing could

divert him from it, but the Conſideration of his Breeves which allow'd the *Reform'd* the keeping of the Places or Gariſons for a time, which was not yet expir'd. But the difficulty was remov'd, in caſe the Places belonging to particular Perſons, were not included with thoſe they call'd Places of Surety; from whence it follow'd, that when ever the King ſhould think fit, he might diſpoſſeſs the *Reform'd* of all thoſe Places one after another; and the Breach being thus made, it would be eaſy alſo to take the main Places from them. Moreover, thoſe Gariſons belonging to privite Perſons were properly thoſe that were moſt likely to trouble the King, not only by reaſon of their number, but alſo by impowring their Lords to act ſometimes againſt the King's Authority. It was a hardſhip upon the King, not to be able to deal with them without a formal Siege, and without waging a juſt War againſt them, even at the hazard of offending the whole Party, which was perſwaded that their Safety depended on the keeping of thoſe Places. Inſomuch, that whenever the King expreſs'd ſome diſpleaſure to ſee ſo many Places in the hands of the *Reform'd*, it was only in relation to thoſe that were poſſeſs'd by particular Perſons; which were the whole Subject of *Roni*'s Negotiation with the Aſſembly of *Chatelleraud*. The Marſhal of *Bouillon* had Agents, who were not wanting to give advices upon that Subject, and to repreſent how much his particular caſe was interwoven with the General Safety. On the other hand, the *Reform'd* were ſo far from being inclin'd to ſuffer their Places to be taken from them, that in order to ſecure themſelves againſt the Conſpiracies that were daily form'd againſt them, they deſir'd a Prolongation of the Time which was allow'd them for the keeping of them. Moreover, they alſo pretended to keep thoſe the King had given to ſome of the *Reform'd* ſince the Edict, or ſuch as did belong to Perſons, who having lately embraced their Religion, had been aſſur'd that they ſhould be maintain'd in the Poſſeſſion of their Holds or Places. So that this Affair was interwoven with divers Difficulties, which no body knew how to unravel. 1605.

St. *Germain*, one of the Deputies-General, was a Creature of the Marſhals, and held a cloſe Correſpondence with him; and the Marſhal by his means held a Communication with all the

1605. Churches. For that reaſon he was very deſirous to have him continu'd in that Employment. The thing was to be debated in the Aſſembly; and therefore the King, who had only at firſt allow'd Deputies to reſide with him, about the Affairs of the Edict for a ſeaſon, reſolv'd to make it an Ordinary Commiſſion, on conditition, that the Aſſembly ſhould nominate Six Perſons to him, out of which he ſhould chuſe Two, that he might not be oblig'd to continue St. *Germain*, or to receive another of his Character. Before the meeting of the Aſſembly, St. *Germain* writ to the Marſhal to communicate his Sentiments to him about the preſent Conjuncture: And his Letter was either Intercepted or Copy'd by ſome of thoſe who gave the Court an account of all that paſs'd. There were ſeveral in every Province who drove that Trade, ſome to deſerve the Penſions they had, or to obtain ſome, others out of a kind of ſimplicity, which induc'd them to believe that the Court-party was always the moſt Innocent, becauſe the King's Name was ever at the Head of it. By their means the Court was inform'd of divers Propoſitions that had been made in the Provincial Aſſembly, in order to be carry'd into the General.

St. Germain's Letter to the Mareſchal de Bouillon.

St. *Germain* in the ſaid Letter preſs'd the Marſhal to depute ſome body to the Aſſembly. He alſo urg'd divers Reaſons, for which in his Opinion, the King ought to be miſtruſted; his Submiſſion to the Councils that came from *Rome*; the Authority he allow'd the Jeſuits; the great Charge he had been at for the Election of a New Pope to his mind, after the Death of *Clement* the *8th*. The demoliſhing of the Pyramid, on the account of which ſo much ſeverity had been us'd, that ſome People having caus'd the ſaid Pyramid to be Ingrav'd, repreſenting all the Sides and Inſcriptions of it, to preſerve at leaſt the Image of that Monument, the pulling down of which griev'd all True *Frenchmen*; care had been taken to diſcover and ſuppreſs the Plate to pleaſe the Jeſuits. Moreover St. *Germain* repreſented the miſchief *Roni* was able to do. He added the reaſons that ſhould oblige him to quit the General Deputation, which he could no longer hold without expoſing himſelf to diſpleaſe the King, or the *Reform'd*; becauſe that on one ſide he would be accus'd of doing too much, and on the other of doing too little. He acquainted the Marſhal that

that *Roni* was afraid of not holding a Rank ſuitable to his Dignity in the Aſſembly, by reaſon that the King refus'd to give him a particular Commiſſion to preſide in it. He ſaid that it was impoſſible to foreſee with certainty, the Inclinations of the Deputies that were to compoſe the Aſſembly: but however, that he would do well to write to them, which would be of ſome uſe. He was ſomewhat at a loſs to find a proper Perſon, whom the Marſhal might truſt with his Deputation; and therefore adviſ'd him to give that Commiſſion to the Deputies of *Guienne*, who might accept it as a dependency of their particular Charge; the Deputies of every Province commonly taking upon them the management of the Affairs of the particular Members thereof. 1605.

This expedient was likely to break the Meaſures the Court took to hinder private Perſons from ſending Deputies in their own Name to the Aſſembly: For beſides Marſhal *de Bouillon*, they were diffident of *Leſdiguieres*, of the Duke of *Rohan*, of *la Force*, of *Chatillon*, of *du Pleſſis*, and ſeveral others. Therefore in order to apply a proper Remedy to all theſe Diſorders, the King reſolv'd to ſend *Roni* to *Chatelleraud* with large Inſtructions; they were of two kinds, the firſt, General; the others, Secret, in form of Addition to the firſt. By the firſt, he was order'd to remonſtrate to them, that the Aſſembly was not very neceſſary, ſince the only end of it was but to receive an Account from the Deputies-General of what they had done for three years laſt paſt, which might be done with leſs noiſe: However, that the King had freely granted it, in hopes that it would ſerve to congratulate the Peace which the laſt Edict had afforded: Upon which Subject he was order'd to declare that it had been punctually perform'd; that the King was reſolv'd to maintain it; that care had been taken that it might be done to the ſatisfaction of both Parties, as it appear'd by the Anſwer that had been made to the Petition preſented by the Catholicks and *Reform'd*, by which, all Affairs of Conſequence had been immediately regulated. He was further to ſay, That the King after having given ſo many Teſtimonies of his good Will, would be very much concern'd, ſhould they pitch upon another Protector, he having all along been ſo to them, and being reſolv'd always to continue ſo. That ſuch Aſſemblies for the future would become

Roni is ſent the King's Commiſſary at the Aſſembly. His Inſtructions.

1605. of ill Consequence, the Edicts allowing none but such as relate to Discipline, in which no Persons were to be admitted, but such as were to see it perform'd: That as to what related to Civil Government, they were to apply themselves to the Judges; and for favours, to the King, who is the Dispenser of them: That the reasons for holding Political Assemblies, only about Deputies-General, did not deserve so much show nor expence: That the Residence of Deputies at Court, was neither mention'd in the Edict, nor in the private Articles, nor in the Breeves: That it had been granted out of Toleration, until the Verification of the Edict: That nevertheless the King did grant the said Residence, and did consent to a certain Form for the Election of the said Deputies, *viz.* to name Six, out of which his Majesty would chuse Two. He was also ordered to endeavour, that the said Assembly might Treat of nothing but that Nomination; To declare, That that Assembly would serve instead of that which the Synod of *Gap* had desir'd leave to hold at *Rochel*. Not to promise any thing without the King's leave, in case they should persist in desiring another, especially if they desir'd to hold any contrary to the Edict. The King allow'd him to give them assurances of his own Affection, and order'd him to excuse the Alteration that was making at *Orange*, the Government of which City was to be taken from *Blacons*, who was dislik'd by *Philip* of *Nassau*, to whom the City belong'd; but to promise them withal, that his Majesty would put the said Place into the hands of a Person of the *Reform'd* Religion. The King had a great deal of reason to excuse that Alteration, because the *Reform'd* were extreamly displeas'd at it, and look'd upon that Affair, as being of a general consequence for their Safety.

The Additions, after a short Preface, in which the King express'd, That relying on the Affection and Fidelity of the *Reform'd*, he hop'd that they had only order'd such things to their Deputies as were allowable, and not displeasing to him; oblig'd him to take care that the question about Antichrist might not be renew'd; that they should receive no Letters from Marshal *de Bouillon*, or from Foreign Princes; that he should hinder it at first under-hand; but that in case that would not do, he should oppose

oppoſe it openly, and make uſe of his Authority as Governour of the Province; That he ſhould ſuffer no Deputies there from particular Perſons; for example, as from *Leſdiguieres*, who being diſſatisfy'd with the Court at that time, join'd with the Party again for his own ends. He was commanded to mention ſome things the King had been inform'd of, as if he had learnt them there himſelf; to give them hopes at firſt that the King ſhould prolong the time prefix'd for the keeping of the Places of Surety, without diſtinguiſhing thoſe that belong'd to particular Perſons from the others; becauſe the King was willing not to oblige them by halves, provided they behav'd themſelves as they ſhould do. The Brief for that prolongation was deliver'd to him, but he was order'd not to produce it until he receiv'd a poſitive command ſo to do. The King alſo order'd him to refuſe the Aſſembly the Re-eſtabliſhment of certain Funds that had been retrench'd, either for Marſhal *de Bouillon*'s Places, or upon the general Settlement of the other Cities of Surety, or upon the Arrears of certain particular Aſſignations. The Reaſon alledg'd for it was, That the King had made the ſame alterations in the Settlements of the Cities and Gariſons held by the Catholicks, who ſhould have had reaſon to complain, unleſs the *Reform'd* had been us'd in the ſame manner. Moreover, that he thought that the Catholicks being weakned, by the reducing of their Gariſons to a ſmaller number of Men, the *Reform'd* could have no reaſon to complain at the reducing of the number of theirs, ſince they did not want ſo many to defend them, as when the Gariſons of thoſe they ſuſpected were ſtronger. But they did not reliſh thoſe Reaſons, becauſe they did not think their Cities and Forces of the ſame Quality with thoſe of the Catholicks. The King only kept up theſe, becauſe it was his pleaſure; but there was a Treaty between him and the *Reform'd*, which oblig'd him to leave them certain Places for a time, which he was to pay the Gariſons off; inſomuch that thoſe of the Catholicks were revocable whenever he pleas'd; whereas it was a breach of Treaty to meddle with thoſe of the *Reform'd* before the time, for which the Cities of Surety were granted them: Nevertheleſs they could obtain nothing of *Roni* upon that ſubject, becauſe he was as inflexible for them in point of Money, as he was 1505.

to

1605. to every body else. Finally, the King order'd *Roni* by those Instructions to refuse to interceed for the Marshal of *Bouillon*, alledging what he had already attempted in vain for his Reconciliation: To accept the Presidentship of the Assembly in case it were offer'd him: To behave himself towards *du Plessis* and others, according to the Affection he should observe in them for the King's Service, and to give an account of all Occurrences.

Those Instructions were fram'd upon the knowledge the Court had of all that was to be propos'd in the Assembly; there being Persons in all the Provinces that inform'd the Council, as I have already observ'd, with all the Propositions the particular Assemblies had Incerted in their *Memoirs*. But one of the main Points was the preservation of the Places of Surety: And whereas the *Reform'd* grounded all the hopes of their safety on the keeping of those Fortresses, at a time when they plainly saw the Conspiracies that were hatching against them, the fear of losing them by surprize, kept them in perpetual agitations. This was the posture of Affairs when *Roni* came to the Assembly. Nothing can be more opposite than what most *Memoirs* relate about his reception there. Some Historians of great exactness and authority say that he presided there. The Compilers of *Sulli*'s Memoirs say the contrary, and produce several of their Master's Letters to the King, in which he excuses himself for not having accepted the Presidentship, for reasons which he assures himself the King will relish, when he shall be at liberty to give him an account of them. They only say, that he might have presided there had he been so minded: Nevertheless he did not so much as sit among them, by reason that not presiding there, he could not hold a Rank suitable to the Dignity of Governour of the Province. Others say, That both the one and the other was refus'd to him in a disobliging manner; and they relate the Fact thus,

The Court, *say they*, being desirous to have Persons devoted to them in the Assembly, in order to manage the Members according to their intentions, *Roni* and *Parabere* presented themselves there to that end, pretending that no body could refuse them to sit there, by reason of their Quality; but the Assembly without Ceremony desir'd them to leave them at liberty. *Parabere*

here was absolutely ingag'd in the Interest of the Court, except- 1605.
ing only that he would not believe the Marshal of *Bouillon* guilty of the Crimes he was accus'd of. Therefore when he alledg'd the Article made at Ste. *Foy*, which allow'd the Governours of Provinces to sit in the Assemblies, tho' they were not deputed, some answer'd him plainly, That the said Article had been alter'd upon his account. In effect, to secure themselves against false Brethren, and to avoid the Intrigues and Contestations that were commonly manag'd to create a division in the Assembly, the President was Elected in this, before the reading of the Credentials, contrary to what had been practis'd in all the foregoing ones. *Roni* was look'd upon as a Man sent on purpose to break off the Assembly handsomly, or to bring them to some Composition by his advice. For that end he brought Breeves and Promises, to mollify those who were to be mov'd that way. But his haughty humour, or his desire to serve the Court even to the prejudice of his own Religion, as he was wont to do, made him take another course. He commanded the Assembly, after having nam'd Deputy's General, to break up the following day at Noon; and he expres'd that command in a very rough manner, without ever mentioning the Breeves he had in his Pocket. He had flatter'd himself, that some Members of the Assembly would second him, and would help him to alarm the rest. But those from whom he expected that Complaisance, having declar'd to him that they would remain firm to the Assembly, and that they would stand by their Resolutions; he was forc'd to alter his note, and even to make some satisfaction to those he had offended in particular. He show'd the Breeves he had endeavour'd to conceal, and distributed the Pensions wherewith the Court desir'd to buy the Votes of the most considerable.

These last *Memoirs* seem to agree best with certain Circumstances, that are taken out of that Lord's own *Memoirs*. The first Speech he made to the Assembly is to be seen in them, *His Speech.* which had more of Threats than Modesty in it; the haughtiness of which displeas'd every body. He far exceeded the Instructions that had been given him in Writing; and whether he had receiv'd other Orders verbally, or that he thought fit to do more than he was order'd, his behaviour prov'd as harsh and disobliging,

1605. liging, as his instructions were wise and moderate. It is true that he said many things that might be useful; but even Truth it self lost its force in such a Man's Mouth. Therefore he vainly imploy'd all his Power to dissuade the *Reform'd* from keeping of their Places. He endeavour'd to perswade that every one being willing to keep his, the great numbers of them only serv'd to destroy their Forces, which by that means were too much divided. He warn'd them not to trust *Lesdiguieres*, who would change his Religion as soon as he thought that step necessary to preserve his Authority and his Cities, *&c.* in *Dauphine*. As he had no such things to urge against *du Plessis*, whose Behaviour was untainted, and his Religion fix'd, he endeavour'd to turn him into Ridicule, together with his design of Fortifying *Saumur*; the circumference of which he design'd to enlarge to that degree, that it would require 8000 Men in Garison. He press'd them to Surrender Nine parts of their Places to the King, and only to keep the Tenth, which would be the more easy to defend; after which he forewarn'd them not to receive either in common or in particular, any Letters or Deputations from Foreigners, or suspected Persons, whom he nam'd to them; because that in case those Persons had any Concerns, they might have sent them in the Petition of their Provinces: And finally, in case they refus'd, he threatned them with his Authority as Governour.

This Behaviour probably occasion'd the ill treatment those last *Memoirs* mention: But when he grew more affable, the Deputies became more gentle; and after several Negotiations, he obtain'd almost all what the King desir'd, because he had at last satisfy'd both the particular Members and the whole Assembly. He prevail'd with them to desist from the thought of erecting Provincial Councils every where, which should have been different from the Provincial Political Assemblies in several things; but especially in that they should always have been fix'd, and in being, whereas those Assemblies were only upon occasion and from time to time. Yet he had no express Orders to hinder that new Establishment, but only to do it if he could; or otherwise to endeavour that it might be compos'd of quiet people, well affected to the State, and of a proper Quality to apply themselves there in case of necessity: That is, they had no mind to have

Provincial Councils.

any

any Presbyters there, becauſe they were a ſort of People the Court did not care to negotiate with, which they look'd upon to be more independent from them than the Gown or Sword men. That Affair coſt *Roni* but little trouble, ſince there needed no more to hinder that new Inſtitution, but to acquaint them that the King diſapprov'd it. Not but there were ſome erected already in ſome Provinces, according to the Regulations made at *Sᵗ Foy*, but they hardly did any thing; and above all, they wanted Correſpondencies one with another. Therefore in the following Reign people ſaid, That the *Reform'd* had made a modeſt uſe of that Inſtitution under this. The Nomination of the Deputies coſt him a great deal more. The Marſhal *de Bouillon* was very earneſt to have St. *Germain* continu'd. *Leſdiguieres* was for *Bellujon*, who was his Creature, and who under the Name of Deputy General, ſhould have been his Spy and Confident at Court. The ſame Reaſons which induc'd theſe two Lords to deſire Deputies in whom they might confide, made the King refuſe both. Moreover it had been propos'd in ſome Provinces to augment the number of the Deputies General, and to join one to the two ordinary ones that ſhould be choſen among the Miniſters. *Beraud*, one of the Miniſters of *Montauban*, ſeconded that Propoſition, by reaſon that he pretended to that Nomination, and that he endeavour'd to obtain it almoſt publickly. But the Court did not like that multiplication of Deputies; neither were they willing to conſent to it in favour of a Miniſter. *Roni* order'd matters ſo, that they kept to the number of two; and that a Nomination of ſix Perſons was made, among which the King Elected *La Noue* and *du Cros*. It is true, that the Nomination of ſix was only a Ceremony, ſince it was very well known that *La Noue* and *du Cros* would have the King's Approbation; the one by reaſon of his moderation, the other becauſe he was deputed by the Province of *Dauphine* into the Aſſembly; and that in refuſing *Bellujon* whom the King diſlik'd, he had offer'd to accept a man who ſhould have a dependency on *Leſdiguieres*, as being his Vaſſal, and living in a Countrey where he had a full power. 1605.

Deputies General.

Roni endeavour'd according to his Inſtructions to make the *Reform'd* conſent to hold no more General Aſſemblies, becauſe they always created ſome Jealouſies in the Court. But that Pro- *General Aſſemblies.*

1605. position frighten'd the *Reform'd*, who look'd upon it as being Inſpir'd by their Enemies, and as a ſnare tending to break the Union which had maintain'd them till then. Neither could the Promiſe of allowing them Conferences and Synods there, to treat about the Affairs of their Diſcipline, content them. There were other Affairs of as great moment, which thoſe Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies took no cognizance of, which could not be neglected, without expoſing the *Reform'd* to an approaching Ruin. So that the Court was oblig'd to allow them Political Aſſemblies, upon condition that they ſhould acquaint the King with the Reaſons that ſhould make them judge it neceſſary; and in that caſe, if the King found there was any occaſion for it, he promis'd to give them ſatisfaction. The King remain'd Maſter by that Accommodation; and in granting out of hand what might have given occaſion for an Aſſembly, he might eaſily ſtop the project thereof: And the *Reform'd* on the other hand were ſenſible that they ſhould daily meet ſufficient occaſions to deſire leave to have them. And indeed they aſſembled ſeveral times again in that Reign, and in the following; until their Diviſion and Weakneſs afforded the Court an occaſion to ſuppreſs them quite. But what *Roni* granted them upon that Subject, did not hinder the Aſſembly from renewing the Union of *Nantes*, and to ſwear it anew. The Court was very much diſturb'd at it, looking upon that Oath as the Project of a Republick they deſign'd to form in the State. The King was particularly diſpleas'd at *Leſdiguieres* having ſign'd the Union, after having ſo lately receiv'd a particular Favour from him. He had given *Crequi*, his Son in Law, the command of the Guards, to make him forget the Count of *Soiſſon*'s Enterprize, and the Journey of *Provence*. But though he was no great pretender to Religion, he thought his ſafety for that time would be more conſiſtent with the union of the Churches, than in ſeparating from their Intereſts.

Union renew'd

Leſdiguieres enters into it.

Roni who had not been able to ward that Blow, endeavour'd to excuſe it, and to extenuate the conſequence thereof. He wrote to the King, That the ſaid Union did not proceed from any ill Intention in the Reform'd, and that nothing but the fear of the Courts endeavouring to deſtroy them, in caſe any diſunion ſhould reign among them, had inſpir'd them with it; That they ſhould have

Roni excuſes that New Oath.

have no fears, were the King immortal; but that the remembrance of the 24th of *August*, 1572. ſtuck in their Stomacks: That the Duke of *Mayenne*'s Propoſition of only granting them an Edict of Toleration from time to time, oblig'd them to think on the future, ſo much the rather, becauſe that Prince's Demand, expreſs'd the Pretentions of the major part of the Catholicks, and eſpecially of the Court of *Rome*: That that was the end of their Union, which after all was nothing but a Chimera which he laugh'd at; that it would deſtroy it ſelf; that the Places they poſſeſs'd were more chargeable to them by their number, than of uſe for their ſafety. However the Court would have been glad to prevail with the *Reform'd* not to inſiſt in deſiring to continue the keeping of them beyond the eight Years the King had granted them at *Nantes*. Yet at laſt the Court conſented to their keeping of them three years longer: And becauſe that did not content them, another year was added to it; ſo that by a Brief of the 1° of *Auguſt*, the keeping of their Places was continu'd to them for four Years longer. Moreover they obtain'd a Year more upon other Terms, by a Brief of the ſame Day, which declar'd, That the eight Years granted at *Nantes* ſhould only be reckon'd from the day of the verification of the Edict in all the Parliaments. In the ſaid Brief the Places belonging to private Perſons were not diſtinguiſh'd from the others, by reaſon that it would have been difficult to obtain from every particular Perſon to conſent to the retrenching of his, ſeeing that of another preſerv'd. But to authoriſe *Roni*, and to make the world believe that he labour'd heartily for the preſervation of his Brethren, the King did as if he only granted thoſe Favours at his ſolicitation. 1605.

A Brief for the keeping of the Hoſtage Cities.

It was at this price, and by ſome promis'd or reſtor'd Penſions, that the King bought leave to take poſſeſſion of the Places belonging to the Marſhal of *Bouillon*. *Roni*'s Intriegues were more prevailing than all the Endeavours of the Marſhal and his Friends. The Aſſembly refus'd to intereſt it ſelf for the preſervation of his Places. The Argument they us'd for it, was, That in ſome preceding Aſſemblies, in which the Intriegues of the Cabinet had inclin'd him to thwart ſuch particular Perſons as were deſirous to recommend their Affairs to the General, he had put a ſtop by

The Aſſembly ſuffer the Marſhal of Bouillon's Places to be taken.

1605. his Example to ſuch deliberations; and that he ought not to take it amiſs, if he was now us'd according to his own Maxims, ſince he had been warn'd of it, whilſt he was practiſing them againſt others. The Effect of that Negotiation was, that after the breaking up of the Aſſembly, the King took poſſeſſion of the Places belonging to the ſaid Marſhal, though they were Places of ſurety as well as the others, none of the *Reform'd* offering to defend them. The Marſhal on his ſide behav'd himſelf like a good Politician, ordering his Men to deliver them up to the King without compulſion; Whether it were that he thought it inconſiſtent with the Innocence he boaſted of, to take up Arms againſt his Sovereign; or whether not judging himſelf ſtrong enough to reſiſt Royal Forces, he was willing to prevent the ruin of his Places, which he was in hopes to have reſtor'd to him by an Accommodation.

Other Advantages which Roni obtains of the Aſſembly.

Beſides all theſe Advantages, *Roni* prevail'd with the Aſſembly not to urge the reſtoring of the Edict to its firſt extent: Inſomuch that at that time the King was not importun'd with a Propoſition from which the *Reform'd* never deſiſted till after the ruin of their Affairs under his Son's Reign. Neither was any thing mov'd about the matter of Antichriſt, by reaſon that the Political Aſſembly referr'd the Affairs about Doctrine to the Synods The Grand Machine *Roni* ſet at work to gain peoples minds, beſides Gratifications and Promiſes, was, that of the King's grand Deſigns, in which the *Proteſtant* Princes enter'd upon certain Conditions, of which one was, the preſervation of the *Proteſtant* and *Reform'd* Religions. This was ſufficient to dazle people, who imagin'd that all the Promiſes that were made to them, would be accompliſh'd as faithfully as they deſir'd it earneſtly.

The *Spaniards*, according to their wonted Cuſtom, made a great deal of noiſe at *Rome*, about the King's having allow'd the *Reform'd* to keep the Places of ſurety four years longer: And ſome of the Speculators of that Court declar'd, that the King ought to have retaken them by open force, even at the hazard of renewieg the Civil War. But the Pope dreaded the League into which the Marſhal of *Bouillon* endeavour'd to draw all the *Proteſtants* of *Europe*, under the King of *England*, whoſe inclination for the *Catholicks* were not yet known. He conſider'd that

that the *Roman* Religion would have been endanger'd by ſo potent a Union, if the *Proteſtants* had receiv'd cauſe to arm in the heat of their firſt Zeal, before the *Catholick* States could have form'd a ſufficient League to reſiſt them: Moreover, that the War would only ſerve to form cloſer Engagements between the *Reform'd* of *France*, and Foreign Powers, whom they ſtood in need of for their preſervation: Whereas in time of peace, and proceſs of time, their ardour would certainly cool, many of their Chiefs would die, or be divided; their Diſcipline would ſlacken, and they would loſe their Ingagements and Intelligences. Inſomuch that the Pope commended the King's prudence, and approv'd his having granted to the *Reform'd* the keeping of all their Places for four years longer. Thus *Roni's* Deputation to *Chatelleraud* prov'd very uſeful to the King; and at the ſame time his Negotiation was ſo agreeable at *Rome*, that *Du Perron*, who was there at that time, writ to him to congratulate his Succeſs in the ſaid Commiſſion, and to let him know how much the Pope was pleas'd with it. 1605.

The Pope is very well ſatisfied with it.

Roni's Ambition was very ſingular; although he profeſs'd the *Reform'd* Religion, he made it his ſtudy to acquire the Pope's favour. He valu'd himſelf upon having more Friends at *Rome*, and upon his receiving more Applauſes there, than among thoſe of his own Religion: Neither did it burthen his Conſcience to find that the Court of *Rome* was better ſatisfied than his Brethren with his way of managing their Liberties and Safeties. In the mean time the Deputies of the Aſſembly repair'd to the Court, where they were very well receiv'd, and where neither fair Words nor Careſſes were ſpar'd. The chief reaſon of that good Reception, was the ſecret Aſſurances they gave, that the *Reform'd* would not take Arms for the Marſhal of *Bouillon*; and that they would not hinder the King from taking his Places, and of diſpoſing of them as of Cities taken in a juſt War. Beſides theſe Civilities redounded to the advantage of *Roni*, whoſe Negotiations had been ſo proſperous: And the King had no better way to expreſs how well he was pleas'd with the complaiſance of that Aſſembly towards that Favourite, than by thoſe marks of his Good Will.

The Deputies of the Aſſembly are careſs'd at Court.

The

1605. *Assembly of the Clergy.* The Clergy assembled that Year, as well as the *Reform'd*, and did not break up until the following Year. The Place of the Assembly was *Paris*, where *Villars*, Arch-Bishop of *Vienna*, who made a Speech to the King, fill'd his Discourse with Allusions relating to the *Reform'd*: But above all, he made very mournful Complaints about the Condition to which the *Catholick Religion* was reduc'd; and, he endeavour'd to persuade that it labour'd under great oppressions. 'Tis the common Stile of their Harangues: They are all upon the same Tone; and it has been observ'd, that the Clergy in the greatest Lustre in which it has appear'd these 500 Years, has still made as bitter Complaints, as if the *Roman* Church had been reduc'd to the utmost desolation However, the Archbishop's Complaints reduc'd themselves, in requiring the Publication of the Council of *Trent*, the Re-establishment of the Elections, and the abolishment of Laick Pensions. Moreover he accus'd the *Reform'd* of several Infractions of the Edict of *Nants*, and of several Scandals committed against the Catholick Religion. Among the rest, he accus'd them of having profan'd some Churches, and of having trampl'd upon the Sacrament which the Catholicks adore at *Milhau*. The King's Answer receiv'd different Constructions; some thought it favourable, and others disobliging: But as to the Excesses that were laid to the Charge of the *Reform'd*, he spoke like a Prince who was not perswaded that there was any truth in it. He desir'd that it might be prov'd, and then promis'd to do them justice. The Clergy had occasion to renew their Complaints under the next Reign, and finally they took vengeance on the whole Party for a pretended Outrage, the Resentment whereof, at most, should not have extended beyond those who should have been guilty thereof.

1606. At that time it was sincerely acknowledg'd, that the Edict allow'd Liberty of Conscience to all the *French*, whether Ecclesiasticks, or Laicks. Therefore Monks and Priests were often seen to embrace the *Reform'd* Religion. Those Conversions were cruel Mortifications to the Clergy, who look'd upon the Custom of some of the Churches in the *Meridional* Provinces, as Affronts to them, they preserving the Habits of those Profelites in their Vestries as Trophies erected with the Spoils of the *Roman* Religion, in honour of the *Reform'd*. The Clergy not daring to desire the

Artifice to hinder the Ecclesiasticks from changing their Religion.

the King to hinder those Conversions, by reason that the Law by which they were authoriz'd, was as yet too new to be so soon violated in a Point of that importance, bethought it self of an Expedient which might have the same effect as a formal Defence. They made use of an Article in their Petitions, by which supposing that the Ecclesiasticks could never side with the *Reform'd*, unless to avoid the Canonical Punishment of their Crimes, and disorderly Course, they desir'd leave to try them, before they could make profession of the *Reform'd* Religion. This was an infallible way to hinder the Ecclesiasticks from changing, since it was an easy matter to frame an Accusation true or false against a suspected Person; after which they might have forc'd him by Menaces and ill usage to alter his Mind, or tire him with long Imprisonments; or in case they had been oblig'd to release him, load him with ignominious Condemnations, which would have destroy'd all the Fruit the *Reform'd* hop'd to reap by such Conversions. This Article was granted to the Clergy, who made use of it on some occasions, when they could lay hold on such as they thought wavering in the Catholick Doctrine. But they never driv'd all the Advantages they expected by it, by reason that those who were willing to quit the *Roman* Religion, for the most part found Means to escape the fury of those unmerciful Judges. 1606.

Edict in favour of the Clergy.

The Clergy obtain'd, notwithstanding, several favourable Regulations, of which they compos'd an Edict which was long a drawing, and yet longer before they could get the Verification thereof. That which related to Religion, was, That the *Reform'd* should not be allow'd Burying Places, either in Churches, or Monasteries, nor in the Church-yards belonging to the *Catholicks*, not even under pretence of Foundation, or Patronage: That no Temples should be built so near Churches, that the Ecclesiasticks in performing Divine Service might receive the least disturbance or scandal thereby: That the Regents, or Teachers, Tutors, or School-Masters of Villages, should be approv'd of by the Curates, without prejudicing the Edict of *Nantes*.

Roni Duke and Peer of France.

Roni found his Services rewarded that Year with the Dignity of Duke and Peer; and it was only to hinder the Pope from murmuring

1606. muring thereat, that he made so many steps to perswade the Court of *Rome* that he was not overmuch conceited with the *Reform'd* Religion. The Marshal of *Bouillon* also made his Peace, when the King advanc'd to lay a Siege before *Sedan*. *Sulli*, that was the Name *Roni* took after his new Dignity, had been a great promoter of that Siege, and had made vast Preparations for the taking of that Place. But the Marshal's submission broke all the Measures of that envious Person. He deliver'd up the Castle of *Sedan* to the King, who was to restore it to him at the end of four years; but the King only took it out of Ceremony, and return'd it to the Marshal almost as soon as he had delivered it into his hands. This Reconciliation was made without the Duke of *Sully*'s participation, which prov'd a great Mortification to him. Whether the King designedly conceal'd it from him, lest he should oppose it; or whether *Velleroy*, who was the manager thereof, would have the Marshal solely oblig'd to him for it; at least *Sully* complain'd, that *Villeroy* had sent him the King's Letter by an indirect way, whereby he was desir'd to share in that Treaty; insomuch that he was ignorant of the Project, till after it was concluded. However it is most certain, that the Marshal was a necessary Person for the King's Design, by reason of his credit among Foreign *Protestants*, who plac'd an intire confidence in him, and whose Friendship the King was resolv'd to preserve at any rate. Therefore the Marshal was observ'd the very next day after his Reconciliation, to be as far in the King's favour and Familiarity as ever he had been.

The Marshal of Bouillon *makes his Peace.*

Treaty with the Rochelois.

During these Transactions, the Court continued to cause the Edict to be put in execution where it was necessary. The Commissioners had re-establish'd the Mass at *Rochel*, but that Worship had been so long interrupted there, that the People being no longer accustom'd to it, the renewing thereof was very much thwarted. The Clergy appli'd it self to the King, to obtain greater Liberties. But the Court was at a great loss to Answer their Petition, not daring to do it favourably, for fear of occasioning some Commotion at *Rochel*; nor harshly, lest the Ecclesiasticks should thereby lose the hopes of returning thither. The thing was referr'd to an Arbitration, and *Sully* was chosen Mediator. The *Rochelois* had some confidence in him, perhaps becaus some among them

them receiv'd Penſions. Some Effects of that Confidence had appear'd in the Affair of the *Pancarte*. The demands of the Clergy were reduc'd to Six Articles. *Sully* made them deſiſt from the two firſt, which related to their Houſes and Revenues. He obtain'd a grant for them upon the Third, for leave to viſit the Sick in the Hoſpitals, and Criminals, and others in the Priſons, and to adminiſter Confeſſion, and the Communion to them, on condition that it ſhould be perform'd ſecretly, and withont Pomp; and he prevail'd with the Eccleſiaſticks not to accompany the Criminals to the Place of Executition. Upon the Fourth, he perſwaded the *Reform'd* to allow that the Eccleſiaſticks ſhould aſſiſt at Burials, provided it were not in the Form of a Proceſſion, carrying the Croſs on high; but that they ſhould have leave to wear their Canonical Habits in the Streets, and that the People ſhould be hindred from inſulting, or abuſing them. Upon the Fifth he advis'd the Catholicks not to pretend to Places, unleſs call'd to them by the uſual way of Suffrages; but at the ſame time, that no difficulty ſhould be made to admit them to Arts and Trades, and that the Catholick Journy-men ſhould not be turn'd out of the City, leſt the Catholicks ſhould do the ſame in thoſe Places where they were the ſtrongeſt. Upon the Sixth, By which the Catholicks deſir'd a Place of Worſhip, pretending that the Commiſſioners had aſſign'd them one, he gave his Opinion for leave to build a Church there, provided the Place were neither ſuſpicious nor troubleſom; that in that caſe it would be fit to prevail with them to accept another; that upon their refuſal, it would be proper to offer a Petition to the King to obtain a Regulation, and to abſtain from ways of Fact. Theſe Advices, which had been agreed upon by the King and the Catholicks, and which ſerv'd partly as a Law, until the renewing of the Troubles, ſhow that the grand Maxim that was obſerv'd in the Execution of the Edict, was to leave things in the ſame Condition into which the Edict had found them; and to preſerve to the *Reform'd* Religion the Priviledge of Superiority in thoſe Places where they injoy'd it at the time of the Edict; as the *Roman* Religion enjoy'd it in thoſe Places out of which they had not been diſpoſſeſs'd. 1606.

1606. *Priests who refuse to pray for the King.*

One would have thought that the King's Reconciliation with the Pope, and all that he had done since to perswade that he was a sincere Catholick, should have remov'd all the Scruples of the Bigots, and brought back every body to their Duty. However there still were some Clergy-men so much disaffected to him, that they did not pray for his Person in the publick Service. Moreover, there were several Churches under the Jurisdiction of the Parliament of *Thoulouse*, where they made use of Mass-Books, in which that Prayer was omitted; and the said Books were so much in Vogue, that three Impressions of it had been sold during the Wars; one of *Lyons*, another of *Paris*, and the third of *Bourdeaux*. The Parliament of *Thoulouse* was oblig'd to remedy it that year, by a Decree which they gave on the Month of *June*, whereby the use of the said Mass-Book was prohibited, and the Priests were commanded to mention the King in the Prayers of the Mass.

Powder-Plot.

But an Affair of far greater consequence occasion'd a great deal more noise. The Jesuits had of late imbroil'd all *Europe* by their Intrigues, and had promoted Bloody Tragedies in *Sweden*, *Muscovy*, *Poland*, *Prussia*, and *Hungary*. But that which they had design'd for *England*, was far more worthy of them, had the Success answer'd their hopes. They had design'd to blow up the King and Parliament with Powder, which they had laid to that purpose under the House where they Assemble, which was to have been fir'd at the King's coming in. The said Conspiracy was discover'd upon the very point of Execution, and some Jesuits who had a hand in it, were punish'd, High-Treason being fully prov'd against them, which did not hinder their Order from placing them among the Martyrs. The King's Complaisance for the Court of *Rome*, could not hinder them from forming that horrid Conspiracy against him. Altho he us'd his best endeavours to perswade the Court of *Rome*, that he inclin'd to their Sentiments; and that he express'd as much by his Publick and Private Discourses; and that there was a kind of a Secret Negotiation between the Pope and him about Religion, which *Henry* the *4th* was Mediator of, the Court of *Rome* did not confide in him; whether they had no good Opinion of his steadiness, or whether they thought his Complaisance was only

only an effect of Policy, to oblige the Catholicks of his Kingdoms to remain quiet, in hopes of a better Condition. But he quite ruin'd his Reputation there by the Oath he exacted from the Catholicks, by which he made them acknowledg, that they had no dependency on any Foreign Power; that he was Sovereign in his Kingdoms, even in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes. This Oath was the Diſcourſe of *Europe* for ſeveral years, and ſerv'd to create Diviſions among the Catholicks of *England*, of which ſome maintain'd it lawful, and others contrary to their Conſciences. The Pope joyn'd with the laſt, which was the Party of the Jeſuits. But there were ſome *Engliſh* Prieſts, who neither believ'd the Pope nor Jeſuits in that point, and who exhorted the Catholicks to take that Oath without ſcruple. The King himſelf writ in defence of his Oath, and his Book had the ſucceſs I have expreſs'd elſewhere. 1606.

Oath exacted from the Catholicks in England.

In *France* the Jeſuits advanc'd their Affairs with a wonderful facility: And tho ſeveral Cities refus'd to conſent to their Eſtabliſhment, they notwithſtanding daily obtain'd new Favours. However, they could not prevail to hinder the King that Year from granting the *Reform'd* a Boon. By the Treaty of the Reduction of *Paris*, the Exerciſe of their Religion was not to be allow'd them nearer than at the diſtance of five Leagues. It had been allow'd at *Ablon*, a place a little nearer than that Article mention'd. But yet the diſtance was too great to permit them to go and come in a Day, eſpecially in the *Winter* time. It was very inconvenient for ſuch as had Children to be Chriſtned, the *Reform'd* at that time not allowing Baptiſm to be Adminiſtred out of their Aſſemblies. They alledg'd that ſeveral Children dy'd by the way, which might have been Chriſtned had the place of their Exerciſe been nearer: which reaſon was capable to move the Catholicks upon the account of their Opinion concerning the neceſſity of Baptiſm. Moreover, Foreigners, and the Lords of the Court complain'd, that it was impoſſible for them to pay their Duty to God, and to the King, in one and the ſame Day, by reaſon of the great diſtance to which they were oblig'd to go to make their Devotions; which at that time ſeem'd more inconvenient than ever: The Dutcheſs of *Bar*'s Death having depriv'd them of the Advantage of Religious Worſhip at Court,

1606. which they had enjoy'd whilſt ſhe was a live. Therefore the *Reform'd* deſir'd to have a place nearer, to remedy thoſe inconveniences: And the King being deſirous to favour them, of two places which they had pitch'd upon, granted them one, which was the Village of *Charenton*, near the Abby of St. *Maur*, within two ſhort Leagues of *Paris*. They obtain'd his Letters-Patent for it, bearing date the *1ſt* of *Auguſt*, by virtue of which they were put in Poſſeſſion thereof within a few days. The King by the ſame Letters reſerv'd to himſelf the Cognizance of all the Oppoſitions and Appellations that might be form'd upon that Subject, and forbid the Parliament and all other Judges to meddle with it.

The Reform'd *of* Paris *obtain the Exerciſe of their Religion to be perform'd at* Charenton.

That Affair did not paſs without difficulty; tho it met with none from thoſe who were moſt able to oppoſe it; *viz.* the *Pariſians*, who might pretend that the ſaid Grant violated the Edict of their Reduction. It was the Lord of *Charenton* who oppos'd it, grounding the ſaid Oppoſition upon that Article of the Edict which forbids the ſettling of the Religious Worſhip of the *Reform'd* in Mannors belonging to Catholicks, againſt the Will of the Lords thereof; but thoſe Oppoſitions were ſhifted off by transferring them to the Council. Nevertheleſs, the Succeſſors of the ſaid Lord, have renew'd them from time to time, as if they had been concern'd at the improvement of their Mannor; the Village, which of it ſelf was one of the pooreſt in the Kingdom, being grown one of the moſt conſiderable and richeſt, by the incredible Trade it occaſion'd there every *Sunday*. But notwithſtanding all thoſe Oppoſitions, the Exerciſe of the *Reform'd* Religion has been continu'd there until the Revocation of the Edict.

The Lord of the Mannor oppoſes it in vain.

The Rabble was not ſo eaſily ſuppreſt as that Lord's endeavours. Soon after that new Eſtabliſhment, they excited a violent Sedition at St. *Anthony*'s Gate, which is the neareſt to *Charenton*, againſt the *Reform'd*, at their coming back from their Temple. Tho the Magiſtrates immediately repair'd thither, it was not in their power to remedy it: And the conſequences might have prov'd of very ill conſequence, had not the King come back on purpoſe from *Fontainbleau* to *Paris* to give his Orders there. His Preſence reſtor'd Peace and Union into the City, and confirm'd the *Reform'd* in the poſſeſſion of the favour he had granted them.

A Sedition in Paris.

About

About the ſame time the King receiv'd the Petitions which the Deputies General preſented to him very favourably, which were very large, and very material. The moſt conſiderable Articles were, That the Modifications of the Edict, made by divers Courts and Juriſdictions, might be cut out: That it might be recorded with the particular Articles in ſuch places where it had not been done yet: That the Comiſſioners already nominated, might be oblig'd to execute the Edict in *Burgundy*, in *Dauphine*, and in other places where it had not been done yet: That the Charges of their Journey might be allow'd them, to remove all pretence of delay: That the Eccleſiaſtical Lordſhips of the firſt Places of Bailiwicks might not be exempted: That the Reſtriction of the ſecond might be remov'd, which had been added after the firſt Expedition of the Edict; and that the Lands belonging to the Orders of Knighthood, might not be comprehended under the Denomination of Eccleſiaſtical Lordſhips: That the Poor might be receiv'd into Hoſpitals, and ſhare in the Publick Alms proportionably to the number of the Inhabitants, and that they ſhould not be moleſted upon the account of Religion; or otherwiſe, That the *Reform'd* Inhabitants of the places where the general Gatherings ſhould be made, might not be oblig'd to contribute towards them: That in ſuch Places where they had allow'd no Church-yards to the *Reform'd*, they might be allow'd to bury their Dead in the Old Church-yards, and that the Eccleſiaſticks ſhould not be allow'd to diſturb them in the ſame, or to take up the Corps, which the Official of *Anzer*, the Biſhop of *Alby*, and the Cardinal of *Sourdis*, were accus'd to have done to ſome that had been buri'd above Six, ſome even Eighteen Years: That a ſtop might be put to the Seditions that were excited in divers places againſt the *Reform'd*, either at their coming back from Divine Service, or when they held their Conferences or Synods: That Officers might not be allow'd to ſit in their Aſſemblies in that Quality as they had pretended to do it in divers Provinces: That the Miniſters might be allow'd to Viſit the Sick, and ſuch as were Condemn'd to Dye, and that the Prieſt and other Catholicks ſhould not be allow'd to divert them from their Belief: That they might be exempted from contributing towards the Fraternities, Caſting of Bells, Reparation of Churches, and the like, conformably to the 1606.

1606. the Second of the particular Articles, which the conſtraints impos'd by the Judges, and the Precipitation of the Syndies render'd of no uſe; even forcing the *Reform'd* to contribute towards certain Collections made for the Capucins, Jeſuits, and other Eccleſiaſticks; whereupon they beſeech'd his Majeſty, That whenever he ſhould allow ſuch Gatherings, an expreſs Clauſe might be inſerted in the Grant, declaring the *Reform'd* exempt of ſuch Taxes, the which might impower the Chambers of the Edict to take Cognizance of the Infractions thereof: That the *Reform'd* might be allow'd the peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Employments they had; upon which ſeveral Examples were alledg'd of the Oppoſitions they had met with: That they might be receiv'd into the Offices of Receivers of the Tythes: That the Six *Reform'd* Counſellors, or at leaſt Three of them, might ſerve commonly at *Paris* in the Chamber of the Edict, to the end that there might be People enough to have an eye upon the obſervation of the Edicts, and that in caſe of Abſence or Recuſation, ſome body might conſtantly remain there to take care of it: That it might not be in the Power of Parliaments to judge the Affairs of the *Reform'd*, unleſs they pleaded voluntary before them; and that the Counſellors of the *Reform'd* Religion, who ſhould be accus'd of Miſdemeanours in their Offices, might only be ſummon'd before the Chambers they were Members of: That no removal might be allow'd from one Court to another without a juſt Cauſe: That in ſuch a Caſe the Neighbouring Chamber might judge according to the Formalities, Uſe, and Cuſtoms of the Places where the Suits were depending, without obliging the Parties to appear Perſonally, unleſs at the Charge of thoſe that ſummon'd them there: That the Regiſters of the Parliaments of *Burgundy*, *Provence*, and others, might be oblig'd to ſend to the Regiſter's Office of the Courts, where the Affairs of the *Reform'd* of their Juriſdiction were referr'd, the Original of the Criminal Informations that lay before them, by reaſon that in ſeveral caſes the Extracts were not ſufficient: That the *Reform'd* might not be oblig'd to appear in perſon to demand a removal, nor to ſurrender themſelves Priſoners, unleſs to the Courts where the Removal ſhould be deſir'd. There were ſeveral others, ſome refus'd, or not anſwer'd, and others of leſs conſequence.

The

The King's Answer to all these Articles was as favourable and as just as could be expected from an Equitable Prince, who desir'd the welfare of his Subjects. His Majesty order'd all the Modifications of the Edict to be cut out: That it should be Registred in such Places where it had not been done yet: That the Bailiffs, and Seneschals, or their Deputies, should execute the Edict at the first requiring, and take a Catholick or Reform'd Assistant, according to the Religion they should be of themselves: That the *Reform'd* should continue the Exercise of their Religion in such places as were allow'd them by the Edict of 1577. belonging to the Ecclesiasticks; but that the Lands belonging to the Order of *Maltha* should have the same Priviledge, for the performing of the Exercises granted by the new Edict, as the other Lands belonging to the Clergy: That the Poor should participate without distinction to the benefit of Hospitals and Alms: That Places should be provided for the Burying of the *Reform'd*, and that no Prosecutions should be made against them for the Burials they had hitherto made in Catholick Church-yards: That his Majesties Officers should prevent Popular Commotions and Injuries by Words or Fact: That they should not be allow'd to disturb the *Reform'd* in their Conferences and Synods, or to sit among them in the same; and that the *Reform'd* should admit none but Ministers and Elders there, and should treat about nothing but the Affairs relating to their Discipline in the same; but that it should be free for them to hold other Assemblies by the King's leave, to Nominate Deputies-General to reside near him: That the fourth of the particular Articles, touching Liberty to assist the Sick and Condemn'd, should be observ'd: That the second should also be observ'd, which exempts from contributing towards Fraternities: That the Clause of Exemption should be put in favour of the *Reform'd* in the Letters the King should grant, to make Collections applicable to the use of the *Roman* Church; and that the Infractions should only be Try'd in the Chambers of the Edict, or Party Courts: That according to the 27th Article of the Edict, a stop should be put to all the Obstacles that were rais'd against the *Reform'd*, who were provided with Imploys: That no alteration should be made to the Order establish'd for the Chamber of the Edict of *Paris*, but that in case of illness, recusation

1606. *Favourable Answers to the Petitions.*

1606. tion, or abſence of the Perſon who was to ſerve in the Chamber, the Elder of the other five ſhould ſerve in his room, while thoſe Cauſes ſhould be depending: That the Decrees of Parliament ſhould only be put in execution againſt ſuch as ſhould plead voluntarily before them; and that ſuch *Reform'd* Officers as ſhould be accus'd of Miſdemeanors, ſhould be ſummon'd for the ſame only in the Chambers of the Edict: That no transferring of Cauſes ſhould be allow'd to the prejudice of the Edict: That the Regiſters who had Informations againſt the *Reform'd*, ſhould ſend the Originals to the Chambers, unleſs ſome Catholicks were guilty of the ſame Crime, or concern'd in the Dependencies thereof, and already Appeach'd by Catholick Judges, who ſhou'd have order'd the entring of the Informations in their own Offices; in which caſe the Extract or Copies of the ſame ſhould only be ſent to the Regiſter's Offices of the ſaid Chambers: Finally, that the *Reform'd* ſhould be receiv'd to deſire the Parliaments to grant them a removal by Attorney, without being oblig'd to appear there in Perſon.

1607. *The Jeſuit Seguiran's Enterprize to Preach at* Rochel.

At the very beginning of the following year, the Jeſuits undertook a thing, which in any but themſelves would have been judg'd worthy of a ſevere puniſhment; whereby it is apparent, that as they fear'd nothing, they had found the way to make themſelves fear'd. *Seguiran*, one of the boldeſt of that Order, being favour'd by *Varenne* their Protector, obtain'd Letters from two Secretaries of State, without the King's knowledge, tho' in his Name, to thoſe of *Rochel*, commanding them to allow him to Preach in their City. The Jeſuit preſented himſelf at the Gates, and boldly told his Name, his Profeſſion, his Deſign, and his pretended Power from the King. The *Rochellois* refus'd to let him enter into their City, anſwering, That they were very well ſatisfy'd that *Jeſus* had no Companion, nor he any Letters from the King. The Jeſuit made a great deal of noiſe about their refuſal; and the King, out of Policy, not to diſcredit the Letters ſubſign'd by the Secretaries of State, or not to offend ſo daring a Society, ſeem'd to be very angry at it. He gave *Seguiran* other Letters, and oblig'd *Rochel* to receive him for form ſake; after which he order'd him to retire quietly. The King at the very time he ſeem'd to be angry, whiſper'd to his Confidents, that the

Mortifications of the Jeſuits.

Rochellois

Rochelois were not in the wrong. There were also Catholicks, 1607.
who did not use the Jesuits better than the *Rochelois* had done. *Poitiers* refus'd to allow them to establish a Colledge there; and the Bishop was the most Zealous Opposer thereof. The Jesuit *Cotton* endeavour'd to lay the blame of it upon the Duke of *Sully*, and to make the King believe, that he was the Person who had hinder'd them from entring into that Important City, accusing him to have written against them to the Bishop. That Prelate, who was not their Friend, clear'd him from that Aspersion; and in order the better to convince the Jesuit of Calumny, he sent the King the Letters which *Sully* had written to him upon that subject. Those who have written *Cotton* the Jesuits Life, or rather the Romance which they have intitl'd his Life, have mention'd *Sully*'s Accusation by that Jesuit, but did not think fit to mention his Justification by the Bishop. Nothing can evidence the esteem which the Catholicks themselves, who were true *Frenchmen*, had of the probity of that Sect, better than what pass'd between some Jesuits, and a Canon of *Nostredame*, or our Lady of *Paris*. The Jesuits to honour their Church of *La Fleche*, daily sollicited the King to grant them his Heart, to put it there after his Death. The Chapter of *Nostredame* pretended that it was an Ancient Priviledge belonging to that Church, to have the keeping of the Kings Hearts: Insomuch, that the Pretension of the Jesuits met with great oppositions in those Canons, who were unwilling to yield them so considerable an advantage. During those Contestations, a Canon being netled at the Jesuits Impudence, ask'd them Cruelly, alluding to the Name of that City, For which they desir'd that Honour? which of the two they desir'd most earnestly to put the King's Heart in * *La Fleche*, or to put *La Fleche* into the King's Heart. They often receiv'd such Mortifications; but the success of their designs serv'd to comfort them for all; and they despis'd the World, because they had the Chief of the Council at their Devotion, and that the King fear'd them.

* *Which signifies a Dart or Arrow.*

In the Month of *February* the King answer'd the particular Petition of the Province of *Normandy*. The *Reform'd* complain'd in the same of several things in which they were disturb'd, without regard to the Regulations that had already been made on

1607. their behalf. They remonſtrated particularly, that by the abſence, recuſation, or illneſs of the *Reform'd* Councellors who ſerv'd in the Court of the Edict, it often happen'd that Suits were try'd, and none of the *Reformed* preſent; whereupon they deſir'd that one of the two others might take the room of him that was abſent. They complain'd of the Summons the Councel granted to people who oblig'd them to go to plead in ſuſpected Parliaments: That the Lords in whoſe Mannors Places were allow'd them for the exerciſe of their Religion, diſturb'd them in the Poſſeſſion of the ſaid Places, to oblige the Communities to allow them a Vicar, Subſtitute, or Deputy, (which they deſir'd to be free from by a Fine once paid:) That at *Roan* on Solemn Feſtivals they only open'd the Wicket of the Gates for them, which hinder'd them from aſſiſting at Divine Service. That very inconvenient places were allow'd them for Burial; the Judges only allowing them in Highways and Dunghils, or in Commons diſtant from all Habitations, even which they refus'd to do, unleſs paid for their pains. The King granted them upon all theſe Points favourable anſwers; he order'd that in the abſence of the Councellor in waiting, in the Court of the Edict, the Eldeſt of the two others ſhould officiate in his ſtead; that no farther Summons ſhould be granted contrary to the Edict, and that thoſe that had occaſion'd the complaint ſhould be brought before the Council, there to be revok'd unleſs conformable to the Regulations: That the Lords ſhould content themſelves with an Indemnity once paid, to be referr'd to expert Perſons by the conſent of both Parties, or Perſons nominated for ſuch an Office: That the Gates of *Roan* ſhould be kept open on ſolemn Days for the convenience of the *Reform'd*, at leaſt thoſe two that lead towards that place which was allow'd them for Divine Service; and that the Judges ſhould allow convenient places for Burial, in places belonging to the King, or Commonalties, or otherwiſe; that a place ſhould be bought at the common Coſt of the *Reform'd* and Catholicks, which the Judges ſhould be oblig'd to do without Fees; and that within the Fortnight mention'd in the 28*th* and 29*th* Articles of the Edict of *Nantes*.

Synod at Rochel. Nothing of moment paſs'd elſewhere, beſides the National Synod that was held at *Rochel*. The *Reform'd* had ſollicited to ob-

tain it the year before; but the King who was afraid of scanda- 1607.
lizing the Legat, who was coming into *France* to Baptize the *Dauphin*, in case he should allow the *Reform'd* to hold a Synod in that Conjuncture, they preparing again to speak about Antichrist, refus'd to grant it at that time, and they were forc'd to have patience, and to put off their Synod to the following year. Several things were done, or propos'd in it, which displeas'd the Court; and the King omitted no means that Affairs might be determin'd in it to his liking. As soon as the Synod was assembled, they deputed three of their Members to the King according to their wonted Custom. They were order'd chiefly to obtain three things of him. The one was to proceed to the Nomination of Two Deputies General in the room of those that had serv'd ever since the Assembly of *Chatelleraud*. 2*dly*. That the time of *Deputies General.* their Service might be limited to one year: And the third, That the *Reform'd* should only Nominate Two Persons to the King, which he should do them the favour to accept. But the King was positive to the contrary: That the said Nomination should not be mention'd, the two last not having been long enough imploy'd: That the Deputies should serve three years, in order not to allow Political Assemblies yearly, under pretence of Nominating others: That the *Reform'd* should name Six Persons, to the end that he might be the better enabled to chuse such as were agreeable to him. *Sulli* kept the Deputies at *Paris* as long as was necessary to work upon them; after which having dispos'd them to what the Court desir'd, he dismiss'd them for the Synod, and gave them Letters as written from himself, tho' it was really done by the King's Orders. In one of the said Letters he endeavour'd to incline the Assembly not to insist upon the Affair of the Deputies General, by reason that they should not have time enough to think upon it, and that the number of the Members of the Synod was inconsiderable, illness having hinder'd some of the Deputies from repairing thither. By another Letter apart, tho' *The Question about Antichrist renew'd.* bearing the same date, he gave his Opinion about the Question concerning Antichrist, which was to be renew'd in the Synod. There were some Provinces the Deputies of which had acquainted the King, that they carry'd *Memoirs* thither upon that subject. *Sully* advis'd them not to disturb the Peace they had so much desir'd,

1607. by unseasonable proceedings; assuring them that the then Pope would use none but mild ways to gain Consciences. In which this Lord, who was no more a Pretender to Divinity than Religion, reason'd, as if in deciding whether the Pope was Antichrist, the Synod should have consider'd the then Pope's Personal Qualifications, more than the Tyrannical Power the *Roman* See usurps.

But the *Reform'd* were not ignorant that the Spirit of Popery is always the same; That the *Roman* Church always thinks it self bound to persecute: That there was a general Conspiration in *Europe* against the Protestants: That it was no longer conceal'd: That it appear'd in divers places by a thousand Injustices: That even the *French* Nation was excited against them: That the *Spaniards* had Agents who endeavour'd to gain Priests, by their means to inspire Animosities and Hatred in the Catholicks against the *Reform'd*, which the Jesuits especially did almost barefac'd. Therefore they did not think they wrong'd the Pope, whatever his particular Maxims were, to give him a Name which suited to the Character of his Dignity, and which is much more inherent to the See it self, than to the Qualifications of the Person who fills it. Therefore the Synod did not desist from their Enterprize. They receiv'd their Deputies very well at their return from Court; but they were not mov'd by the Reasons they urg'd to perswade them, perhaps because the Gratifications, which were *Sully*'s best Arguments, were not communicated to the whole Synod. There were also some Persons at Court full of Political Considerations, which they imploy'd to make the *Reform'd* fearful of offending the King; and their foresight ever extended it self to inconveniences the others did not see. Therefore the Synod call'd them Ironically, the *Clear-sighted* of the Church; *Sulli* had the best Authority of any of them; yet neither his Letters, nor those of some others, could prevail any more than the Reasons of the Deputies. To be even with them, the Court call'd some of the Members of the Synod the *Fools* of the Synod, because they found them thick-skull'd, and that they thought too much on their safety. Those pretended Fools prov'd the strongest; and tho *Montmartin* us'd his utmost endeavours to strengthen the Court Party in the Assembly, his Cabal was not powerful enough to get the upper hand there. No-

Deputies gain'd at Court.

Clear-sighted of the Church; and Fools of the Synod.

Nevertheleſs he obtain'd part of what he deſir'd, concerning the Queſtion about Antichriſt. He had ſuch poſitive Orders from the King upon that ſubject, and he did ſo well repreſent to them, that they would offend him in perſiſting in their Reſolution of Printing the Article of *Gap* in all the Confeſſions, that the Synod durſt proceed no further in it; and ſo under pretence of adjourning that Affair, they laid it quite aſide. They contented themſelves with promiſing the protection of the Churches to ſuch as ſhould be troubled for having preach'd, confeſs'd, or ſaid, or written any thing about that Matter: That is, in a word, the Doctrine was ſtop'd, and the Queſtion held as decided. But Intereſts of State hindered it from being incerted as an Article of Faith among the reſt. This is partly what the Synod writ about it to the Duke of *Rohan*, from whom they had receiv'd Letters upon that Subject, deſiring them to pleaſure the King, and not to carry that matter too far. An Impreſſion of the Confeſſion of Faith in which that Article was incerted, having been ſold off already, the Synod made Applications to the King, to beg that no body might be proſecuted, either for having ſhar'd in the Impreſſions, or for keeping any Copies of that precipitated Edition. The King freely granted it, his Deſign being only to hinder it from ever being talk'd of. In the mean time the Synod being deſirous to ſhow more clearly that they did not diſown the decided Doctrine, though they had ſo much complaiſance for the King, as not to make it an expreſs Article of their Faith; deſir'd *Vignier* to write at large about that matter; which he did in a manner that made a great noiſe in its time.

1607. *The Queſtion is defer'd.*

Vignier order'd to write at large about it.

The Affair of the Deputy's General did not end thus. *La Noue* and *du Cros*, who had received that Quality in the Aſſembly at *Châtelleraud*, brought a Brief to the King, dated in *December*, which authoriſ'd the Synod to nominate ſix perſons, out of which the King was to chuſe two; but at the ſame time, that Buſineſs only excepted, forbad them to meddle with any thing but their Diſcipline. The Council had thought that they ſhould get ſomething in acquieſcing ſo far, tho by that permiſſion granted to the Synod, they ſeem'd to conſent that the Deputies General ſhould officiate but one Year, ſince *La Noue* and *du Cros* had not exercis'd their Deputation much longer. But they were in hopes that

1607. that by granting this, they would deliver themſelves for three years of the fear of theſe General Aſſemblies, becauſe the King might refuſe to allow one, under pretence that the Synod had provided for that time for the only thing that could render it neceſſary. The Synod had not the power to make that Nomination, becauſe it exceeded the bounds of their Diſcipline; for which Reaſon the King had given them that Brief to authoriſe them. The Synod having examined it, did not find it ſufficient, becauſe it neither impower'd them to give a diſcharge to the Deputies, that were to lay down upon a new Nomination, or to give Inſtructions to thoſe that were to ſucceed them, without which the Nomination was of no manner of uſe. They writ moſt humble Remonſtrances to the Court about it. The King received them very graciouſly; and the bearers of them returned with very obliging Letters from him, and almoſt an entire ſatisfaction upon the Subject of their Meſſage; tho *Sully* by private Letters adviſ'd them not to make uſe of them. It is very probable that the Deputies had reveal'd the Secret of the Synod, which was not well diſpos'd to ſatisfie the Court about the nomination of Six Perſons. Therefore the new Brief renewing that Article, they would have been better pleas'd to have the Synod put off the Affair of the Deputies to another time, than to ſee it determin'd in a way that ſhould not pleaſe them. Therefore the King allow'd them to work about it, for fear of vexing them by a refuſal; but at the ſame time his Favourite writ to them, to diſſuade them from it if he could. The Synod neither believ'd him, nor thoſe who were of his Opinion, nor yet the Deputies *Sully* had corrupted. They diſcharg'd *La Noue* and *du Cros* with a world of thanks and praiſes; after which they nominated only two perſons, although the Brief oblig'd them expreſly to nominate ſix. The Reaſon or Pretence of it was, That the Powers the Deputies had brought from their Provinces, did not allow them to exceed that number. But that to ſhow that they did not deſign to offend his Majeſty in refuſing to anſwer his Intentions in that Point, they begg'd of him to allow a General Aſſembly to conſider whether the nomination of ſix ſhould be made for the future, according to the King's Deſire, and to be pleas'd in the mean time to accept the two Deputies which were nominated to him by the Synod; they were *Villarnoul*,

The Synod only names two Deputies General.

Iarnoul, and *Mirande*, Persons of great credit amongst the *Reform'd*, and very zealous for the Publick Good. 1607.

Tho the Synod had positive orders to treat about nothing but what related to their Discipline, it did not hinder them from examining several things relating to the advantage of their Churches, which passed under the notion of the Instructions they were to give their Deputies, and the Articles of their Petitions. The deliverance of several Prisoners that were detained at *Paris* and elsewhere upon the account of Religion: The pursuit of the establishment of the Churches where the free liberty of the exercise of their Religion was either hindered or contested. The naturalization of the *Reform'd* Refugies of the Marquisate of *Saluces*: The care of restraining the insolence of the Monks, who often made seditious Enterprizes; as it happened at *Alencon*, where a Capuchine had affix'd injurious Libels; and at *La Roche foucault*, where the White-Fryars had often insulted the *Reform'd*: The Affair of one *Mascla*, who had a great Suit depending about his Mothers Burial, which had cost him 7 or 8000 Livers: Foreign Ministers who desired Letters of Naturalization: The removing of Causes granted to the prejudice of the Jurisdiction of the Courts, notwithstanding the Regulations that had been often promis'd upon that Subject, were the main things the New Deputies took upon them. Above all, the exemption of the Ministers was recommended to them, for which Letters Patents had already been obtained, which the Court of *Aids* had already verify'd. *Affairs treated in the Synod.*

The Synod allow'd the Deputies of the City of *Rochel* to assist at their deliberation about the Affair of the Deputies, and their Instructions, by reason that it was a Political concern, and that *Rochel* held the Rank of a Province in the Assemblies in which they treated of Affairs of that nature. That Synod enjoy'd the same Liberty others had had in relation to Strangers. They receiv'd Letters from Princes, and from Protestant Universities; and some Ministers either actually assisted at the Synod, or were invited to it by the Churches, tho no Natives of *France*. But *Rochel* gave the Court some Discontents, by their calling one *Malwin* a *Scotch* Minister. He was a Prisoner in *England* upon the account of some Words or Writings he was accus'd of against King *James* and his Council. That Prince, to get rid of him, granted *Foreign Ministers.*

1607. ted him to the *Rochelois*, declaring positively, that he only gave him his Liberty on condition that he should depart his Territories, and that he should go to exercise his Ministry in *France*. This was a happy kind of Banishment, in which *Malwin* would have found considerable advantage. But one *Primrose*, another Foreign Minister call'd to the Service of the Church of *Bourdeaux*, reveal'd that Secret to the King, in order the better to obtain leave to settle himself in that advantagious Post. He might well be positive in the Matter, since he was the person that had been employ'd to carry the Letters from *Rochel* to the King of *England*, and who had brought that Prince's answer back again. Thus Private Interest began to divide the Party; and even the best among them suffer'd themselves to be drawn into little Infidelities against the General Cause. The King found fault with two things in the proceeding of those of *Rochel* in the Case of *Malwin*. *First*, the manner, because they had call'd him without the King's leave. *Secondly*, The person, by reason that the man who was a Prisoner in *England* for an Offence against the Government, was not proper for *France*, where the disposition of Affairs did not permit to tolerate Persons of that Character; and yet less at *Rochel* than any where else, considering their inclination for Liberty, which they indulg'd more than they ought to have done, according to the Policy of Monarchies. *Sulli* writ to the *Rochelois* to come to justify themselves, in case they were accus'd wrongfully, or to beg pardon if they were guilty. But the Affair stop'd there, without being attended with any ill consequences.

Malwin *call'd to* Rochel.

During these Transactions, *Chamier* lost his time at the Court where he had been sent by the Synod, to offer the King the Nomination of *Villarnoul* and *Mirande*, and the Remonstrances of the Assembly upon the dependencies of that Affair. He had been there above six Months, and yet had not been able to obtain the honour to speak to the King. His Person was dislik'd, he being one of those Fools of the Synod the King had an aversion to; one of those hard Sculs that nothing works upon; of those hearts which neither threats or promises could move, tho they are the strongest Machines of Courts. Neither perhaps was he more acceptable to *Cotton* the Jesuit, with whom he had formerly had a conference at *Nimes*; in which both of them, as it is most usual,

pre-

pretended to have the better of the other. The truth is, that the Jesuit had dazl'd the Auditors by Eloquent Digressions, which made them lose every moment the Subject of the Dispute; and that *Chamier*, whose Arguments had much more solidity and Scholarship in them, had reduc'd the Jesuit to save himself by that Artifice. Those who have written the Life of that Jusuit, say enough to show us, that the sharpness of *Chamier* would have put that Hero to a stand, had he not warded the Blow by Eloquence and Discourses wide from the purpose, which he had at command. 1607.

The King refuses the Nomination of the Deputies.

But the Affairs *Chamier* came about, were yet more disagreeable than his Person. The King refus'd to accept the Nomination that had been made by the Synod, because it was not according to the Form prescrib'd in the Brief. The Council disapprov'd two things alike, one of which was of necessity to be allow'd. They were oblig'd either to receive the Deputies the Synod presented, which could not be done handsomly, the King having so positively declar'd that he did not like that Nomination; or to allow a General Assembly, as the only way to accommodate that Affair, which was a thing the Council never did willingly. They would perhaps have been glad to tire *Chamier*'s patience by making him wait, and so oblige him to give over his Suit; but it was difficult to send him back without some satisfaction, by reason that the *Reform'd* having no body at that time to mind their Affairs, they daily grew worse. *La Noue* and *du Cros* had no longer any power, being discharg'd by the Synod: *Villarnoul* and *Mirande* could not do it neither, because the King would not accept them. Thus the Complaints made by the *Reform'd* remain'd unanswer'd: The Evils that requir'd speedy remedy, receiv'd none. Therefore all things rightly consider'd, the Council thought it best to allow them to call an Assembly; but that Permission was accompanied with such Limitations, that no considerable Advantages could be expected from it. The Matters they were to treat of, were prescrib'd to them; they had not so much as the choice of the Place free, and *Sully* was given them as a Spy. *Gergeau* was pitch'd upon for the convenience of that Lord, that City being his, and the House he borrow'd his Name from in the Neighbourhood thereof. 1608.

A General Assembly is allow'd at Gergeau.

1608. He was receiv'd there, not like a man who interes'd himself for the *Reform'd* Religion; but like one who came to negotiate from the King. Moreover it was greatly ſuſpected that he deſign'd to change his Religion, which he had given reaſon to believe by a very extraordinary conduct. The King had offer'd him one of his Natural Daughters for his Son, provided they would both turn Catholicks: and he had oblig'd him to have ſome conferences with *Cotton* the Jeſuit, who ſince his being at Court, had ſhar'd the Quality of Convertor with Cardinal *Du Perron*. Thoſe Conferences commonly produc'd the Effect they deſir'd, being commonly accepted by ſuch as deſir'd only a pretence to change. Nevertheleſs, whether it were a Blind contriv'd between the King and *Sully*, or whether it were real, *Sully* refus'd to change, but gave his Son leave to do it if he pleas'd. The King preſſing him to oblige his Son to do it, he refus'd to command it him; but declar'd that he left it to his own free choice, which the King ſeem'd not to be very well ſatisfied with. I would not affirm that this were any thing but a Juggle to re-eſtabliſh *Sully*'s Reputation among the *Reform'd*, who look'd no longer upon him as a Member of their Party. Indeed it was not very likely that *Sully* ſhould refuſe in earneſt what the King propos'd to him, to obtain an Alliance, which ſeveral Princes of *Europe* would not have diſdain'd. It was alſo as eaſy for him, according to the Notions he had inſpir'd into the King, to make a Religion to himſelf reduc'd to certain General Articles, as to perſwade another to do it, or to believe that he might innocently authorize his Son to turn *Roman Catholick*. However it were, that Refuſal is mention'd to his praiſe in his *Memoirs*; in which it is reported, that the King upbraided him with loving the *Huguenots* better than him; by reaſon that while he refus'd his alliance, he was treating about a Match between his Son and the Counteſs of *Saux*'s Daughter, Grand-Daughter to *Leſdiguieres*. But that Reproach looks very like a Jeſt. It was very well known at Court, that neither *Leſdiguieres*, nor his Children were of the number of thoſe who were zealous for Religion; *Cotton* the Jeſuit knew it better than any body. And that Intriegue only ſerv'd to perſwade, that *Sully* was not over religious: He was us'd in the Aſſembly of *Gergeau* like a *Catholick*. *Du Pleſſis* had ſent them good *Memoirs* upon that Subject, which were follow'd.

Sully *ſuſpected by the* Reform'd.

Sulli

Sulli notwithſtanding prov'd very uſeful to the King in the Aſſembly, tho he refus'd to take the Title of Envoy or Commiſſary there. Seven or eight conſiderable Articles were treated of there, which prov'd difficult, and might have occaſion'd the ſitting of the Aſſembly a long while, which was a thing the King fear'd. The Chief related to the Places of Surety. Some of them belong'd to Catholick Lords, or were fallen into their hands by ſucceſſion, or otherwiſe. Thoſe Lords put *Catholick* Governors in them. The *Reform'd* had already loſt *Caumont* in that manner; and were upon the point of loſing *Montandre* and *Tartas* in the like manner: Beſides they were afraid of loſing many of their Places thus by degrees; eſpecially becauſe *Converſions* were then in faſhion, and that ſeveral Lords expreſs'd but little Zeal for their Religion. They had lately had the experience of ſome, who after having long ſought a pretence to change, had at laſt taken that of an accidental Conference, which *Cotton* the Jeſuit had faſten'd upon *Gigord*, a Miniſter of ſome Reputation. He found him at Court, in preſence of ſome people that were ill diſpos'd, and ingag'd him into a Diſpute, which the Jeſuit and his Adherents did not fail to report to the diſadvantage of the Miniſter; and becauſe it was interrupted without being renew'd, the Miniſter not caring to engage in thoſe tumultuous Diſputes, in which thoſe that talk moſt and loudeſt ſeem always to be in the right, which thoſe that were wavering among the *Reform'd* took the advantage of to colour their Change: they pretended that he was ſenſible of his weakneſs, and confeſs'd himſelf vanquiſh'd. This was ſufficient to give *Caſtelnau*, and ſome others, a pretence to do what they had long reſolv'd, and to embrace the *Roman* Religion. *Gigord* did not remain mute upon the Subject of that Conference which the Jeſuit's Friends publiſh'd: But thoſe who had a mind to believe that he had not maintain'd his Cauſe well, little matter'd his Juſtification. The ſame Game was ſo often plaid at Court, that the *Reform'd* had ſome reaſon to diſtruſt all the Lords of their Religion, and eſpecially ſuch as had Places, whom they chiefly endeavour'd to corrupt. Therefore *Sulli* ſeeing that that Affair, and the others, which were of conſequence, might occaſion long debate, writ to the King, that it would be convenient to put *Reform'd* Governors in Places of that kind, being Friends

1608. *Affairs of the Aſſembly.*

Places loſt by the Reform'd.

Conference and Changes of Religion.

1608. or Relations to the Lords to whom they belong'd; which would be a proper Expedient to remove all Jealousies on both sides. As to the other Articles, he advis'd him either to grant part of them, or to give them leave to incert them in the Instructions of their Deputies. The King pitch'd upon the last Expedient, because he was resolv'd not to treat about any thing with the Assembly; and that having only allow'd it for the nomination of the Deputies General, he would not suffer them to treat of any thing else in it. He order'd them to break up immediately after the said Nomination. However his Answer to *Sulli* was very obliging for the *Reform'd*. He assur'd them of his Protection, and acknowledg'd that they had deserv'd it by their perseverance in his Service.

The Assembly submitted to the King's Will, and nominated Six Persons, of which *Villarnoul* and *Mirande* were Two, and sent the said Nomination to the King with very respectful Letters. The King express'd, that he did not like their writing so well, as if they had sent the Nomination the Assembly had made by Deputies: However he was plaes'd to excuse it, and to say, That he would not declare his Choice until the Assembly was dissolv'd. As soon as they had obey'd him, he chose *Villarnoul* and *Mirande*, who had been presented to him by the Synod of *Rochel*; thereby showing, that his refusal of them the preceding year, did not proceed from Aversion to their Persons only, but because he dislik'd the manner of their Election.

The Solemn Act that passes between the Pope and the French *King.*

The same year the Clergy also Assembled at *Paris*, and their Deputies renew'd their usual Complaints to the King against the * *Concordat*, and the Laick Pensions. That which was most remarkable in it, was, that *Fremiot*, Archbishop of *Bourges*, who was Speaker, represented the Church to be under a Misery capable to move Compassion; tho at the same time the Splendor in which he appear'd before the King, did not suit with his Description of the said Desolation. Besides, a numerous Train of Bishops he was attended by, whose Air express'd no Misery, he had Five Cardinals in his Company; and this pompous Deputation resembled much more an excess of worldly Prosperity, than an afflicted Church, over-whelm'd with great Adversities.

The

The earneſtneſs the Clergy expreſs'd again that time, for the Publication of the Council of *Trent*, was not well receiv'd. The King anſwer'd with more Reſolution than ever he had done; and upon their alledging the Promiſes his Attornies had made in his Name about it, he made no difficulty to diſown them. He complain'd of their having promiſed it without his knowledge; and ſaid, That that Publication would be a ſtep for others afterwards to deſire the Introduction of the Inquiſition: He made them ſenſible, that if *Francis* I. *Henry* II. and *Charles* IX. who had no ſuch Solemn Ingagements with the *Reform'd*, as he had, and had not receiv'd ſuch Services from them, had not approv'd that Counſel, he had much leſs reaſon to do it, for fear of renewing the Troubles of his Kingdom. This comforted the *Reform'd* in ſome meaſure for the grief they receiv'd that year, in ſeeing the *Dauphin*'s Education committed to the Care of *Cotton* the Jeſuit; ſince they could oppoſe the aſſurances of the King's good Will, to the fear of his being ſucceeded one day by a Prince, who being fallen in ſuch ill hands was not likely to prove favourable to them. The King put the Change agreeably upon the Clergy in another Affair. That rich Body had often ſollicited him to eſtabliſh a Fund, out of which Penſions might be taken for the Miniſters that ſhould change their Religion; and whereas they had but inconſiderale Sallaries at that time, the Clergy, whoſe over-ruling Paſſion is Intereſt, did not queſtion, but that in bettering the Condition of thoſe that ſhould change, they would invite ſeveral to immitate them. But the King being deſirous, That the ſaid Fund ſhould be taken out of the Pockets of the Clergy, and not out of his Exchequer, caus'd the Pope to write a Brief to the Clergy, to deſire them to raiſe that Fund themſelves. The Brief was preſented to the Aſſembly by the Cardinal of *Joyeuſe*. They agreed to make a Fund of 30000 Livers a year, out of which they ſhould take Penſions for Miniſters only; and made a Rule excluding all ſuch as had not been Miniſters or Profeſſors, from thoſe Recompences; and all thoſe who having embrac'd the *Reform'd* Religion ſince the 6th of *Auguſt*, ſhould return to the Catholick Church. By the ſaid Rule, thoſe who were to injoy the benefit of thoſe Penſions, were oblig'd to bring in yearly Atteſtations of their good Behaviour.

1608.

A reſolute Anſwer of the King's, diſowning the promiſes made in his Name by his Attournies.

Cotton *the Jeſuit made Tutor to the* Dauphine.

Fund for ſuch Miniſters as ſhould change their Religion.

1608. Behaviour to the Agents of the Clergy; the manner also of paying them the Sums that were alloted them, was prescrib'd in the same. This Sum was inconsiderable, and yet the Clergy has never made a sufficient number of Conquests to exhaust it: And some years after it, they took out of the said Fund, the best part of which was not us'd, Sallaries for certain Laick Missionaries, who troubled the *Reform'd* in a thousand manners; and recompences for People, whose Trade was to sollicit the Common People to change their Religion.

Treaty with the Moors *who were persecuted in* Spain.

During those Transactions, the Council of *Spain* persecuted the *Moors*; whether it proceeded from the Councils own movement, or from the advice *Taxis* had given. Those Wretches offer'd to submit to the King of *France*, if the King would take them under his Protection. But that Prince not confiding in those People that are naturally false and inconstant, thought fit first to send a Person among them to see what might be expected from that Overture. He made choice of *Paniſſaut* for his Envoy, a Gentlman of *Gascony*, and one of the *Reform'd*. He repair'd thither in the Habit of a *Franciscan*, with an *Obedience* that was given him by the Guardian of some House of that Order. He did negotiate with so much success, that some considerable Advantage might have been expected by it, had he been suffer'd to go on: But the Bigots told the King, That he inspir'd them with the Doctrine of the *Reform'd*, which might be true, and would certainly have been of great use, that Doctrine removing from the *Mahometans* the pretences of the Aversion which the Worship of the *Roman* Church has inspir'd in them against Christianity. Insomuch that *Paniſſaut* might have made them Christians, and good *Frenchmen*; but the Catholick Zeal thought it more reasonable that they should remain *Mahometans*, than turn *Huguenots*. Therefore *Paniſſaut* was recall'd, and *Claverie*, a Gentleman of the *Roman* Persuasion, and of the same Country, sent in his room; but whereas he proceeded upon other Principles, which the *Moors* did not relish, his Negotiation met with no success.

It is spoken by the Bigots.

Lesdiguieres *Marshal of* France.

Lesdiguieres obtain'd that year the Staff of Marshal of *France*. His Services had sufficiently deserv'd it; but it was not granted so much in regard to his Merit, as to make him forget the Discontents

contents he had receiv'd from the Court. In the mean time, the *Spaniſh* Faction was not a ſleep, and loſt no opportunities to ſow Diviſions in all parts to excite ſome Troubles in *France*. The Royal Family was very much imbroil'd. The King and Queen did not agree. That Princeſs croſs'd him continually; and that which was moſt unaccountable, ſhe adher'd with the *Spaniards*, whoſe Intereſts were eſpous'd by Five or Six *Italians* who ſerv'd her. The Marriage of the *Dauphin* with the *Infanta* of *Spain*, and that of one of the Daughters of *France* with the *Infant*, had been propos'd to her, as a means that would for ever ſecure the Succeſſion to her Off-ſpring. In order to draw her the ſooner into that Project, they exaſperated her mind by black Calumnies againſt the King; they perſwaded her, that he deſign'd to be rid of her; after which the Charms of the Marchioneſs of *Verneuiel*, and the Promiſes of Marriage the King had made her, afforded reaſon to fear that he would raiſe her Children to the Throne, to the prejudice of hers. Thoſe Jealouſies proceeded ſo far, that *Conchini* and his Wife, dreſs'd themſelves in their own Chamber, what that Princeſs was to eat, as if ſhe had been in danger of being poyſon'd. *Sully* ſometimes advis'd the King to ſend back thoſe pernicious Spirits into *Italy*, to ſtop the torrent of thoſe Diſorders, and to ſend the Marchioneſs and her Brother into *England*, to the end that the Queens Jealouſies, and her Evil Counſellors being remov'd, ſhe might be the ſooner reduc'd to live peaceably with the King. But that Prince neither being able to remove his Miſtreſs, nor willing to exaſperate the Queen by taking her Confidents from her, while her Rival ſtill remain'd before her eyes, encreas'd the Evil by his irreſolution, and daily gave the Queen new Cauſes of Quarrel. On the other hand, he did not reliſh the Marriage propos'd, the Project whereof did not agree with his deſigns. It was impoſſible for him to ſeek the Alliance of a Houſe he deſign'd to humble. Beſides, the intentions of the Council of *Spain* did not look candid in that Propoſition, ſince one of the Conditions of it was to make War againſt the Proteſtants, which the King was ſenſible tended to two things, of which *Spain* would receive the ſole benefit, and he the diſadvantage. The one was, to break the Alliance between the *Proteſtants* abroad, and *France*: The other, to

1609. *The Kings Domeſtick Troubles.*

renew

1609. renew the Civil Wars in the Kingdom. The King lik'd neither; and to ſatisfy his Subjects as to his good intentions, he promis'd that he would leave his Children ſuch good Inſtructions, that they would take care not to renew paſt diviſions, or to force the *Reform'd* to look for a Foreign Protector. He deſign'd to infuſe into them as a principal Maxim, Never to reduce their Subjects to the neceſſity of wanting an Interceſſor with their Prince: A Maxim equally of uſe to raiſe the happineſs of the People, and the Authority of Kings to the higheſt degree. 'Tis a certain proof of the happineſs of the People, not to ſtand in need of a Mediator to obtain favours from their King: And a King is never more powerful, than when no body ſhares the Honour of his Favours, and the acknowledgement of his People.

Divers Sentiments about the Alliance with Spain

There were alſo ſome Catholicks in the Kingdom, who had a great Averſion to thoſe Marriages, eſpecially the Princes, and thoſe who dreaded, leſt a *Spaniſh* Queen might bring along with her the deſpotick Maxims, of which all the Politicks of that Nation was form'd. They thought that the Power of the Nobility, and the Liberty of the People, would be much better preſerv'd during a Foreign War, than in a time of Calm, which would afford favourable occaſions to the Council to humble thoſe who had a little too much Popularity and Credit: And they were ſenſible that the King daily aſpir'd to that degree of Authority, to oblige Subjects to obey without reply. But then there were others, and particularly thoſe, whoſe Souls were ſtill inclin'd to Leagues, who fanci'd that the Grandeur of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the Triumph of the Catholick Religion, were inſeparable: That the Alliance with *Spain* was neceſſary to make *France* ſhare in both; and that it was their true Intereſt to preſerve themſelves by a good Intelligence with that Potent Houſe, by abandoning all the reſt of *Europe* to them. Inſomuch, that out of a Zeal to Religion they oppos'd the Glory of their Country, and omitted no means to engage the King againſt the *Reform'd*. To that end they daily made uſe of new Stratagems. They ſcatter'd Seditious Letters in the Streets of *Rochel* to alarum the People, as if the King were ready to declare War: The effect of which was, that they haſten'd their Fortifications, and took meaſures to avoid being ſurpriz'd. At the ſame time falſe Letters were convey'd

Frauds to renew the Civil War.

to

to the King, in which the Enterprizes of the *Rochelois* were exag- 1609.
erated, to oblige him to expreſs ſome Reſentment.

In the mean time the Jeſuits, who made it their buſineſs to em- *Power of the Jeſuits.*
broil all *Europe*, left no means unattempted to reduce *Fance* into its former diſorders again. Some of them treſpaſs'd upon the King's patience at Court with a ſurprizing boldneſs. *Cotton* the Jeſuit was convicted of having reveal'd the Secrets the King had confided to him; but no manner of notice was taken of it. *Gontier* the Jeſuit, was a Man of an impetuous, violent Spirit, who lov'd nothing but Trouble and Broils. *Ignatius Armand*, was ſubtle and cunning, and ſo much the more dangerous, becauſe his Intriegues were cover'd with the Vail of Modeſty and Simplicity. Their Enterpriſes diſturb'd the King exceedingly, by reaſon that he had much ado to ſuppreſs them. But he had prepoſſeſs'd himſelf that he ſhould tame them by his kindneſſes; and that at leaſt they would attempt nothing againſt his Life, while they had reaſon to expect new favours from him; inſomuch, that he ſeldom refus'd any thing they deſir'd of him. He had ſetled them in *Bearn*, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of the 1608.
Eſtates, and the Deputies of *Provence*, who proteſted that the *Setled in Bearn.*
ſaid Settlement was contrary to the good of his Service, and the repoſe of the Country; and ſhow'd a Decree of the Parliament of *Pau*, made in the year 1598. which prohibited the receiving of them there. The Biſhop of *Oleron*'s Intreaties prevail'd over thoſe Remonſtrances; and Jeſuits were ſent to him with an Edict, which order'd them only to ſubmit to the Laws of the Country, and to the Diſcipline of other Eccleſiaſticks; which conditions they kept no longer than till they were ſtrong enough to lay them aſide. This year they erected a Noviciat at *Paris*, and began to build 1609.
their College of *Clermont*.

During theſe Tranſactions, the Court examin'd the laſt Petiti- *Petitions anſwer'd.*
ons of the Aſſembly. They granted the Aboliſhment of ſome Solemnities which the Catholicks had Eſtabliſh'd, in Commemoration of the good Succeſſes they had had over the *Reform'd:* As the Feſtival they had decicated at *Chartres, to our Lady of the Breach*, for a pretended Viſion of the Bleſſed Virgin, who defended the Breach againſt the *Reform'd*, that had beſieg'd that City in 1568. The Proceſſion of *Dreux*, which was perform'd yearly there, on the

1609. day the Duke of *Guiſe* had won a Battel againſt the Prince of *Conde*. And that which was made at *Thouloufe*, for ſome other event of the firſt Wars. It was alſo granted them, that in the Diſputes of Juriſdiction, the Chambers ſhould be Judges of their own Competency. The Judges Royal of *Brittany* were forbidden to exact from the *Reform'd*, who had any Affairs before them, a Renunciation of the benefit of the Edict, which allow'd them to Appeal from the Sentences of thoſe Judges, to the Chambers of the Edict, or to the Great Council. They promis'd that the Creation of the Offices of Aſſiſtants of Inquiſitors in all Royal Tribunals, which was an Invention of *Sullys* to get Money, ſhould not derogate from the Priviledges the Edict granted them, of taking a *Reform'd* Adjunct in certain Caſes; and they promis'd that all thoſe of the Marquiſate of *Saluces*, who ſhould come to ſettle in *France*, both *Reform'd* and Catholicks, ſhould be us'd as Natives.

Synod at St. Maixant.

A National Synod was held ſoon after at St. *Maixant*, in which they hardly treated about any thing beſides their Diſcipline. Among the reſt, maim'd Soldiers were allow'd by them to receive a Penſion the King had founded for their maintenance; and whereas thoſe that injoy'd it, were oblig'd to wear the figure of a Croſs upon their Cloaks, they declar'd to them that they might do it without wounding their Conſciences. It was obſerv'd alſo in the ſaid Synod, that *Sully* had given ſuch ill Aſſignments to the *Reform'd*, for the payment of the Sums the King was to pay them for the Years 1605, and 1606. that they could hardly make any thing of them. But the principal Affair that was treated of there, was that of Antichriſt. They receiv'd the Book which *Vignier* had compos'd upon that matter, according to the deſire of the preceding Synod, and committed it to the Examination of the Academy of *Saumur*, in order to have it Printed with the Name of the Author. The ſaid Book appear'd ſoon after Entitul'd, *The Theatre of Antichriſt*: Among the other effects it produc'd, it induc'd *Gontier*, a Jeſuit, to Preach againſt the Thirty firſt Article of the Confeſſion of Faith of the *Reform'd*; which he did before the King in ſo ſeditious and ſo inſolent a manner, that the King reprimanded him ſeverely for it: but leſt the Catholicks ſhould accuſe him upon that account of favouring the *Reform'd*,

Theatre of Antichriſt.

form'd, and of ſuffering their Writings to paſs unregarded, he al- 1609.
ſo ſuppreſs'd *Vignier*'s Book.

The firſt Incroachment that was made upon the Royalty's belonging to Reform'd Lords was made that Year by a Decree from the Chamber of the Edict of *Paris*. That Decree maintain'd againſt the Widow of a Lord *de Vieille-vigne*, to whom thoſe Rights belong'd in a certain Pariſh of which ſhe had the Preſentation, a Gentleman who uſurp'd them for this reaſon only, That he was the only Catholick Gentleman in that Pariſh; and that this Lady profeſſing the *Reform'd* Religion, came never at Church. The Advocate General maintain'd the Cauſe of the Catholick, and pretended that no wrong was done to the Lady by the Sentence of which ſhe was appealant; becauſe ſhe was only depriv'd of her Rights, *for the Time being*; which preſerv'd them to her when ſhe ſhould be in a condition to reaſſume them. This Decree was confirm'd by the Opinions of the King's Council; and imported that the enjoyment thereof by the Catholick, ſhould in no wiſe prejudice the Lady, nor her Succeſſors, being qualify'd for the ſaid Priviledges; that is, being *Roman Catholicks*.

Incroachment upon the Rights of Royalty.

The Juriſdiction of the Party Chambers was alſo incroach'd upon that Year, upon pretence that it was abus'd. *Bordes*, an *Auguſtine* Monk, and *Giraud* a Councellor of *Thouloufe*, were accus'd of an Aſſaſſination, the Circumſtances of which were very odious. The Monk ſought a ſhelter in the principal Cities of the *Reform'd*, at *Tonſceins*, *Milhau*, and *Nimes*; and having embrac'd their Religion, he deſir'd leave to be try'd before the Party-Chamber of *Languedoc*. He affirm'd, that the only reaſon of his being perſecuted at *Thouloufe*, was becauſe they had obſerv'd Sentiments in him contrary to the Catholick Doctrine: He alledg'd the uſual Cruelty of that Parliament, who in abhorrence to his change of Religion, would ſacrifice him without mercy. The thing being heard before the Council of State, the King ſent back the cognizance thereof to the Parliament of *Thouloufe*. The *Reform'd* complain'd of that Incroachment upon their Priviledges, believing themſelves wrong'd every way by the ſaid Decree. In caſe the Monk was accus'd wrongfully, it was a piece of Injuſtice to hinder equitable Judges from taking cognizance of it, to refer it

Juriſdiction of the Chambers.

1609. to implacable Enemies: And if he were guilty, they wrong'd the Integrity of the *Reform'd* Judges, to think that they would favour an execrable Aſſaſſinate, on pretence of his having embrac'd their Doctrine for a Protection. But whether the Crime were too well known, and the Hypocriſy of the Monk too notorious; or whether the Clergy had credit enough to carry it from the *Reform'd*, their Complaints did not hinder the Parliament from having the Caſe try'd before them, and from condemning the Accus'd rigorouſly.

A Book found at La Fleche.

But a thing happen'd that Year at *La Fleche*, which comforted them for that ſmall Diſgrace, the which gave a Luſtre to their Fidelity, and ſhow'd how much the *Catholicks* were inclin'd to conſpire againſt the State. A Book well bound and guilt was found in the Houſe of an Inhabitant of *La Fleche*, a City where the Jeſuits had their chief Reſidence, at one *Medor*, who taught ſome Children of Quality, whoſe Houſe was ſcituated near an Inn, which had for Sign the *Four Winds*, in a Street of the ſame Name. Half the ſaid Book was written, part of it with Blood, and abundance of Subſcriptions to it written in the ſame manner. The Book was diſcover'd by a Woman who gave notice of it; but that was not a proper time to ſee every thing: And tho the Circumſtances might probably have given great ſuſpicion againſt thoſe that were concern'd in the Book, the Inquiries that were made about it were ſoon ſtopt.

Diſcourſe of Jeannin about Liberty of Conſcience.

I cannot forget neither that *Jeannin*, formerly paſſionately in love with Leagues, but a man of great ſenſe, who was greatly concern'd in Publick Affairs, being ſent into *Holland*, where the King of *France* had for a time ſent *Reform'd* Ambaſſadors, he propos'd to the States, from the King, to have a Toleration for the Catholicks, the number of which was conſiderable in their Provinces. He made a very fine Diſcourſe to prove the Juſtice thereof; and it is likely that he ſpoke his thoughts, ſince we find in his *Memoirs* a Diſcourſe like it in favour of the *Reform'd*, under the Reign of *Lewis* the XIII. He ſaid that the Catholicks had concurr'd with them for the ſervice of the State, at that very time when they were depriv'd both of Liberty and Religion, the reſtitution of which they expected by means of the Peace: That no Servitude was ſo intolerable as that of Conſcience: That the Provinces

vinces had ſhewn it by their Example, having had recourſe to Arms to free themſelves from that Slavery: That the ſame had been done in other parts of *Europe*, and even in *France*: That God ſeem'd to have allow'd the happy ſucceſs of that War, to ſhow that Religion was to be taught and perſuaded by the Movements which proceed from the Holy Ghoſt, not by force, or conſtraint: That the King having found by experience that the means us'd by his Predeceſſors, had only ſerv'd to augment the Troubles in Religion, and in the State, endeavour'd to extinguiſh the Animoſities which ariſe from diverſity of Religion, by Peace: That he had deriv'd conſiderable Advantages by his moderation for the *Reform'd* Religion, which he allow'd in his Territories, and by the obſervation of his Edicts, whereas before they were only granted to be violated; that having found the benefit of that Counſel, he gave it freely to his Friends: That the United Provinces had found the *Catholicks* in their State, when they form'd it; for which reaſon they ought to ſuffer them there: That ſuch Sovereigns as have not found the Two Religious in their Countrey, might well refuſe to admit that which is not receiv'd there; but that it would argue no wiſdom to oppoſe it, in caſe they endanger'd their ſtate by it: That the rigour of the Provinces againſt the *Catholicks* that were there, would be a dangerous Example, and would prejudice the *Reform'd* in ſuch Places where they were weakeſt; that there would be no danger in giving them ſome Liberty; ſince that if they had been faithful during the War without it, they would be ſo much the more ſo, after having obtain'd it again. 1609.

He afterwards anſwer'd divers Objections, which were partly the ſame that had been made in *France* againſt a Toleration for the *Reform'd*, only changing the Names. He deny'd that the State of the United Provinces was grounded upon the profeſſion of the *Reform'd* Religion; By reaſon, ſaid he, that the *Catholicks* had alſo concur'd towards the maintaining of it. He deny'd that it was a means to oblige the *Catholicks* to embrace the Doctrine of the *Reform'd*; by reaſon, ſaid he, that conſtraint would rather ſerve to confirm them the more; that even their Death would not entinguiſh their belief; that they would commit it *as by Cabal* or Tradition to their Childrens or that they would fall into

Irreligion

1609. Irreligion: And that it was better to tolerate Superſtition than Impiety. He ſaid as to the permiſſion of retiring, which might have been granted them, that it would be unjuſt to condemn people that had done no harm, to a kind of Exile, which made them renounce all the delights which the love one has for ones Country includes in it ſelf: That they had contributed to the conqueſt of the Countrey they ſhould be oblig'd to quit: That thereby they ſhould depopulate the State, which would be attended with other great Inconveniences. He concluded, declaring that he did not deſire the Liberty of a Publick Worſhip for them, but only that they might not be proſecuted for what they did in their own Houſes; and he propos'd precautions to prevent the evil that might be fear'd by it. That Negotiation had the ſucceſs of which we ſee the fruits to this day. No Edict of Liberty was granted to the *Catholicks*; but they were tolerated in ſome Provinces without being diſturb'd. They have carry'd their Advantages in ſeveral places farther than was deſign'd, and no great efforts have been made to hinder it: And tho they are maintain'd by no Publick Law, they injoy a Tranquility which others have been depriv'd of, tho their Sovereigns had promis'd it them by ſolemn Edicts.

During theſe Tranſactions, the Affairs of the *Moors* grew worſe in *Spain*, and finally they were order'd to retire in a ſhort ſpace of time, and upon hard conditions, which were not well kept neither. The King reſolv'd to grant a Free Paſſage through his Kingdom to ſuch as would accept it: And in order to derive a double Advantage by their misfortune, in ſtrengthning his Kingdom, while their retreat weakened *Spain*, he invited them by an expreſs Edict to come to live in *France*; but the Conditions of it were ſo little to their advantage, that few of them reſolv'd to tarry there. It oblig'd them to ſettle on this ſide the *Dordogna*, to keep them at a diſtance from the Frontiers of *Spain*; to turn *Catholicks*, and to perſevere in the *Roman* Faith, on pain of death. Perhaps a greater number of them would have prefer'd the ſweet Climat of *France* to the Scorchings of the Coaſts of *Africk*, had better Conditions been given them; and as they were for the moſt part good Merchants, expert Tradeſmen, diligent Labourers, they would have been of great advantage to the State,

State, by their Induſtry; beſides their carrying great Riches along with them, tho they had been forc'd to leave the beſt part of them in *Spain*. Even in *France* they were forc'd to pay their paſſage by a thouſand violences and injuſtices that were exercis'd againſt them. Thoſe who were intruſted with the care of their Conduct and Embarkment, plunder'd them, and reduc'd them to great Extremities. The Deputies who brought their Complaints to the Court, return'd back with a ſhadow of ſatisfaction, which came to nothing: The Bigots who thought all things lawful againſt Infidels, protecting thoſe highly who proſtituted the Faith of *France* by their Injuſtices, in an occaſion of that importance. Thus thoſe Wretches carry'd away nothing from *Europe* beſides their Arts and Cunning, together with an implacable hatred againſt the Chriſtians, whom they have ever ſince look'd upon as People without Faith or Probity: And their Children to this day by their Infidelities and Piracies, revenge the Injuſtices the Chriſtians did to their Families at that time, by plundering of their Forefathers. 1609.

The King did not ſee that Paſſage; for as he was noble and juſt, he would perhaps have hinder'd thoſe miſerable Wretches from being us'd ſo barbarouſly. But an unexpected Death broke all his Meaſures and Deſigns, depriv'd the Kingdom of its Deliverer, the *Reform'd* of their Defender, and all *Europe* of its Hopes. The Prince of *Conde* had lately marry'd the Daughter of the late Conſtable. Before that Marriage the King had hardly taken notice of her being the moſt beautiful Lady of the Court; but all of a ſuddain he fell in love with her, to that degree, that he could not conceal his Paſſion. The Prince being jealous, and dreading the Power of his Rival, fled with his Wife, who was willing to avoid the Snare that was laid for her Virtue, and got into *Flanders* with her, without Attendance or Equipage. The King either tranſported with his Paſſion, which he was no longer Maſter of, or being willing to embrace that occaſion to attack the Houſe of *Auſtria*, as he had long deſign'd it, deſir'd the Arch-Duke, who had receiv'd them very kindly, to ſend them back; and upon his refuſal declared War againſt him. Some of his Councellors thought that Declaration a little too raſh, being of opinion that the Prince who had neither Eſtate, Places of ſtrength.

The Prince of Conde's Flight.

War declar'd against the Arch-Duke.

1609. ſtrength, nor Creatures, could not be formidable enough to oblige the King to make ſo much noiſe about his Flight: Beſides that, without making uſe of that Pretence to wage a War, a very favourable one offer'd it ſelf in the overture of the ſucceſſion of *Cleves* to begin it, by reaſon of the King's alliance with ſome of the Pretenders. Moreover the Preparations of War were not ready, ſome of the Allies not being yet in a condition to act. But the King had his private Ends, and his Will decided the Queſtion.

The King's Formidable Power.

It was high time for *Spain* to look to it ſelf. Never had ſuch great Preparatives been ſeen in *France*. The Civil Wars had almoſt made all the *French* good Soldiers. There was an incredible number of old Officers, ſignaliz'd by a long experience. They wanted no experienc'd Generals; and the King was acknowledg'd throughout *Europe* for the boldeſt and beſt Captain of his time. The Blood boil'd in the veins of the *Reform'd*, who expected the end of their fears, by the downfal of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and only deſir'd an occaſion to revenge themſelves by a juſt War, of the Maſſacres and Violences they thought the Council of *Spain* had inſpir'd to that of *France*. The *Catholicks* hop'd to advance, and to ſet a value upon themſelves by the War. The oeconomy and vigilancy of *Sully* had put the King's Affairs in ſuch an order, that the like had never been known. The *Arſenal* had never been ſo full of Arms: And that which was moſt to be wonder'd at, *France* had never had ſo much ready Money, nor ſo many recourſes for ſeveral years. They had great and powerful Alliances: Beſides that of the Unite Provinces, which had been renew'd, another had lately been concluded at *Hall* in *Suabia*, notwithſtanding all the Emperor's oppoſition, with about 15 *Proteſtant* Princes. Theſe Preparations made *Rome* tremble for its Religion, and *Spain* for its Greatneſs: And their Intereſts appear'd ſo much interwoven, that they ſeem'd to run the ſame hazards, and to ſtand in need of the ſame ſucceſs.

The truth is, that the King's Deſign was not poſitively known: And whereas he had not time enough to purſue the Project of it long, nothing happen'd whereby one might penetrate into the ſecret of his Intentions. Such different Projects were propoſed to him, that it was impoſſible to divine his juſtly. Moreover, it is very

very well known that tho Princes begin War upon a certain Plan, they ſoon forſake it, according as Occurrences more or leſs favourable inſpire them with new thoughts. But there were two things that might be look'd upon as certain, or at leaſt very probable. The one is, that *Sully* being his Confident, the Project that has been incerted in his *Memoirs*, which he had imparted to ſeveral people, was not altogether Chimerical: that according to that it was to be fear'd, that the King had a deſign to found the *Equilibrium* of the Powers of *Europe* upon the *Equilibrium* of the Religious: That conſequently he would never conſent to the exterminating of the *Proteſtants*, therefore he was not look'd upon at *Rome* as a good *Catholick*, and they did not doubt but he had retain'd from his firſt Religion the deſign of humbling that haughty See: A remainder of *Hereſy*, which is more odious in that Countrey than the moſt deteſtable Errors. Moreover this fear was all grounded upon his having made almoſt all his Alliances with *Proteſtants*: From whence it follow'd naturally, that in caſe he ſhould ſucceed in his Enterprizes, none but *Proteſtants* would enjoy the benefit of his Victories: The Damages whereof would conſequently fall upon the *Catholick* Religion. It is true that the Pope was offer'd the reunion of the Kingdom of *Naples*, to the demean of the Church: But the Religion got nothing by it, ſince all the Inhabitants of that Kingdom were *Catholicks*; whereas it would loſe whatever ſhould fall under the Power of the *Proteſtants*. The other was, That the King deſign'd to humble the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and that he only ingag'd divers Powers into his Intereſts, by promiſing to enrich them with the Spoils of *Spain*: Which was look'd upon in the Council of that Court as a Crime leſs to be forgiven than Hereſy. 1609.

But while all *Europe* was attentive on the Revolutions that were preparing and that all People were in ſuſpence, between curioſity, hope, and terror, the Scene was chang'd by a fatal Cataſtrophe. The King had had the Complaiſance to have the Queen crown'd before his departure. He omitted nothing to live peaceably with her: And whereas the War he was entring upon broke all the Queens Meaſures, for the double Marriage of the *Dauphin* with the *Infanta*, and of the eldeſt Daughter of *France* with the Infant, he was willing to remove that Vexation by

1609. a Ceremony, which ſeem'd material to that jealous mind, in order to ſecure the Crown to her Children. Some Perſons of known wiſdom had endeavour'd to diſuade the King from that Pomp, which engag'd him to Expenſes no wiſe ſuitable to the beginnings of a War, the event of which was doubtful. Moreover *Roni* had prevail'd to break the Project of that Ceremony; which ruin'd him quite in the Queens mind, who was already animated againſt him for other Reaſons. But finally, the King reſolv'd to give his Wife that ſatisfaction at any rate whatever. The Ceremony of the Coronation was perform'd at St. *Denis* with great magnificence: But while a ſumptuous Entry was preparing for the Queen, after which the King was to repair to the head of his Army which drew near the Frontiers, an execrable Aſſaſſinate killed him in his Coach, on the 10*th* of *May*, as he was going to the *Arſenal*, there to give ſome orders relating to his Enterprize. The Hiſtorys of the Time relate the Circumſtances of his Death at large; ſeveral Relations being order'd to be written about it, to diſſipate the Suſpicions people had throughout the Kingdom, that ſome people at Court were privy to the Secret of that Parricide. But no other Victims were offer'd to the Shrine of that great Prince, but the Monſter who had ſtruck the blow: And thoſe who were moſt oblig'd to diſcover and proſecute the Authors of that Crime, took no more care to revenge him, than he had done to revenge the Death of *Henry* the III. his Predeceſſor. That which prov'd moſt honourable for his memory, was, that all his good Subjects lamented him as their Father, foreſeeing that it would be long before any King ſhould aſcend the Throne, deſerving to be compar'd to him.

It is a very ſurprizing thing, that thoſe who labour'd to deſtroy the *Reform'd*, ſhould have pitcht upon the time of that great Kings death, for the Epact of a ridiculous Enterprize, which they have imputed to the City of *Rochel*. Not being certain at what time they invented that Calumny, I think I cannot chuſe a more proper place to relate the Story of it, than the moment in which they pretend the thing happen'd. That Potent City is accus'd of a deſign to extend their Power farther, in making themſelves Maſters of *Brouage*. The deſign, *they ſay*, was to convey two Ships fill'd with Soldiers, diſguis'd like Merchants, into the Port

at

at break of day, who under pretence of unlading their Merchandize, were to poſſeſs themſelves of the Port-gate. It was uſual for the convenience of Trade, to open it ſooner than any of the reſt; and thoſe People were to make uſe of that advantage, to enter the City without hinderance. They were to kill all ſuch as ſhould make any reſiſtance; and *Rochel* had promis'd to ſend them, as ſoon as they were Maſters of the Place, a ſufficient Reinforcement to maintain themſelves there. Thoſe Ships, *they ſay*, arriv'd at that appointed hour, but the little Gate was not open'd all that Morning, by reaſon that the Governor had receiv'd the news of the King's fatal Death in the Night by an Expreſs. Inſomuch, that the Ships were oblig'd to retire. Never was Calumny ſo ill invented; and I am at a loſs which to wonder at moſt, the Impudence of the Inventor, or the Credulity of *Deagean* who has reported it. I appeal to all Perſons of ſenſe, whether it be not improbable, that during the King's greateſt Proſperity, at a time when he was Potent enough to preſcribe Laws to all *Europe*, ſuch a City as *Rochel*, without Inteſtine Leagues, without Foreign Intelligence, ſhould have been capable to declare a War to him, and to undertake Conqueſts upon him? I ſay, without Intelligence at home, or abroad; becauſe, that if there had been any ſuch thing, it were impoſſible but that ſome Tracts of it would have been found at leaſt ſufficient to ground Suſpicion upon; or that ſome mention of ſuch a Treaty would have been made in ſome *Memoirs* or other. It is alſo certain, that the reſt of the *Reform'd* could not at that time have enter'd into ſo ſhimeful a Conſpiration; and that, had it been true, *Rochel* would certainly have been diſown'd by all the Party. The King was engaging into a War, which extreamly pleas'd the *Reform'd*, from the ſucceſs of which they expected, as it were, to indemnify themſelves for all their Miſeries paſt. They imagin'd themſelves upon the point of Triumphing over their Ancient Enemies. They had us'd the utmoſt of their skill to put the King upon that Enterprize. The Alliances of that Prince were partly contriv'd by them. It is natural to conclude from thence, that it was very unlikely they ſhould ſhare in any Deſigns capable to croſs that of the War, which they were ſo much ſet upon; and that had *Rochel* dar'd to form the Project

1609.

Calumny againſt Rochel, *and its Refutation.*

1609. imputed to it, all the *Reform'd* would have abandon'd it to the King's Indignation; and perhaps, would have thought themselves oblig'd in honour to assist his Revenge. Those who govern'd that City, sufficiently understood the Interest of the *Reform'd*, to expect any thing else; and it is very unlikely, that knowing it, they should ingage themselves in Enterprizes of such dangerous Consequence. It seems as unaccountable to me, that those who made *Rochel* form so ridiculous a Design, at such a time, should make them abandon it, when the King's unexpected Death, and the Confusion which follow'd it, might not only contribute to the Success of it, but also to the impunity of the Enterprize. People commonly chuse times of Disorder and Trouble to take the advantage of others Misfortunes. And yet they make *Rochel* pitch upon a time for an Enterprize of the utmost Impudence, where the King they were to offend, was most in a condition to punish them for it; and they make them desist from their Design at a time, when the misfortune of the State would have oblig'd it to wink at that insolence. It must needs be acknowledg'd, that this Calumny is very ill contriv'd. One Witness only appears to reveal that secret, and that very Witness carries his Reproach about him. It was a Man, as *Deagean* relates it in his *Memoirs*, who abandons his Religion, and betrays his Country, even so far as to give Intelligences to surprize *Rochel*, and those Intelligences so certain, that they could not have fail'd of Success, had they been made use of. That Man, in imitation of all those who embrace the *Roman* Religion out of interest, was desirous to signalize himself by an important discovery; and he had found nothing so proper to advance himself, as to impute scandalous, opprobrious Designs to the *Rochelois*; by reason that such Accusations were very well receiv'd at Court, where they impatiently indur'd the Power of that City. Let the Reader judge, whether it is possible that a design, which must needs have been communicated to so many, which must have been known throughout so large a City, the Preparations whereof must have been made by degrees, and at leasure, should notwithstanding have remain'd so secret for so many Years, that not one Man should have been found capable to reveal it. The Court had Creatures in all the Councils of *Rochel*. There were

Persons

Perſons of Honour who lov'd the King, whoſe good Intentions often fruſtrated the Deſigns that City form'd for its own lawful Preſervation. And yet it is neither thoſe Creatures, nor thoſe well-affected Perſons, who reveal a Secret of that conſequenc. It is a Man, who changes his Religion, that gives the firſt knowledge of it; and a Man, who being ready to ſell his Country to make his Fortune, might very well lay a falſe Accuſation to its charge. Moreover, it is a Man of no conſideration, to be believ'd in an affair of that conſequence; *Deagean, who ſays*, That this Ruffian was concern'd in that undertaking, and that he was on board one of thoſe Ships, would not have forgot his Quality, had he had any Command there; and as he ſays nothing of it, it implies, that he was only a private Soldier, or Seaman. I have inſiſted on the Refutation of this Calumny, a little at large, for two Reaſons. The *Firſt* is, That the Catholicks have laid a ſtreſs upon it, as if there had been truth in it. The *Second* is, That by the nature of this Accuſation, it is eaſy to judge of ſeveral others, by which they endeavour'd to animate Princes, either in particular, againſt that Important City; or in general, againſt the whole Party of the *Reform'd*. They daily invented ſome or other, but ſeldom obſerv'd the Rules of likelihood any better. 1609.

The End of the Firſt Volume.

A C A-

A CATALOGUE *of the* BOOKS *and* AUTHORS, *out of which the Matter of the First Volume of this History has been extracted.*

THe History of *James Augustus de* * *Thou.*
History of *Mezerai.*
Chronological Abridgment of the same.
History of *Matthieu.*
——of *Du Pleix.*
——*D' Aubigne.*
——*Novenaire.*
——*de la Paix.*
——of the Progress and Decay of Heresy.
Latine History of *Grammont.*
Memorie recondite di Vittorio Siri.
Memoirs of the Duke of *Nevers.*
——of *Du Plessis.*
——of *Jeannin.*
——of *Villeroi.*
——of *Sulli.*
——of the Clergy.
——of Cardinal *d' Ossat*, or Letters.
——of Cardinal *du Perron*, or Embassies, &c.
——of *Bassampierre.*
——of *Deagean.*
——of *Du Maurier.*
Life of Admiral *Chatillon.*
——of *James Augustus de Thou.*
——of *Henry* the 4th.
——of the Duke *d'Epernon.*

* Thuanus.

——of

——— of the Duke *de Rohan.*
——— of *du Pleſſis.*
——— of *Leſdiguieres.*
——— of *Francis de la Noue.*
——— of *Peter du Moulin.*
——— of *Cotton* the Jeſuit, by *Peter Joſeph d'Orleans.*
——— Another of the ſame in *Latin*, by .....
Acts of the General Aſſemblies.
Acts of the National Synods.
Conference of the Edicts of Pacification.
Royal Deciſions of *Filleau.*
Maldonat's Letters to the Duke *de Monpanſier.*
Letter of *P. Paul Scarpi.*
French Mercury.

I do not add the Names of thoſe I refute, in this Place. No body can queſtion, but I have read thoſe I have undertaken to Anſwer. Neither do I mention thoſe I have made uſe of for the firſt Book of this Hiſtory in particular, becauſe they are Authors known by every body.

I ſay nothing of the *Memoirs* I have read in Manuſcripts, which I have had from private Perſons. I could only mark them with the Name of their Authors, who do not deſire it.

All the Pieces and Titles, I cite in this Work, as Edicts, Declarations, Decrees, Breefs, *&c.* of which I do not give a Catalogue here, becauſe I do not think it material; or which I do not ſet down among the Proofs, for fear of diſguſting the Reader by the bulk of this Work, are ſtill, or have been in my hands in due form; ſeveral of them Originals; the moſt part in Authentick Copies, either Manuſcripts, or in Print.

Thoſe I have not in my hands at preſent, have been return'd to thoſe who had communicated them to me.

A

COLLECTION

OF

EDICTS, CONFERENCES,

AND

Other PIECES;

To ſerve in order to prove the FIRST PART of the Hiſtory of the EDICT of *NANTES*.

EDICT of Charles IX. *about the moſt effectual means to appeaſe the Troubles and Seditions in point of Religion, of the Month of* January, 1561. *Publiſhed in the Parliament of* Paris, *on the* 6th. *of* March *of the ſaid Year.*

CHarles, by the Grace of God, King of *France*, to all thoſe who theſe Preſents ſhall ſee, Greeting. It is ſufficiently known what Troubles and Seditions have been, and are daily kindled, multiplied and augmented in this Kingdom, by the Malice of the Times, and the diverſity of Opinions which reign in Religion; and that whatever Remedies our Predeceſſors have try'd to put a ſtop thereunto, either by the Rigor and ſeverity of Puniſhments, or by Mildneſs, according to their uſual and natural Benignity and Clemency; the thing has penetrated ſo far into our ſaid Kingdom, and in the minds of our Subjects of all Sexes, Eſtates, Qualities and Conditions, that we have found our ſelves in a great perplexity at our new coming

to this Crown, to adviſe and reſolve what means we ſhould uſe to apply good and wholſome Remedies thereunto. After long and mature conſultation about the ſame, with the Queen our moſt honour'd, and moſt beloved Lady and Mother, our moſt dear and moſt beloved Unkle, the King of *Navar*, our Lieutenant General, repreſenting our Perſon throughout all our Kingdoms and Territories, and other Princes of our Blood, together with our Privy-Council: We caus'd our ſaid Uncle to aſſemble in our Court of Parliament, together with the Princes of our Blood, the Peers of *France*, and other Princes and Lords of our ſaid Privy-Council.

All which, with the Members of our ſaid Court, after ſeveral Conferences and deliberations, did reſolve on the Edict of the Month of *July* laſt paſt; whereby we did forbid, among other things, on pain of confiſcation of Body and Goods, all Publick Conventicles and Aſſemblies with Arms: As well as all Private ones, in which any body ſhould preach, or adminiſter the Sacrament in any form contrary to the Practice obſerv'd in the *Catholick Church*, from the firſt begining, and ever ſince the propagation of the Chriſtian Faith, receiv'd by the Kings of *France* our Predeceſſors, by the Biſhops, and Prelates, Curates their Vicars and Deputies: Being perſuaded at that time, that the prohibition of the ſaid Aſſemblies was the beſt way, until we could have the determination of a General Council, to put a ſtop to the diverſity of the ſaid Opinions: And by keeping our Subjects by that means in union and concord, to put an end to the Troubles and Seditions. The which on the contrary, through the diſobedience, obſtinacy, and evil Intentions of the People, the execution of the ſaid Edict proving difficult and dangerous, have been much more increas'd, and Cruelly practic'd, to our great grief and trouble, than they had been before. Therefore in order to remedy the ſame, and in conſideration that our ſaid Edict was only proviſional: We have been adviſ'd to ſummon another Aſſembly in this Place, compos'd of our ſaid Uncle, the Princes of our Blood, and the Members of our Privy-Council; there to adviſe with a conſiderable number of our Preſidents, and chief Counſellors of our Sovereign Courts by Us ſummon'd to that end, who are able to give us a faithful account of the State and Neceſſities of their Provinces, in relation to the ſaid Religion, Tumults and Seditions; about ſuch means as may be moſt proper, uſeful and convenient, to appeaſe and put an end to the ſaid Seditions.

Which has been done: And all things having been duly and maturely digeſted and deliberated in our Preſence, and in that of our ſaid Lady and Mother, by ſo great and ſo notable an Aſſembly, We have by their advice and mature deliberation ſaid and ordain'd, do ſay and ordain what followeth.

I. That all thoſe of the New Religion, or others that have *taken poſſeſſion of Temples*, ſhall be oblig'd, after the Publication of theſe Preſents, to quit and depart from the ſame; as well

well as from all Houſes, Eſtates and Revenues belonging to Eccleſiaſticks, where ever they are cituated or ſeated; leaving them the full and entire poſſeſſion and enjoyment of the ſame, to enjoy them with the ſame liberty and ſafety they did before their being diſpoſſeſs'd thereof. That they ſhall return and reſtore what they have taken of the Shrines and Ornaments of the ſaid Temples and Churches; and that it ſhall not be lawful for thoſe of the ſaid New Religion to take or build any other Temples either within or without the Cities, Towns, *&c.* nor to occaſion the leaſt Trouble, Let, or Moleſtation to the ſaid Eccleſiaſticks, in the enjoyment or gathering of their Tythes and Revenues, and other Rights and Eſtates whatever, at preſent, or for the future. Which we have inhibited and forbidden them to do, and do by theſe Preſents inhibit and forbid; as alſo to beat down and demoliſh Croſſes, Images, or the committing other ſcandalous and ſeditious acts: On pain of death, and without the leaſt hope of pardon or remiſſion.

II. Likewiſe not to aſſemble in the ſaid Cities, there to preach either publickly or privately, either by Day or Night.

III. However, in order to keep our Subjects in peace and quietneſs, until it be God Almighty's pleaſure to enable us to reunite them, and put them all into the ſame Fold again, which is our earneſt deſire, and chief intention: We have by Proviſion, until the Determination of the ſaid General Council, or New Orders from us; *Surceas'd*, ſuſpended, and ſuperceded; do ſurceaſe, ſuſpend, and ſupercede the Inhibitions and Puniſhments appointed, both in the Edict of *July*, and others that have preceded it, in relation to the *Aſſemblys* that ſhall be made in the day-time without the ſaid Cities, in order to their Preaching, Praying, and performing other Exerciſes of their Religion.

IV. Forbidding on the ſame Penalties and Puniſhments, all Judges, Magiſtrates, and other perſons, however qualifi'd or diſtinguiſh'd, to hinder, diſturb, moleſt, or fall upon thoſe of the ſaid New Religion, in any wiſe, whenever they ſhall go, come and *aſſemble* without the ſaid Cities, to exerciſe their ſaid Religion. But on the contrary, in caſe any perſons ſhould attempt to abuſe them, We do command our ſaid Magiſtrates and Officers in order to prevent all Troubles and Seditions, to hinder the ſame, and ſummarily, and ſeverely to puniſh all the Seditious, whatever Religion profeſs'd by them, according to the Contents of our ſaid precedent Edicts and Ordinances, even in that which is made againſt the ſaid ſeditious Perſons, and for the bearing of Arms; which we will and expect to have fulfill'd in all Points, and to remain in full force and vertue.

V. Enjoyning a new, according to the ſame, all our ſaid Subjects, of what Religion, Eſtate, Quality and Condition ſoever, not to make any *Aſſemblies whatever in Arms*, or to abuſe, reproach, or provoke each other

other upon the account of Religion, or to make, ſtir, procure, or favour the leaſt Sedition; but on the contrary to live and behave themſelves one towards another, gently and quietly, without making uſe of Piſtols great or ſmall, or other Fire-Arms, either in going to the ſaid Aſſemblies, or elſewhere; or any other prohibited or forbidden Weapons, excepting only Swords and Daggers for Gentlemen, which are the Arms they commonly wear.

VI. Moreover, forbidding the Miniſters and Chiefs of thoſe of the ſaid Religion, *to receive any Perſons in their ſaid Aſſemblies*, without being firſt inform'd of their Qualities, Lives and Converſations; to the end that in caſe they ſhould be condemn'd for non-appearance, or Contempt upon the account of Crimes deſerving puniſhment, they ſhould deliver them into the hands of our Officers, to receive a condign Puniſhment.

¶ That whenever our ſaid Officers ſhall be willing to go into the ſaid Aſſemblies to aſſiſt at their Predications, and to hear what Doctrines they teach there, they ſhall be receiv'd and reſpected according to the dignity of their Places and Offices. And in caſe it be to take or apprehend any Malefactor, that they ſhall obey, favour and aſſiſt them in the ſame, as need ſhall require.

VII. That they ſhall make no *Synods or Conſiſtories*, unleſs with leave, and in preſence of one of our ſaid Officers; nor likewiſe any creation of Magiſtrates among themſelves, Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances, that belonging to us only. But that in caſe they ſhall think it neceſſary to conſtitute ſome Regulations among them, for the exerciſe of their ſaid Religion, they ſhall ſhow them to our ſaid Officers, to have their approbation, provided they be things they ought and can reaſonably do; otherwiſe to give us notice of the ſame, to obtain our leave, or to know our Intentions therein.

VIII. That they ſhall *liſt no men*, either to fortifie and aſſiſt one another, or to offend others; nor make any Impoſitions, Gatherings, and Raiſings of Money among themſelves. ¶ And that as to their *Charities* and *Alms*, they ſhall neither be made by Aſſeſments or Impoſitions, but voluntarily.

IX. Thoſe of the ſaid New Religion ſhall be oblig'd to keep our *Political Laws*, even thoſe that are receiv'd in our Catholick Church, as to *Holydays*, *Days of reſt*, and *Marriage*; for degrees of Conſanguinity and Affinity; in order to avoid all Debates and Law-Suits that might inſue to the ruin of ſeveral of the beſt Families of our Kingdom, and the diſſolving of the Bonds of Friendſhip, which are acquir'd by Marriage and Alliances among our Subjects.

X. The Miniſters ſhall be oblig'd to repair before our Officers to ſwear the obſervance of theſe Preſents, and to promiſe to preach no Doctrine contrary to the pure Word of God, according as it is contain'd in the *Nicene*

Nicene Creed, and in the Canonical Books of the *Old* and *New-Teſtament*, leſt they ſhould fill our Subjects with new Hereſies. Forbidding them moſt expreſly, and on the Penalties above mention'd, not to uſe reproachful or ſcoffing Expreſſions in their Sermons againſt the Maſs, and Ceremonies receiv'd and kept in our ſaid Catholick Church; or to go from place to place, there to preach by force, againſt the will and conſent of the Lords, Curates, Vicars and Church-Wardens of Pariſhes.

XI. In the ſame manner forbidding all *Preachers* to uſe in their Sermons or Predications, injurious or reproachful Expreſſions againſt the ſaid Miniſters, or their Sectators; by reaſon that ſuch proceedings have hitherto contributed much more to excite the people to Sedition, than to provoke them to Devotion.

XII. And all Perſons, of what Eſtate, Quality and Condition ſoever, from receiving, concealing, or harbouring in their Houſes, any perſon accus'd, proſecuted, or condemned for Sedition: under the penalty of 1000 Crowns applicable to the Poor: And in caſe of not being ſolvable, on pain of being wipt and baniſh'd.

XIII. Furthermore it is our Will and Pleaſure, that all *Printers*, Diſperſers. and ſuch as ſell Defamatory Libels and Satyrs, ſhall be Whipt for the firſt fault of that kind, and loſe their lives for the ſecond.

XIV. And whereas all the effect and obſervance of this preſent Ordinance, which is made for the preſervation of the general and univerſal quiet of our Kingdom, and to prevent all Troubles and Seditions, depends on the duty, care and diligence of our Officers. We have ordain'd, and do ordain that the Edicts by us made about *Reſidence*, ſhall be inviolably obſerv'd, and the Offices of ſuch as ſhall be wanting therein, vacant and forfeited; and that they ſhall neither be reſtor'd or kept in the ſame, either by Letters Patents, or otherwiſe.

XV. That all Bayliffs, Seneſchals, Provoſts, and other our Magiſtrates and Officers ſhall be oblig'd, without bidding or requiring, to repair forthwith to the Place where they ſhall be inform'd that any Miſdemeanor has been committed; in order to inform, or cauſe to be inform'd againſt Delinquents and Malefactors, and to ſecure their perſons in order to their Tryal, on pain of forfeiting their Places, without hopes of reſtitution, and of all coſt and damages towards the Parties. And in the caſe of Sedition ſhall puniſh the Seditious, without deferring to an Appeal according (calling to their aſſiſtance ſuch a number of our other Officers, or famous Advocats) as it is order'd by our Edict of *July*, and in the ſame manner, as if it were by a Decree from one of our Sovereign Courts.

XVI. Forbidding our dearly belov'd and truſty Chancellor, and our belov'd and truſty the Maſters of Re-

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queſt in Ordinary of our Palace, keeping the Seals of our Chanceries, to grant any Relief of Appeal; and our Courts of Parliament to relieve them, or otherwiſe to hinder our ſaid Inferior Officers from taking cognizance of the ſame, in caſe of Sedition: By reaſon of the dangerous conſequence thereof, and that it is neceſſary to proceed with ſpeed againſt the ſame by exemplary Puniſhment.

Therefore we will and require by theſe Preſents, our Beloved and Truſty, the Perſons holding our ſaid Courts of Parliament, Bailiffs, Seneſchals, Provoſts, or their Lieutenants, and all our other Juſticers and Officers, and every one of them, as unto them ſhall appertain; To cauſe our preſent Ordinances, Will and Intention, to be read, publiſh'd and regiſter'd, kept, preſerv'd, and inviolably obſerv'd, without any infringement; and to conſtrain, and cauſe to be conſtrain'd; this to do and ſuffer, all ſuch to whom it ſhall belong, and ſhall want to be conſtrain'd for the ſame: And to proceed againſt the Tranſgreſſors in the manner aforeſaid. And that the ſaid Bailiffs, Seneſchals, Provoſts, and other our Officers, ſhall give us notice within a Month after the Publication of theſe Preſents, of their proceeding in the execution and obſervation thereof. For ſuch is our Pleaſure. All Edicts, Ordinances, Commands, or Prohibitions thereunto contrary notwithſtanding. To which we have in reſpect to the Contents of theſe Preſents, and without prejudice to them in others, derogated, and do derogate. In witneſs whereof, we have caus'd our Seal to be affix'd to theſe Preſents.

Given at St. Germain en Laye, *the* 17th *Day of* January, *in the Year of our Lord*, 1561: *and of our Reign the Second.*

Thus ſign'd by the King, being in his Council, *Bourdin*, and ſeal'd upon a double Label with Yellow Wax.

The King's Declaration and Interpretation upon ſome Words and Articles, 6 and 7 contain'd in the preſent Edict of the 17th *of* January, 1561.

CHarles, by the Grace of God King of *France*, to our Truſty and well beloved the Perſons holding our Courts of Parliament, Bailiffs, Senechals, Provoſts, or their Lieutenants, and to all our other Juſtices and Officers, and to every one of them, according as it may concern them, Greeting.

By our Ordinance of the 17th of *January* laſt paſt, join'd hereunto under the Counter Seal of our Chancery, made for the repoſe and Pacification of our Subjects, and to appeaſe and put an end to the Troubles and Seditions occaſion'd in this our Kingdom, by the diverſity of Opinions that reign in our Religion: It

It is ſaid among other things, [Article 6.] *That whenever our Officers ſhall be deſirous to go into the Aſſemblys of thoſe of the New Religion, to aſſiſt at their Sermons, and to hear what Doctrine is taught there, they ſhall be receiv'd in the ſame, and reſpected according to the Dignity of their Places and Offices: And in caſe it be to take and apprehend ſome Malefactors, they ſhall be obeyed, and aſſiſted*; according as it is contain'd more at large, in the Article of the ſaid Ordinance, which mentions it.

And whereas ſome difficulty might ariſe about the Interpretation of this Word *Officers*, thus couch'd in general, in the ſaid Article, to know whether all our Officers of Judicature are indifferently meant and included under the ſame, we in order to make our ſaid Ordinance as clear and intelligible as can be, and to leave nothing dubious or difficult, have ſaid and declar'd for the interpretation thereof, do ſay and declare, that by the ſaid Word *Officers*, and the permiſſion we have granted them to go into the ſaid Aſſemblies, for the Reaſons contain'd in our ſaid Ordinance, we only intend, as we do ſtill intend to give the ſaid Power to our Ordinary Officers, to whom the cognizance of the *Policy* of Civil Government belongs; as Bailiffs, Seneſchals, Provoſts, or their Lieutenants, and not to thoſe of our Sovereign Courts, nor to our other Officers of Judicature, which we expect to live in the Faith of us, and of our Predeceſſors. And the ſaid Power ſhall extend no farther than when occaſion ſhall offer it ſelf to inſpect and remedy what is mention'd in the ſaid Ordinance.

¶ Moreover, We have ordain'd, and do ordain, in relation to what is ſaid afterwards [Article 7.] in the ſaid Ordinance, *That thoſe of the New Religion ſhall hold neither Synods, nor Conſiſtories, unleſs by leave, or in preſence of one of our ſaid Officers.* That if their ſaid Aſſemblies which they call *Synods* and *Conſiſtories*, are *General* of the whole Government and Province, they ſhall not be allow'd to hold them, unleſs by leave, or in preſence of the Governor, or our Lieutenant General of the Province, of his Lieutenant General, or others by them appointed: And in caſe the ſaid *Aſſembly* is *Particular*, by leave, or in preſence of one of our Magiſtrate Officers, who ſhall be elected and deputed by the ſaid Governor, or his ſaid Lieutenant General. ¶ Provided always that the ſaid Aſſemblys which they call *Synods* and *Conſiſtories*, ſhall only be held for the regulation of Religion, and upon no other account. ¶ And all this by way of Proviſion, until the determination of the General Council, or till new Orders from us. Neither have we by our ſaid Ordinance, and the preſent Declaration, deſign'd, or do deſign, to approve two Religions in our Kingdom, but only one, which is that of our Holy Church, in which the Kings our Predeceſſors have liv'd.

Therefore we will and require you, that in proceeding to the reading, publiſhing, and regiſtring of our ſaid Ordinance, you ſhall at the ſame time, and in like manner cauſe this our preſent *Declaration* and *Interpretation* to be read, publiſhed, and regiſtred, and the ſame inviolably

to

to maintain, keep and obſerve, without the leaſt Infraction: For ſuch is our Pleaſure, the Contents of our ſaid Ordinance, and all other Edicts, Mandats, or Prohibitions thereunto contrary notwithſtanding.

Given at St. *Germain en Laye*, on the 14*th* of *February*, in the Year of our Lord 1561. and of our Reign the Second.

Thus Sign'd by the King, being in his Council; with the Queen his Mother, the Duke of *Orleans*, the King of *Navar*, the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the Prince *De la Roche Sur-Yon*; the Cardinals of *Tournon*, and *Chatillon*, You the *Sieurs de* St. *Andre*, and *de Montmorency* Marſhals, and *de Chaſtillon*, Admiral of *France*, *du Mortier*, and the Biſhop of *Orleans*, *d' Avanſon*, and the Biſhop of *Valence*, *de Selve*, *de Gonnor*, and *Dandelot*, and ſeveral others were preſent.

Bourdin.

Firſt Mandamus from the King to the Court of Parliament at Paris, *for the publiſhing of the Edict of the Month of* January.

CHarles, by the Grace of God, King of *France*, to our Truſty and well-beloved the perſons holding our Court of Parliament at *Paris* Greeting. We have ſeen the Remonſtrances you have ſent us by our Truſty and well beloved *Chriſtopher de Thou*, Preſident, and *William Violle*, Councellor in our ſaid Court, your Brethren, about the Ordinance we have given on the 17th. of *January* laſt paſt, for the peace and tranquility of our Subjects, and to put a ſtop to the Troubles and Seditions occaſion'd in this Kingdom by the diverſity of the Opinions that reign in Religion. And after having caus'd the ſaid Remonſtrances to be read, Article after Article, and word for word, in preſence of us, and of the Queen our moſt dear, and moſt beloved Lady and Mother, of our moſt dear and moſt beloved Brother, the Duke of *Orleans*, of our moſt dearly beloved Uncle, the King of *N.* our Lieutenant General, repreſenting our Perſon throughout all our Kingdoms and Territories, of the other Princes of our Blood, and our Privy Council: We by their Advice, and in conſideration of the great, reaſonable and neceſſary Cauſes and Occaſions which have been our Motives for making the ſaid Ordinance, do hereby deſire, command, and expreſly enjoin you to proceed to the reading, publiſhing, and regiſtring of the ſaid Ordinance, and the Declaration by Us made, affix'd to the ſame. And that you ſhall cauſe both the one and the other to be receiv'd, kept, and inviolably obſerv'd, without the leaſt infringement: The whole by way of Proviſion, until the determination of the General Council, or New Orders from us: And according as it is more at large directed by the ſaid Ordinance and Declaration, without

without any farther delay or difficulty, not to oblige us to send you any other, or more express Command than these Presents, which you shall take for second, third; and all other Mandates, which you might require from us in this case; for such is our Pleasure. What is above said, all Edicts, Ordinances, Mandates, and Prohibitions thereunto contrary, Notwithstanding.

Given at St. Germain en Laye, *the* 14th *Day of* February, *in the Year of our Lord*, 1561. *and of our Reign the Second. Thus sign'd by the King being in his Council.*

Bourdin.

The Second MANDAMUS.

CHarles, by the Grace of God, King of *France*, To our Trusty and well beloved the Persons holding our Court of Parliament at *Paris*, Greeting. Whereas we did heretofore send you, our Ordinance of the 17th. of *January* last past, upon which several good Remonstrances have been made to us by you, which we have imparted to our Privy Council, we being there in Person: and whereas several great and urgent Occasions have anew occurr'd since, and daily do occur concerning the Tranquility of the State of our Kingdom, which induce us more and more to desire the reading, publishing and registring of the said Ordinance: We have again referr'd the deliberation of the said Affair to our Privy-Council; in presence of our most dear and most beloved Lady and Mother, our most dear and most beloved Uncle, the King of *Navar*, our Lieutenant-General, representing our Person in all our Kingdoms and Territories, and several other Princes of our Blood, and Members of our said Council, by the common advice of which, it has been thought fit, and resolv'd, that it is more than necessary for our service, and for the peace and quietness of our Subjects, that the reading, publishing and registring of the said Ordinance should be perform'd in our said Court.

Therefore in pursuance of the said Advice, and in consideration of the necessity of the Time, and the consequence of the Affair, We require, command, and expresly enjoin you, that laying aside all Delays and Difficulties, you should cause the said Ordinance and Declaration to be read, publish'd register'd from Point to Point, according to their Form and Tenor and the same to receive, keep and observe: The whole provisionally until the determination of the General-Council, and new Orders from Us. All Ordinances, Mandates, or Prohibitions thereunto contrary, Notwithstanding.

Given at St. Germain en Laye, *the* 1st *of* March, *in the Year of the Lord*

Lord 1561. *and of our Reign the Second.*

Thus ſign'd by the King being in his Council, with the Queen Mother, and the King of *Navar* his Lieutenant-General, repreſenting his Perſon in all Kingdoms, and Territories, the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Prince *de la Roche-ſur-Yon*, the Cardinals of *Tournon*, and *de Chatillon*. *You le ſieur*, *de St. André* Marſhal of *France*, *le ſieur du Mortier*, and the Biſhop of *Orleans*, *le Sieur d' Avanſon*, and the Biſhop of *Valence*, and *les Sieurs de Selve*, *de Gonnor*, and *de Cypierre*, all Counſellors in the ſaid Council, and ſeveral others were preſent.

Bourdin.

Publication of the Edict of January, *and of the Declaration, and Interpretation of the ſame.*

LEcta, Publicata & Regiſtrata, audito, Procuratore Generali Regis, reſpectu habito literis patentibus Rgis, primæ diei hujus menſis, urgenti neceſſitati temporis, & obtemperando voluntati dicti Domini Regis, abſque tamen approbatione novæ Religionis: & id totum per modum proviſionis, & donec aliter per dictum Dominum Regem fuerit ordinatum. Pariſis in Parlamento Sexta die Martii Anno Domini milleſimo quingenteſimo ſexageſimo primo.

Sic ſignatum,

Du Tillet.

The Edict of King Chares *the* IX. *of the Year* 1570. *about the pacification of the Troubles of this Kingdom.*

CHarles, by the Grace of God, King of *France*, to all thoſe preſent and hereafter to come, Greeting. Conſidering the great Evils and Calamities occaſion'd by the Troubles and Wars wherewith our Kingdom has been long, and is ſtill afflicted; and foreſeeing the deſolation that might enſue, unleſs by the grace and mercy of God the ſaid Troubles were ſpeedily pacifi'd. We in order to put an end to the ſame, to remedy the Afflictions that proceed from thence, to reſtore and make our Subjects live in Peace, Union, Quiet and Tranquility, as it has always been our intention. Let it be known, that after having taken the good and prudent Advice of the Queen our moſt dear and moſt honour'd

nour'd Lady and Mother, of our most dear and most beloved the Duke of *Anjou*, our Lieutenant General, and the Duke *d' Alençon*, Princes of our Blood, and other great and notable Persons of our Privy-Council; We have by their good Counsel and Advice, and for the Causes and Reasons aboveſaid, and other good and great Considerations Us thereunto moving, by this our present Edict, perpetual, and irrevocable, said, declar'd, enacted, and do ordain, will and resolve what followeth.

I. That the remembrance of all things past on both sides, from the very beginning of, and since the Troubles happen'd in our said Kingdom, and on the account of the same, shall be extinguish'd and laid aside, as of matters happen'd that had never; and that it shall not be lawful for our Atorney-General, neither for any Publick or Private Persons, whatever at any time, nor on any occasion soever to mention the same, or to commence any Process, or suit thereof in any Court or Jurisdiction.

II. We forbid all our Subjects of what Estate or Quality soever, to revive the *remembrance thereof*; to injure or provoke each other by Reproaches for what is past. To dispute, contest, quarrel, wrong or offend one another in Word or Deed, but to forbear, and live peaceably together like Brethren, Friends, and Fellow-Citizens; on pain, for the Delinquents, of being punish'd as Infractors of the Peace, and Perturbators of the Publick quiet.

III. It is our Will and Pleasure that the *Roman* Catholick Religion shall be restor'd in all parts and places of this our Kingdom and Countrys under our Obedience, where the exercise of the same has been interrupted, there to be freely and peaceably exercis'd, without the least trouble or hindrance, on the Penalties above mention'd. And that all those who during the present War have seis'd on Houses, Goods or Revenues belonging to Ecclesiasticks, or other Catholicks, who detain and possess the same, shall surrender them the intire possession, and peaceable enjoyment thereof, with the same freedom and safety they enjoy'd them before their being dispossess'd of the same.

IV. And that there may remain no occasion of difference and contention among our Subjects, We have and do allow those of the said Pretended *Reform'd* Religion, *To live and inhabit in all the Cities and parts of this our Kingdom*, and Territories under our Obedience, without being urg'd, vex'd, or molested, or constrain'd to do any thing against their Conscience, in point of Religion: Nor examin'd in their Houses, or places where they shall inhabit upon the said account, provided they behave themselves according to what is contain'd in the present Edict.

V. We have also given leave to all Gentlemen, and other persons, actual Inhabitants, and others possessing in our Kingdom and Territories under our Obedience, High Jurisdiction, or Full * *Fief d' Hubert*, as in *Normandy*, whether in Proper, or *Use-Frint*, in the whole, or in a part, to have in such their Houses of the said High-Jurisdiction, or

An Inheritance held immediately by and in Capite of the King.

Fief which they ſhall nominate for their Principal abode to our Bailiffs and Seneſchals, every one in his Precinct the *Exerciſe of the Religion* they call *Reform'd*, as long as they reſide there; and in their abſence their Wives or Children, whom they ſhall anſwer for; and they ſhall be oblig'd to name the ſaid Houſes to our Bailiffs and Seneſchals, before they ſhall enjoy the benefit thereof: They ſhall alſo enjoy the ſame in their other Houſes of High Juriſdiction, or of the ſaid *Fief de Haubert*, as long as they ſhall be actually there, and no otherwiſe, the whole as well for themſelves as their Families, Subjects and others, who ſhall be willing to go there.

VI. In Houſes of *Fief*, where the ſaid *Reform'd* ſhall have no High Juriſdiction, and *Fief de Haubert*, they ſhall only be allow'd the ſaid Exerciſe of Religion for their Families: Yet in caſe any of their Friends ſhould chance to come there to the number of Ten, or ſome Chriſtning happen in haſte, the Company not exceeding the ſaid Number of Ten, they ſhall not be proſecuted or troubled for the ſame.

VII. And to gratifie our moſt dear and moſt beloved Aunt the Queen of *Navar*, we have allow'd her, beſides what has been above granted to the ſaid Lord's High Juſticers, over and above in every one of her Dutchys *d' Albert*, *County's d' Armagnac Foix & Biggore*, in a Houſe belonging to her, in which ſhe ſhall have High-Juriſdiction, which Houſe ſhall be by us choſen and nominated, there to have the ſaid Exerciſe perform'd for all ſuch as ſhall deſire to aſſiſt thereat, even in her abſence.

VIII. Thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall alſo be allow'd the Exerciſe thereof in the following Places, viz. For the Government of the *Iſle of France*, in the Subburbs of *Clermont* and *Beauvoiſs*, and in thoſe of *Creſpin* *Laonnois*. For the Government of *Champagne* and *Brie*, beſides *Vezelai* which they poſſeſs at this time, in the Subburbs of *Villence*. For the Government of *Burgundy*, in the Subburbs of *Arnai-le-Duc*, and in thoſe of *Mailli la ville*. For the Government of *Picardy*, in the Subburbs of *Mondidier*, and in thoſe of *Riblemont*. For the Government of *Normandy*, in the Subburbs of *Ponteau de Mer*, and in thoſe of *Carentan*. For the Government of *Lyonnois*, in the Subburbs of *Charlieu*, and in thoſe of *St Geni de Laval*. For the Government of *Bretagne*, in the Subburbs of *Becherel*, and in thoſe of *Kerhez*. For the Government of *Dauphine*, in the Subburbs of *Creſt*, and in thoſe of *Chorges*. For the Government of *Provence*, in the Subburbs of *Merindol*, and in thoſe of *Forcalquier*. For the Government of *Languedoc*, beſides *Aubenas*, which they are in poſſeſſion of, in the Subburbs of *Montaignac*, for the Government of *Guienne*, at *Bergerac*, beſides *S. Sever* which they are alſo in poſſeſſion of. And for that of *Orleans*, *Le Maine*, and the Country of *Chartrain*, beſides *Sencerre* which they have, in the Town of *Mailli*.

IX. Moreover, We have alſo granted them to continue the exerciſe of the ſaid Religion in all the Cities in which it ſhall be publickly perform'd on the firſt Day of this preſent Month of *Auguſt*.

X. For-

X. Forbidding them moſt expreſsly to make any Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion, either as to the Miniſtry, Regulation, Diſcipline, or publick Inſtitution of Children or others, in any Places beſides thoſe above granted and allow'd.

XI. Neither ſhall any exerciſe of the ſaid Pretended *Reform'd* Religion be perform'd, in our Court, or within two Leagues round about it.

XII. Neither do we allow the Exercife of the ſaid Religion, within the City, Provoſtſhip and Vicecomty of *Paris*, nor within Ten Leagues of the ſaid City, which ten Leagues we have and do limit to the following Places, *viz.* *Senlis* and the Suburbs; *Meaux* and the Suburbs; *Melun* and the Subburbs, a League beyond *Chartres*, under *Mount-le-Heri*, *Dourdan* and the Suburbs; *Rembouillet Houdan* and the Suburbs; a long League beyond *Melun*, *Vigni*, *Meru*, *S. Leu de Serens*; in all which aboveſaid places we do not allow any exerciſe of the ſaid Religion: Nevertheleſs thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall not be diſturb'd in their Houſes, provided they behave themſelves as aboveſaid.

XIII. We do enjoin our Bailiffs, Seneſchals or ordinary Judges, each in their Precincts, to appoint Places for them of their own, either ſuch as they have heretofore acquir'd, or ſuch as they ſhall purchaſe, there to bury their Dead; and that at the time of their deceaſe, one of the Houſe or Family ſhall go to acquaint the Captain of the Watch therewith, who ſhall ſend for the Grave-Digger of the Pariſh, and order him to go with ſuch a number of Serjeants of the Watch as he ſhall think fit to allow to accompany him, and to prevent Scandal, to remove the Corps in the Night, and ſo carry it to the place appointed for that purpoſe, only allowing Ten perſons to accompany it: And in ſuch Towns as have no Captain of the Watch, the Judges of the Place ſhall appoint ſome other Miniſters of Juſtice.

XIV. Thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall not be allow'd to marry, in ſuch degrees of Conſanguinity or Affinity as are prohibited by the Laws receiv'd in this Kingdom.

XV. All Scholars, the ſick and Poor ſhall be receiv'd in the *Univerſities*, *Schools*, *Hſpitals*, *&c*, without difference or diſtinction upon the account of Religion.

XVI And to the end that no queſtion may be made of the good Intention of our ſaid Aunt, the Queen of *Navar*, of our moſt dear and moſt beloved Brother and Couſins, the Princes of *Navar* and of *Conde*, Father and Son, we have ſaid and declar'd, do ſay and declare, That we hold and repute them our good Relations, faithful Subjects and Servants.

XVII. As alſo all Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Officers and other Inhabitants of the Cities, Corporations, Villages and Hamlets, and other Places of our ſaid Kingdom and Territories under our Obedience, who have follow'd and aſſiſted them in any part whatever, for our good loyal Subjects and Servants.

XVIII. And likewiſe the Duke of *Deux-Ponts*, and his Children, the P. of *Orange*, Count *Ludovic* and his Brothers, Count *Wolrat* of *Mansfeld*, and

and other Foreign Lords, who have aided and aſſiſted them, for our good Neighbours, Relations, and Friends.

XIX. And our ſaid Aunt, as well as our ſaid Brother and Couſin, Lords, Gentlemen, Officers, Corporations of Cities, Communities, and others who have aided and aſſiſted them, their Heirs and Succeſſors, ſhall remain *acquitted and diſcharged*, as we do acquit and diſcharge them by theſe preſents for all Sums of Money by them or their Order taken and rais'd out of our Offices of Receit and Treaſures, whatever Sums they may amount to, as well as out of Cities, Communities, or from particular perſons, Rents, Revenues, Plate, Sale of Goods, both Eccleſiaſtical and others, Foreſts belonging to us or others; Fines, Booties, Ranſoms, or other kind of Sums taken by them, upon the account of the preſent as well as precedent Wars: Neither ſhall they, or thoſe by them appointed for the raiſing of the ſaid Sums, or thoſe that have given and furniſh'd the ſame, be any ways troubled or called to an account for the ſame either now or hereafter; and both they and the ſaid Clarks ſhall be diſcharg'd for all the Management and Adminiſtration thereof, only producing for a full diſcharge, Acquittances from our ſaid Aunt, or from our ſaid Brother and Couſin, or from thoſe that ſhall have been appointed by them, for the examination and paſſing of the ſame. They ſhall alſo be acquitted and diſcharged for all Acts of Hoſtility, Levies, Marching of Soldiers, Coining, Caſting and Taking of Artilleries and Ammunitions, either out of our Magazines, or from particular perſons; making of Powder and Saltpeter; Taking, Fortifying, Diſmantling, and Demoliſhing of Cities and Towns; Enterprizes upon the ſame; Burning and Demoliſhing of Temples and Houſes; Eſtabliſhing of Courts of Juſtice, Judgments and Executions by them; Voyages, Intelligences, Treaties, Negotiations, and Contracts made with all Foreign Princes and Communities; introducing of the ſaid Strangers into the Cities and other parts of our Kingdom. And generally, For all that has been done, manag'd, and negotiated during and ſince the preſent, firſt, and ſecond Troubles, tho neither particularly expreſs'd nor ſpecified.

XX. And thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, ſhall depart and deſiſt from all *Aſſociations* they have made either at home or abroad; and henceforward ſhall raiſe no Money without our Leave, or liſt any Men; neither ſhall they hold Congregations or Aſſemblies, otherwiſe than aboveſaid, and without Arms; all which we prohibit and forbid them, on pain of being rigorouſly puniſh'd, as Contemners and Infractors of our Commands and Ordinances.

XXI. All *Places*, Cities, and Provinces, ſhall remain and enjoy the ſame Privileges, Immunities, Liberties, Franchiſes, Juriſdictions and Seats of Juſtice, they had before the Troubles.

XXII. And to remove all Cauſe of Complaint for the future, we have declar'd and do declare, Thoſe of the ſaid Religion *capable* to hold and exerciſe all *Eſtates*, *Dignities*, and *Publick Employments*, both Seignorial, and

and of the Cities belonging to this Kingdom; and to be admitted and receiv'd without diſtinction into all Councils, Deliberations, Aſſemblies, Eſtates, and Functions, depending on the things aboveſaid, without being any ways rejected or hindred from enjoying the ſame immediately after the Publication of this preſent Edict.

XXIII. Neither ſhall the ſaid of the Pretended *Reform'd* Religion be *overcharg'd* or burthen'd with any ordinary or extraordinary Taxes, more than the Catholicks, and according to their Eſtates and Subſtance. Moreover, in conſideration of the great Charges thoſe of the ſaid Religion take upon themſelves, they ſhall be free from all other Taxations the Cities ſhall impoſe for the Expences paſt; but they ſhall contribute to all ſuch as ſhall be impos'd by us; as alſo for the future to all thoſe of Cities, like the Catholicks.

XXIV. All *Priſoners* that are detain'd either by the Authority of Juſtice or otherwiſe, even in the Gallies, on the account of the preſent Troubles, ſhall be releaſed and put at liberty on both ſides, without paying any *Ranſom*: But yet the Ranſoms that have been paid already, ſhall not be re-demanded or recovered of thoſe that have receiv'd them.

XXV. And as to the *Differences* that might ariſe upon the account of the foreſaid Sales of Lands, or other Immovables: Bonds or Mortgages given on the account of the ſaid *Ranſoms*; as alſo, for all other Diſputes belonging to the caſe of Arms that might occur, the Parties concern'd ſhall repair to our ſaid moſt Dear and moſt Beloved Brother the Duke of *Anjou*, to ſummon the Marſhals of *France*, and he ſhall decide and determine the ſame.

XXVI. We Order, and it is our Will and Pleaſure, that all thoſe of the ſaid Religion, as well in general as in particular, ſhall be reſtor'd, *preſerv'd*, maintain'd, and kept under our Protection and Authority, into all and every their Eſtates, Rights, and Actions, Honours, Eſtates, Places, Penſions, and Dignities, of what quality ſoever they be, except the Bayliffs and Seneſchals of the long Gown, and their Lieutenant-Generals; in the room of which others have been plac'd by us during the preſent War; to whom, Aſſignations ſhall be given to reimburſe them of the true value of their ſaid Offices, out of the cleareſt Money of our Revenue; unleſs they had rather be Counſellors in our Courts of Parliament, within their Precinct, or of the Great Council, at our Choice; in which caſe, they ſhall only be reimburs'd of the Overplus of the Value thereof, in caſe it fall out ſo; as they ſhall alſo pay the Surplus, if their Offices were of leſs Value.

XXVII. The Moveables that ſhall be found in being, not having been taken by way of Hoſtility, ſhall be reſtor'd to the Owners, however returning the Purchaſers the Price they have been ſold at by Authority of Juſtice, or by other Commiſſion, or publick Order, as well belonging to Catholicks, as to thoſe of the ſaid Religion. And for the Performance of the ſame, the Detainers of the ſaid Moveables ſhall be conſtrained to make immediate reſtitution thereof without delay, all oppoſitions or exceptions notwithſtanding; and to

return

return and reſtore them to the Owners for the Price they have coſt them.

XXVIII. And as for the *Fruits or Revenues of the Immoveables*, every one ſhall re-enter into his houſe, and ſhall reciprocally enjoy the Income of the gathering of the preſent year. All Seizures or oppoſitions made to the contrary during the Troubles notwithſtanding. As alſo every one ſhall enjoy the Arrears of Rent that ſhall not have been taken by us, or our Order, Permiſſion, or Ordinance from us or our Juſtice.

XXIX. Alſo the Forces and Gariſons that are or ſhall be in Houſes, Places, Cities, and Caſtles, belonging to our ſaid Subjects of whatever Religion, ſhall immeditately retire out of the ſame, after the Publication of the preſent Edict, to leave them the free and intire Poſſeſſion thereof, as they enjoy'd it before their being diſpoſſeſs'd.

XXX. It is alſo our Will and Pleaſure, That our Dear and Well-beloved Couſins the Prince of *Orange*, and Count *Ludowic* of *Naſſau* his Brother, ſhall be actually reſtor'd and re-eſtabliſh'd into all the Lands, Lordſhips, and Juriſdictions they have in our ſaid Kingdoms and Territories under our Obedience; as alſo to the Principality of *Orange*, the Rights, Titles, Papers, Informations, and Dependancies of the ſame, taken by our Lieutenant-Generals, and other Miniſters by us employed to that end; the which ſhall be to the ſaid Prince of *Orange*, and the Count his Brother, reſtor'd in the ſame condition they enjoyed them before the Troubles; and ſhall enjoy the ſame henceforward, according to the Letters Patent, Decrees, and Declarations granted by the late King *Henry* of moſt laudable Memory, our moſt Honoured Lord and Father, whom God abſolve, and other Kings our Predeceſſors, as they did before the Troubles.

XXXI. We alſo Will and Require, That all *Titles*, *Papers*, *Inſtructions*, and *Informations*, that have been taken, ſhall be reſtored and returned on both ſides to the true owners.

XXXII. And in order to extinguiſh and lay aſide as much as can be the Remembrance of all Troubles and Diviſions paſt; we have declar'd and do declare, All *Sentences*, *Judgments*, *Decrees*, and *Proceedings*, *Seiſures*, *Sales*, and *Statutes*, made and given againſt the ſaid of the pretended *Reform'd* Religion, as well dead as alive, ſince the Death of our ſaid moſt honoured Lord and Father, King *Henry*, on the account of the ſaid Religion, Tumults, and Troubles happen'd ſince, together with the Execution of the ſaid Judgments and Orders, from this moment Void, Revok'd, and Annull'd; and therefore order the ſame to be raz'd and taken out of the Regiſters of our Courts both Sovereign and Inferior, as alſo all Marks, Tracts, and Monuments of the ſaid Executions, defamatory Books and Acts againſt their Perſons, Memories, and Poſterities; and order the whole to be raz'd out. And the Places that have been demoliſh'd and raz'd on that account, reſtor'd to the owners thereof, to be us'd and diſpos'd of according to their pleaſure.

XXXIII. And as for the *Procedures made*, *Judgments and Decrees given*, againſt

againſt thoſe of the ſaid Religion upon other accounts than the ſaid Religion and Troubles; together with Preſcriptions, and Feodal Seizures accruing during the preſent, laſt, and precedent Troubles, beginning the Year 1567. they ſhall be void, as never having been made, given, nor happen'd; neither ſhall the Parties derive any advantages by them, but ſhall be put again into the ſame condition in which they were before the ſame.

XXXIV. We alſo ordain, That thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall keep to the Political Laws of our Kingdom, in obſerving Feſtivals; neither ſhall they labour, or ſell in open Shops on the ſaid days; nor yet open their ſhambles to ſell meat on ſuch days in which the uſe of meat is prohibited by the *Roman*-Catholick Church.

XXXV. And to the end that Juſtice may be render'd and miniſtred to all our Subjects, without Partiality, Hatred, or Favour, we have and do Ordain, Will, and it is our Pleaſure, That Suits and Differences mov'd or to be commenc'd among Parties being of contrary Religion, as well in being Plaintiffs as Defendants in any Civil or Criminal Cauſes whatever, ſhall be heard in the firſt place before the Bailiffs, Seneſchals, and other our ordinary Judges, according to our Ordinances: And where Appeals ſhall lye in any of our Courts of Parliament, in relation to that of *Paris*, which is compos'd of Seven Chambers, The great Chamber, *La Tournelle*, and five Chambers of the Inqueſts, it ſhall be lawful for thoſe of the pretended Reform'd Religion, if they pleaſe, in the Cauſes they ſhall have depending in each of the ſaid Chambers, to demand that four, either Preſidents or Counſellors, may abſtain from the Judgment of their Proceſſes, who without alledging any Cauſe, ſhall be bound in this caſe to abſtain, notwithſtanding the Ordinance by which the Preſidents and Counſellors cannot be excepted againſt without juſt Cauſe. And beſides that, all Refuſals of Right ſhall be allowed them againſt all others Preſidents and Counſellors according to the Ordinances or Statutes.

XXXVI. As for the Suits they ſhall have depending in the Parliament of *Thoulouſe*, if the Parties cannot agree about another Parliament, they ſhall be return'd before the Maſters of Requeſt of our *Hoſtel*, in their Court in the Palace at *Paris*; who ſhall judg their Suits Impartially and Sovereignly, without Appeal, as if they had been judg'd in our ſaid Parliaments

XXXVII. And as to what relates to thoſe of *Roan*, *Dijon*, *Provence*, *Bretagne*, and *Grenoble*, they ſhall be allowed to challenge Six Preſidents or Counſellors to abſtain from the Judgment of their Suits, that is three out of each Chamber. And in that of *Bourdeaux* four out of every Chamber.

XXXVIII. The Catholicks ſhall alſo be allow'd to challenge, if they think fit, all ſuch Members of the ſaid Courts as have been diſcharg'd of their Offices upon the account of Religion by the ſaid Parliaments, to abſtain from the Judgment of their Suits; alſo peremptorily; and they

ſhall be oblig'd to abſtain from the ſame. They ſhall alſo be allow'd all uſual Recuſations againſt all other Preſidents and Counſellors, according as they are of Right allow'd by the Statutes.

XXX X And whereas ſeveral perſons have receiv'd and ſuffer ſuch Injuries and Damages in their Eſtates and Perſons, that it will be difficult for them to loſe the remembrance thereof, ſo ſoon as it ſhould be requiſite for the execution of our Intention, being deſirous to avoid all Inconveniences that might ariſe from peoples being diſturb'd in their Houſes, until all Grudges and Animoſities are allay'd, we have given in keeping to thoſe of the ſaid Religion, the Cities of *Rochel*, *Montauban*, *Coignac*, and *La Charité*, in which all ſuch as ſhall be unwilling to repair ſo ſoon to their own Houſes, ſhall be free to retire, and to inhabit. And for the ſurety of the ſame, our ſaid Brother and Couſin the Princes of *Navar* and *Condé*, together with Twenty Gentlemen of the ſaid Religion, who ſhall be by us nominated, ſhall ſwear and promiſe one and for the whole, for themſelves, and for thoſe of their ſaid Religion, to preſerve the ſaid Cities for us; and at the end of two years to deliver them again into the hands of ſuch a one as we ſhall think fit to depute, in the ſame condition they now are in, without innovating or altering any thing in the ſame; and that without any delay or difficulty, upon any account or occaſion whatever: At the expiration of which term, the exerciſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall be continued there, as while they held them. It being nevertheleſs our Will and Pleaſure, that in the ſame, all Eccleſiaſticks ſhall freely re-enter and perform Divine Service in all Liberty, and enjoy their Eſtates as well as all the Catholick Inhabitants of the ſaid Cities; which ſaid Eccleſiaſticks and other Inhabitants, ſhall be taken into the Protection and Safeguard of our ſaid Brother and Couſin, and other Lords, to the end that they may not be hindred from performing the ſaid Divine Service, moleſted nor diſturb'd in their Perſons, or in the enjoyment of their Eſtates; but on the contrary reſtored and reintegrated into the full poſſeſſion of the ſame. Willing moreover, that in the ſaid four Cities our Judges ſhall be re-eſtabliſh'd, and the exerciſe of Juſtice reſtor'd, as it us'd to be before the Troubles.

XL. It is alſo our Will and Pleaſure, That immediately after the Publication of this Edict made in the Two Camps, Arms ſhall ſtrait be laid down every where; the which ſhall only remain in our hands, and thoſe of our moſt Dear and moſt Beloved Brother the Duke of *Anjou*.

XLI. A Free Commerce and Paſſage ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed through all Cities, Towns, Villages, Bridges, and Paſſages of our ſaid Kingdom, in the ſame condition as they were before the preſent and laſt Troubles.

XLII. And in order to avoid the Violences and Tranſgreſſions that might be committed in ſeveral of our Cities, thoſe who ſhall be by us appointed for the *Execution of the preſent Edict*, in the abſence of one another,

ther, ſhall make the chief Inhabitants of the ſaid Cities of both Religions, whom they ſhall chuſe, ſwear to keep and obſerve our ſaid Edict; ſhall make them guard each other, charging them reſpectively and by publick Act, to anſwer for the Tranſgreſſions that ſhall be made to the ſaid Edict in the ſaid City, by the Inhabitants thereof reſpectively, or elſe to ſecure and deliver up the ſaid Tranſgreſſors into the hands of Juſtice.

XLIII. And to the end that our Juſtices and Officers, as well as all other our Subjects, may be clearly and with all certainty inform'd of our Will and Intention, and to remove all Doubts and Ambiguities and Cavillings that might be made in relation to the precedent *Edicts*, *We have and do declare all other Edicts, Letters, Declarations, Modifications, Reſtrictions, and Interpretations, Decrees, and Regiſters*, as well ſecret as all other Deliberations heretofore made in our Courts of Parliament, and others that might hereafter be made to the prejudice of our ſaid preſent Edict, concerning the caſe of Religion, and the Troubles occaſion'd in this our Kingdom, to be void and of no effect. To all which and the Derogatories therein contained, we have by this our Edict derogated, and do derogate, and from this very time as for then, do cancel, revoke, and annul them: Declaring expreſly, That it is our Pleaſure, that this our ſaid Edict ſhould be ſure, firm, and inviolable, kept and obſerved by our ſaid Juſtices, Officers, and Subjects, without reſpecting or having the leaſt regard to whatever might be contrary and derogating to this.

XLIV. And for the greater aſſurance of the maintenance and obſervation we deſire of this, it is our Will, Command, and Pleaſure, That all Governors of our Provinces, our Lieutenant-Generals, Bailiffs, Seneſchals, and other ordinary Judges of the Cities of this our Kingdom, immediately upon receit of this our ſaid Edict, ſhall ſwear, The ſame to keep and obſerve, cauſe to be kept, and obſerv'd, and maintain'd, every one in their Precinct; as alſo the Mayors, Sheriffs Capitouls, and other Officers Annual or Temporal, as well the preſent, after the reception of the ſaid Edict, as their Succeſſors, in taking the Oath they are uſed to take when they are admitted into the ſaid Places and Offices; of which Oaths, publick Acts ſhall be expedited to all ſuch as ſhall require it.

We alſo require our Truſty and Well-beloved, the Perſons holding our Courts of Parliament, immediately upon receit of this preſent Edict, to ceaſe all their Proceedings; and on pain of Nullity of the Acts they ſhould paſs otherwiſe, to take the like Oath, and to cauſe our ſaid Edict to be Publiſhed and Regiſtred in our ſaid Courts, according to the Form and Tenor thereof, purely and plainly, without any Modifications, Reſtrictions, Declaration, or ſecret Regiſter; and without expecting any Mandamus or Order from us: And our Attornies-General to require and purſue the immediate Publication thereof, without any delay; the which we will have perform'd

in the Two Camps and Armies, within ſix Days after the ſaid Publication made in our Court of Parliament of *Paris*, in order to ſend back the Strangers forthwith. Injoyning likewiſe our Lieutenants-General, and Governors, ſpeedily to Publiſh, and to cauſe this our ſaid Edict to be publiſhed by the Bailiffs, Seneſchals, Mayors, Sheriffs, Capitouls, and other ordinary Judges of the Cities of their ſaid Government where-ever it will be neceſſary: As alſo the ſame to keep, obſerve, and maintain every one in his Precinct, in order to put a ſpeedy ſtop to all Acts of Hoſtility, and to all Impoſitions made, or to be made upon the account of the ſaid Troubles after the Publication of our preſent Edict. Which from the Moment of the ſaid Publication we declare liable to Puniſhment and Reparation; *viz.* againſt ſuch as ſhall uſe Arms, Force, and Violence, in the Tranſgreſſion and Infraction of this our preſent Edict, hindering the Effect, Execution, or Injoyment thereof, with Death without hope of Pardon or Remiſſion. And as for the other Infractions that ſhall not be made by way of Arms, Force, or Violence, they ſhall be puniſh'd by other Corporal Inflictions, as Baniſhments, *Amende Honourable*, and other Pecuniary Puniſhments, according to the Nature and Exigency of the Offences, at the Will and Pleaſure of the Judges to whom we have aſſign'd the Cognizance thereof: Ingaging their Honours and Conſciences to proceed therein with all the Juſtice and Equality the Cauſe ſhall require, without reſpect or exception of Perſons or Religion.

Therefore we command the ſaid Perſons holding our Courts of Parliament, Chambers of our Accounts, Courts of Aids, Bailifs, Seneſchals, Provoſts, and other our Juſtices and Officers whom it may concern, or their Lieutenants, this our preſent Edict and Ordinance to cauſe to be Read, Publiſh'd, and Regiſter'd in their Courts and Juriſdictions, and the ſame to maintain, keep, and obſerve in all Points, and all whom it may concern, the ſame fully and peaceably to uſe, and to enjoy; ceaſing, and cauſing all Troubles and Hinderances thereunto contrary to ceaſe For ſuch is our pleaſure. In witneſs whereof we have ſign'd theſe preſents with our own hand; and to the ſame, to the end that it may be firm and laſting for ever, we have caus'd our Seal to be affix'd.

Given at St. Germain en Lays, *in the Month of* Auguſt, *in the Year of our Lord*, 1570. *and of our Reign the Tenth.*

Sign'd *Charles.*

And beneath it, by the King being in his Council.

Sign'd *De Neufville.*

And on the ſide, *Viſa*, and Seal'd with the great Seal with green Wax, upon Knots of red and green Silk.

Read, Publiſh'd, and Regiſtred, at the requeſt and deſire of the King's Attorney General, at *Paris* in Parliament on the 11th of *Auguſt* 1570.

Sign'd *Tu Tillet.*

Edict

Edict of Pacification made by King Henry *the 3d, in order to put an end to the Troubles of his Kingdom, and to make all his Subjects thenceforward live in Peace and Quietness, Union, and Concord, under his Obedience; Read and Publish'd in the Court of Parliament, the 8th of* October, 1577.

HEnry by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Poland*, to all present and to come, Greeting. God who is the Searcher of the hearts of Men, and sees the bottom of their thoughts, shall always be Judge for us, that our Intention has never been other than to Reign according to his Holy Commandments, and to govern our Subjects in all uprightness and Justice; approving our self a Common Father to all, who has no other end but their welfare and quiet. In order thereunto, we have always us'd our utmost endeavours to do whatever we judg'd most proper according to the occasions and times; even with a design to establish a certain Peace in this our Kingdom, and to provide against the Disorders and Abuses that have crept in to the same through the License of such long Troubles; and to restore it to its Pristine Dignity and Splendor. To which end we did convene our Estates General in our City of *Blois*, where several things were treated of, and particularly upon matter of Religion; it being propos'd by some, that one of the best Remedies was, to forbid the Exercise of all Religion besides the Catholick. However, it has not been God Almighty's Pleasure to let us reap the fruit we desir'd thereby; but as it is sometimes his pleasure to visit Kingdoms and Princes, with his Rod of Rigor for the Offences and Sins of Men, the Troubles were kindled a new in our Kingdom more than ever, to our great Grief and Sorrow. And that which troubled us more, was that the Innocent, that is, our poor People endur'd the greatest Hardships, Oppression, and Injuries. All which things having consider'd day and night; and experience in our majority of twenty five years, having convinc'd us that the Continuation of Arms and War could not afford us the advantage we have so much desir'd and endeavour'd; and being fully perswaded that God Almighty will finally convert his Rigor into Mercy; and that his said Visitations are salutary Admonishments to acknowledg him, and to return into the right way of our Duty: After having implor'd his Aid and Assistance, to inspire us with means to find the most necessary and most proper Remedies for the good of our State: And thereupon taken the Advice of the Queen, our most Honour'd Lady and Mother, of our most dearly Beloved Brother, the Duke of *Anjou*, of the Princes of our Blood, and others; of the Officers of our Crown, and other Lords and Notable Persons of our Council: We have, until it please God, by means of a good, free, and lawful General

General Council, to reunite all our Subjects to our Catholick Church, by this our preſent Edict perpetual and irrevocable, ſaid, declared, enacted, and ordain'd: Say, declare, enact, and ordain what followeth,

I. *Firſt*, That the Remembrance of all things paſt on either ſide, from the beginning of the Troubles happen'd in our Kingdom to this preſent time, and upon the account of the ſame, ſhall be extinguiſh'd and laid aſide, as of things that had never been. Neither ſhall it be lawful for our Attornies-General, or any other Perſons, publick or private, at any time, or on any occaſion whatever to mention, or make any Proſecution of the ſame, in any Court or Juriſdiction whatever.

II. We forbid all our Subjects of what Condition or Quality ſoever, to renew the Remembrance thereof, to affront or provoke each other by Reproaches of what is paſt, upon any account or pretence whatever: To diſpute, contend, quarrel, abuſe, or offend one another by Word or Deed, but to forbear and live peaceably together as Brethren, Friends, and Fellow-Citizens, on pain for the Delinquents of being puniſh'd as Infractors of the Peace, and Diſturbers of the Publick Good.

III. It is our Will and Pleaſure, that the Catholick Religion ſhall be reſtor'd and re-eſtabliſh'd in all Places and Parts of this our Kingdom, and Territories under our Obedience, where the Exerciſe thereof has been interrupted, there to be freely and peaceably perform'd without the leaſt Trouble and Moleſtation. Forbiding moſt expreſly all Perſons of what State, Quality, or Condition ſoever, on the pains abovemention'd, to trouble, moleſt, or diſturb the Eccleſiaſticks in the Celebration of Divine Service, injoyment and gathering of their Tythes, Fruits, and Revenues of their Benefices, and all other Rights and Immunities to them appertaining. And that all ſuch, who during the preſent and precedent Troubles have taken Poſſeſſion of Churches, Houſes, Eſtates, and Revenues belonging to the ſaid Eccleſiaſticks; and who detain and occupy the ſame, ſhall yield them the entire Poſſeſſion, and peaceable Injoyment thereof, with ſuch Rights, Liberties, and Immunities, as they injoy'd before their being diſpoſſeſs'd of the ſame.

IV. And to remove all occaſion of Contentions and Differences among our Subjects, We have allow'd and do permit thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, to live and inhabit in all the Cities and Places of this our Kingdom and Territories under our Obedience, without being troubl'd, vex'd, moleſted or conſtrain'd to do any thing againſt their Conſcience, or diſturb'd in the Houſes and Places where they ſhall think fit to inhabit, they behaving themſelves according to the Contents of this our preſent Edict.

V. We have alſo given leave to all Lords, Gentlemen, and others, as well actual Inhabitants, as others profeſſing the pretended *Reform'd* Religion, poſſeſſing in our ſaid Kingdom, high Juriſdiction, or full Fief *de Haubert*, as in *Normandy*, either in proper, or * *Uſe-Fruit*, in the whole, or

* *Uſe and Profit.*

or half, or third part, to have in ſuch their Houſes of the ſaid High Juriſdiction, or aboveſaid Fiefs, which they ſhall be oblig'd to name to our Bailifs and Seneſchals, every one in his Precinct, for their chief Abode, the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion, as long as they ſhall be reſident there; and in their abſence their Wives or Families which they ſhall anſwer for. We alſo allow them the ſaid Exerciſe in their other Houſes of High Juriſdiction, or aboveſaid Fiefs of *Haubert*, as long as they ſhall be preſent there; the whole as well for themſelves, their Families, Subjects, as others, who ſhall be deſirous to go to it.

VI. In ſuch Houſes of *Fief*, where thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall not poſſeſs the ſaid High Juriſdiction of Fief *de Haubert*; they ſhall only be allow'd the ſaid Exerciſe for their Families. Yet, in caſe any of their Friends ſhould chance to come there to the number of Ten, or any Baptiſm happen in haſte, the Company not exceeding the ſaid number of Ten, they ſhall not be diſquieted or proſecuted for the ſame. Provided alſo, That the ſaid Houſes are neither ſcituated within Cities, Towns, or Villages belonging to Catholick Lords, High-Juſticers other than us, in which the ſaid Catholick Lords have their Houſes. In which caſe thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall not be allow'd to perform the ſaid Exerciſe in the ſaid Cities, Towns, and Villages, without leave and permiſſion of the ſaid Lords High-Juſticers, and no otherwiſe.

VII. We alſo allow thoſe of the ſaid Religion to perform and continue the Exerciſe thereof in all the Cities and Towns, where it ſhall be publickly perform'd on the 17th day of the preſent Month of *September*. However, excepting ſuch Towns as belong to Catholicks, poſſeſs'd at preſent by thoſe of the ſaid Religion, in which thoſe Exerciſes were not perform'd before the laſt taking up of Arms, even in the time of the former Peace.

VIII. Moreover, in every one of the Ancient Bailiwicks, Seneſchalſhips and Governments, holding the Place of a Bailiwick, referring directly, and without mediation to the Courts of Parliament; we ordain, That in the *Suburbs of one City*, there being ſeveral Cities in the Bailiwick, or for want of Cities, in a Town or Village, the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall be allow'd for all comers.

IX. Forbidding all thoſe of the ſaid Religion, moſt expreſly to perform any Exerciſe thereof, either as to Miniſtry, Regulation, Diſcipline, or publick Inſtitution of Children, and others, in this our ſaid Kingdom and Territories under our Obedience, in whatever relates to Religion, excepting in the places above granted and allow'd.

X As alſo to perform any Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion in our Court and Attendance, nor within Ten Leagues about it, nor in our Lands and Countries beyond the Mounts, nor alſo in our City, Provoſtſhip, and Vice-County of *Paris*, nor within Ten Leagues round about the ſame; the which Ten Leagues we have limited, and do limit to the following Places, *Meaux*, and the Suburbs

Suburbs; *Meulun*, and the Suburbs; a League beyond *Chartres*, under *Mont-le-hery*; *Dourdan*, and the Suburbs; *Rambouillet*, *Houdan*, and the Suburbs; a long League beyond *Meulun*, *Vigni*, *Meru*, and *S. Leu de Sarans*. In all which places we do not allow any exercise of the said Religion. Nevertheless those of the said Religion, living in the said Lands and Countries beyond the Mounts, and in our said City, Provostship, and Vice-County of *Paris*, extended as abovesaid, shall neither be disturb'd in their Houses, nor constrain'd to do any thing on the account of Religion contrary to their Consciences, provided always they behave themselves according to the Rules prescrib'd in our present Edict.

XI. We do injoyn all Preachers, Readers, and others, who speak in Publick, not to use any Words, Discourses, and Expressions, tending to excite the People to Sedition; but on the contrary to content and behave themselves modestly, saying nothing but what may tend to the Instruction and Edification of the Hearers, and to maintain the Peace and Tranquility by us establish'd in our said Kingdom, on the pains mention'd in our precedent Edicts. Commanding our Attornies General, and other our Officers most expresly to see the same perform'd.

XII. Those of the said Religion shall no wise be constrain'd, neither shall they remain bound upon the account of the Abjurations, Promises, and Oaths, heretofore made or taken by them or security by them given upon the account of the said Religion; and shall never be molested or troubled for the same in any kind whatever.

XIII. They shall be oblig'd to keep and observe the Festivals established in the Catholick Apostolick, and *Roman* Church: Neither shall they be allow'd on such days to Labour, Work, Sell, or expose Goods to sale in open Shop: Neither shall the Shambles be open'd on such days, in which the use of Flesh is forbidden.

XIV. No Books shall be allow'd to be sold in our Kingdom, Countries, Territories, and Lordship under our Obedience, without being first examin'd by our Officers residing there; and such as are written in Relation to the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, by the Chambers hereafter by us ordain'd in every Parliament, to judge of the Causes and Differences of those of the said Religion. Prohibiting most expresly the Impression, Publication, and Sale of all Defamatory Books, Libels, and Writings, on the pains contain'd in our Ordinances: Injoyning all our Judes and Officers to have an eye upon the same.

XV. We also order, That no Difference or Distinction shall be made upon the account of Religion: To receive Scholars to be instructed in the Universities, Colleges, and Schools: And the Sick and Poor into the Hospitals, *&c.* and publick Alms.

XVI. Those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, shall be obliged to observe the Laws of the Catholick, Apostolick, *Roman* Church, receiv'd in this our Kingdom, in respect

ſpect to Marriages contracted, or to be contracted, as to the Degrees of Conſanguinity and Affinity, to avoid the Debates and Suits that might be thereby occaſion'd, to the ruin of moſt of the beſt Families of the ſame, and the diſſolution of the Bonds of Friendſhip that are acquir'd by Marriage, and alliance among our Subjects.

XVII. Thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall be oblig'd to pay the Rights of Entrance, as is uſual for the Places and Offices they ſhall be admitted into, without being oblig'd to aſſiſt at any Ceremonies contrary to their ſaid Religion. And being called to their Oath, they ſhall only be oblig'd to hold up their Hand to ſwear, and promiſe to God that they will ſpeak the Truth, without being bound to take a diſpenſation of the Oath by them taken, in paſſing the Contracts and Bonds.

XIX. It is alſo our Will and Pleaſure, that all thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, and others who have been ingag'd in their Party, of what Degree, Quality or Condition ſoever, ſhall be bound and conſtrain'd by all due and reaſonable Ways, and under the Penalties contain'd in our precedent Edicts made upon this Subject, to pay and acquit the Tithes due to Curates and other Eccleſiaſticks, and to all others to whom they may belong, according to the Uſe and Cuſtom of Places.

XIX And in order the better to reunite the Wills of our Subjects, which is our Intention, and to remove all cauſe of complaint for the future, we do declare all thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, and others our aforeſaid Subjects that have been ingag'd in their Party, *Capable to hold and exerciſe all Eſtates, Dignities, Offices, and Publick Employments whatever*, Royalties and Lordſhips, and ſuch as belong to the Cities of our ſaid Kingdoms, Countries, Territories and Lordſhips under our Obedience, and to be admitted and receiv'd into the ſame without diſtinction, and without being oblig'd to take any Oath, or lie under any Obligation, but well and faithfully to diſcharge their Employments, Dignities, Places and Offices, and to obſerve the Ordinances. And when any vacancie of the Employments, Places and Offices within our diſpoſal ſhall happen, they ſhall be by us reimplac'd without diſtinction of Religion, by able perſons, as we ſhall think proper for the good of our Service. We alſo allow thoſe of the ſaid Religion to be admitted and received in all Councils, Deliberations, Aſſemblies and Functions depending on the aboveſaid things, and that they ſhall neither be rejected, or debar'd the enjoyment thereof on the account of the ſaid Religion.

XX. We alſo order, that for the interring of the Dead of thoſe of the ſaid Religion, within all the Cities and places of this Realm, our Officers and Magiſtrates ſhall ſpeedily provide a convenient Place in every place for that end. The which we enjoin our ſaid Officers to do; and to take care that no Scandals may be committed at the ſaid Burials.

XXI. And to the end that Juſtice may be done and miniſtred to all our Subjects, without partiality, hatred

tred or favour, which is one of the principal means to maintain them in peace and concord; We have and do ordain, that in every one of our Courts of Parliament of *Paris*, *Roan*, *Dijon* and *Rennes*, there ſhall be a Chamber eſtabliſh'd, compos'd for that of the Parliament of *Paris*, of a Preſident and 16 Councellors: For that of *Roan* of a Preſident and twelve Councellors, and for thoſe of *Dijon*, and *Rennes*, of one Preſident, and ten Councellors: Which ſaid Preſidents and Councellors ſhall be ſelected and taken by us out of the number of thoſe of the ſaid Courts.

XXII. And as for the Courts of Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, *Grenoble* and *Aix*, a Chamber ſhall alſo be eſtabliſh'd in every one of them, compos'd of two Preſidents, the one a Catholick, and the other of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, and 12 Councellors, of which eight ſhall be *Catholicks*, and the other four of the ſaid Religion. Which Catholick Preſidents and Councellors ſhall be by us ſelected, and nominated out of the number of the Preſidents and Councellors of the ſaid Courts. And as to thoſe of the ſaid Religion, ſuch ſhall be employ'd, as ſhall be found at this very time in poſſeſſion of the ſaid Offices in the ſaid Courts. And in ſuch places where their number ſhall not be ſufficient, we ſhall erect other Offices, as much as ſhall be neceſſary to accompliſh the aforeſaid number, with the ſame Salleries, Honours, Authorities and Prerogatives as the others of our ſaid Courts, for perſons of the ſaid Religion.

XXIII. A Chamber ſhall alſo be eſtabliſh'd for the Juriſdiction of our Court of Parliament of *Thoulouſe*, compos'd as the others of two Preſidents, the one a Catholick, and the other of the ſaid Religion; and of twelve Councellors, eight Catholicks, and the other four of the ſaid Religion. Which Catholicks ſhall be by us choſen out of our other Courts of Parliament, and out of the Great Council: And as for thoſe of the ſaid Religion, ſuch ſhall be employ'd there as ſhall be found ſtill at this preſent time provided with Offices in the ſaid Parliament of *Thoulouſe*, beſides which a ſufficient number ſhall be created to ſupply the ſaid Chamber, as is above ſaid, for the others. Which Chamber being thus compos'd, ſhall by us be ſent into the City of ——— And as for that of *Dauphine*, it ſhall ſit ſix Months in our City of *Grenoble*, and the other ſix Months in ſuch another City as we ſhall hereafter order.

XXIV. The ſaid Chambers compos'd as aboveſaid, and eſtabliſh'd in all our ſaid Parliaments, ſhall take cogniſance, and judge ſovereignly, and definitively, by Decree, excluſively to all others, of Suits and Differences mov'd or to be mov'd: In which Suits thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, and others that have been ingag'd in their Party, ſhall be Principals, or Warrantees, either Plaintiffs or Defendants in all Cauſes, Civil or Criminal, whether the ſaid Proceſſes be by Writ, or Verbal Appeals, in caſe the ſaid Parties like it ſo, and one of them requires it before any Plea in the Cauſe, in reſpect to Suits to be commenc'd.

XXV. It

XXV. It is alſo our Pleaſure by way of Care and Circumſpection, until we have otherwiſe ordain'd it, that in all Proceſſes mov'd, or to be mov'd, in which thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall ſtand as Plaintiffs or Defendants, Principals or Warrantees in Civil Cauſes, in which our Officers of Preſidial Seats have power to judge Sovereignly and definitively; they ſhall be allow'd to demand that two of thoſe of the Chamber, where the ſaid Cauſe is to be try'd, ſhall abſtain from the Judgment of the ſame: Who without alledging any cauſe, ſhall be oblig'd to abſtain in this caſe: Notwithſtanding the Ordinance by which the Judges cannot be excepted againſt without a juſt cauſe, beſides their ſtill retaining the Refuſals of Right againſt the others. And in Criminal matters in which they alſo judge Sovereignly, the accus'd of the ſaid Religion ſhall be allow'd to demand, that three of the Judges may abſtain from the Judgment of their proceſs, without ſhewing cauſe. And the Provoſts of the Marſhals of *France*, Vice-Bailiffs, Vice-Seneſchals, Lieutenants of the Short Robe, and other Officers of the like Quality ſhall judge according to the Ordinances and Rules heretofore given in reſpect to Vagabonds. And as for Houſholders charg'd and accus'd of Provoſtal or Criminal caſes, if they be of the ſaid Religion, they ſhall be allow'd to demand that three of the Preſidial Judges, before whom the ſaid Caſes are to be try'd by the Statutes, may abſtain from the Judgment of their Proceſs: And they ſhall be oblig'd to abſtain from the ſame without ſhewing cauſe; except when in the Chamber of the ſaid Preſidial Seats, where the ſaid Proceſſes are to be judg'd, there be to the number of Two in Civil Caſes, and Three in Criminal matters of the ſaid Religion: In which Caſe it ſhall not be allow'd to refuſe without ſhewing cauſe. But yet we do not mean that the ſaid Preſidial Tribunals, Provoſts Marſhals, Vice-Bailiffs, and Vice-Seneſchals, by vertue hereof ſhould take cogniſance of the Troubles paſt.

XXVI. It is farther our Will and Pleaſure, that our moſt Dearly Beloved Brother the King of *Navar*, our moſt Dearly Beloved Couſin the Prince of *Conde*, as well as all other Lords, Knights, Gentlemen and others, of what Quality and Condition ſoever of the ſaid Religion, and others that have been ingag'd in their Party, ſhall be reſtor'd, and effectually preſerv'd in the poſſeſſion of their Governments, Places, Eſtates, and Royal Offices, which they enjoy'd before the 24*th* of *Auguſt* 1572. the ſaid to hold and to uſe in the ſaid form and manner, as other Governors and Officers of this our ſame Kingdom, without being oblig'd to take new Letters Patents; all Decrees and Judgments given againſt them, and Letters Patent obtain'd by others for the ſaid Employments notwithſtanding. As alſo that they ſhall re-enter in poſſeſſion of all and ſingular their Eſtates, Rights, Names, Dues and Actions, all Judgments and Sentences given upon the account of the ſaid Troubles notwithſtanding. The which Decrees, Judgments, Letters Patent, and all that may have follow'd, we have to that end declar'd,

and do declare null, and of no effect and value.

XXVII. Not intending however that those of the said Religion, and others that have been ingag'd in their Party, who have *resign'd* their Employments and Offices by vertue of our Letters Patent, or of the Late King our most honour'd Lord and Brother, whom God absolve, should recover the same, and re-enter into the possession thereof; reserving to them however, all Actions against the Possessors and Titularies of the said Offices, for the payment of the price agreed on between them, upon the account of the said Resignations. And as for those who have been constrain'd by particular persons by Fact and Force to resign their said Employments and Offices, we do permit them and their Heirs to sue for the same by Law, in a civil manner, both against those that have us'd the said Force, and against their Heirs and Successors.

XXVIII. And as for those of the said Religion, and others who have been ingag'd in their Party, and had the grant of the said Offices before the 24*th* of *August*, 1572. and were not yet receiv'd into the same: It is our will and pleasure that they be *receiv'd into the said Employments*, and that all necessary Patents be expedited them to that End.

XXIX. It is also our will and pleasure, That in case any *Commanderships of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, belonging to those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, and others who have been ingag'd in their Party, shall be found seiz'd by Authority of Justice, or otherwise, barely upon the account and pretence of the Troubles, and they any wise dispossess'd of the same, they shall be immediately restor'd to the said Commanders, and they again put into the same possessions of the said Commanderships, as they were before the 24*th* of *August*, 1572.

XXX. The Outcries, and Publick Sales of Inheritances, against which a Decree is prosecuted, shall be perform'd in, and at the usual hours and places, if possible, according to our Ordinances, or in the Publick Market-places, in case there be a Market in the place where the said Heritages lie: And in case there be none, it shall be done in the next Market-place belonging to the Jurisdiction of the Court, where the Judgment is to be pass'd. And the Paper of Notice shall be affix'd to the Post of the said Market-places, and at the Entrance of the Auditory of the said place. And in so doing the said Publications shall be good and valuable, and they shall proceed to the Interposition of a Decree, without regard to the Nullities that might be alledg'd in that respect.

XXXI. The *Acquisitions of Church-lands* made by those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, and others who have been ingag'd in their Party, without our Authority, shall be void, and of no effect: And therefore we ordain, and it is our will and pleasure, that the said Ecclesiasticks shall be restor'd without delay, and confirm'd into the real and actual possession and enjoyment of the Estates thus alienated, without being oblig'd to pay back the Price of the said Sales: The said Contracts of Sale notwithstanding. The which to that

end

end we have cancell'd and revok'd as null, ſaving a Redreſs to the Purchaſers, againſt ſuch as it may concern. And in order to the Reimburſement of the Purchaſers of the ſaid Lands, for the Mony by them really and truly disburs'd, we will grant our Letters Patent for leave to thoſe of the ſaid Religion, to impoſe and equal upon themſelves the Sums to which the ſaid Sales may amount, without the Purchaſers being allow'd to pretend any Action of Damage or Intereſt, for want of enjoyment, but ſhall reſt ſatisfi'd with the reimburſement of the Money laid out by them, for the price of the ſaid Acquiſitions, abating upon the ſaid price, the Fruits gather'd and receiv'd by them, in caſe the ſaid Sale be adjudg'd to have been made at an unreaſonable and too low Rate.

XXXII. All *Diſinheritations*, or *Privations*, either by way of diſpoſing among Living Perſons, or by Wills, barely out of hatred, or upon the account of Religion, ſhall not be allow'd, neither for the time paſt, nor for the future, among our Subjects. Yet notwithſtanding all Military Wills made during the ſaid preſent and precedent Troubles on either ſide, ſhall be valid, and ſhall hold according to the Diſpoſition of Right.

XXXIII. The *Diſorders* and *Exceſſes* committed on the 24th of *Auguſt*. and the following Days in conſequence of the ſaid Day, in our good City of *Paris*, and other Cities and parts of our ſaid Kingdom, were done to our great regret and diſpleaſure. And therefore as a ſingular Demonſtration of our goodneſs and kindneſs towards our Subjects, we do declare the Widows and Children of thoſe that were kill'd on the ſaid Days, in any part of our ſaid Kingdom, free from contributing towards the Impoſitions that ſhall be laid for the *Ban* and *Arriereban*, if their Huſbands or Fathers were Nobles: Or if their ſaid Husbands or Fathers were not Gentlemen, and conſequently liable to pay the *Taille; We for the ſame Conſiderations diſcharge the ſaid Widows and Children of all *Tailles* and Impoſitions, the whole, for and during the term of ſix Years next coming: Forbidding all our Officers, every one in his Precinct, to comprehend them in the ſame, contrary to our preſent Will and Intention.

* *A heavy Tax upon ſuch as are not Gentlemen.*

XXXIV. We likewiſe declare all *Sentences*, Judgments, Decrees, Proceedings, Seizures, Sales and Orders made and given againſt thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, whether alive or dead, ſince the Death of the late King *Henry*, our moſt honour'd Lord and Father, upon the account of the ſaid Religion, Tumults, and Troubles happen'd ſince, together with the execution of the ſaid Judgments and Sentences from this very time to be raz'd, void and null, as we do hereby raze, revoke and annul the ſame. And order the ſame to be raz'd and taken out of the Regiſters of the Regiſtries of the Courts, as well Sovereign as Inferior: As alſo our pleaſure is, that all Marks, Signs and Monuments of the ſaid Executions, Books and Acts, defamatory to their Perſons, Memories and Poſterities, ſhould be remov'd and defac'd. And

that

that all Places where Demoliſhments or Raiſings have been made on that account, ſhall be reſtor'd, ſuch as they are, to the true owners thereof, to enjoy the ſame, and diſpoſe of them as they ſhall think fit. And we have generally cancell'd, revok'd and annull'd all Proceedings and Informations made for any Enterprizes, pretended Crimes of *Leze* Majeſty, or others; the ſaid Proceedings, Decrees and Judgments containing Reunion, Incorporation, and Confiſcation notwithſtanding, willing that thoſe of the ſaid Religion, and others who have been engag'd in their Party, ſhould be reſtor'd to the real and actual poſſeſſion of all and every their Eſtates.

XXXV. And whereas by vertue of our aforeſaid Declaration, all Decrees and Judgments given againſt the late *Sieur de Chatillon*, Admiral of *France*, and the execution of the ſame, remain void and of no effect, as things never done nor happen'd: We in conſequence of the ſaid Declaration, Order that all the ſaid Decrees, Judgments, Proceedings, and Acts made againſt the ſaid *Sieur de Chatillon*, be rac'd, and taken out of the Regiſter of the Regiſtries as well of our Courts of Parliament, as of all other Juriſdictions: And that the memory of the ſaid Admiral ſhall be untainted; and that his Children ſhall remain in full poſſeſſion of their Honours and Eſtates, in that reſpect, notwithſtanding the ſaid Decrees, importing reunion and incorporation of the ſaid Eſtates, to the demean of our Crown, of which we will cauſe a larger and more particular Declaration to be given to the ſaid Children, if neceſſary.

XXXVI. We will have the ſame done in relation to the *Sieurs de Montgomery*, *Montbrun*, *Briquemaut*, and *Cavaignes*.

XXXVII. We forbid the making of any *Proceſſions*, either for the Death of our late Couſin the Prince of *Conde*, or for what happen'd on St. *Bartholomew*'s Day, 1572. and all other Acts that might refreſh the memory of the Troubles.

XXXVIII. All *Proceedings* made, *Judgments* and *Decrees* given againſt thoſe of the ſaid Religion bearing Arms, either abſent from our ſaid Kingdom, or retir'd into any Cities and Countries of the ſame, held by them, but not upon the account of Religion and the Troubles; together with all Nonſuits, Preſcriptions as well Legal, Conventional, as Cuſtomary; all Feodal Seiſures accrued during the preſent or precedent Troubles, ſhall be eſteem'd as not perform'd, happen'd, nor granted, and as ſuch we have and do declare them to be; have and do annihilate them, without any redreſs to the Parties, but they ſhall be reſtor'd to the ſame condition in which they were before, notwithſtanding the ſaid Decrees, and the execution thereof; and the poſſeſſion of the ſame, ſhall be reſtor'd to them as they had it on the ſaid 24*th* of *Auguſt*, 1572. What is above written ſhall alſo hold good for others who have been ingag'd in the Party of thoſe of the ſaid Religion, ſince the laſt taking up of Arms, or that have abſented from our ſaid Kingdom upon the account of the Troubles, and for the Minor Children of thoſe of the Quality aboveſaid, who died during the ſaid Troubles.

Troubles. Reſtoring the Parties to the ſame Condition in which they were before, without paying Charges, or being oblig'd to conſign the Fines.

XXXIX. All Priſoners that are detain'd, whether by Authority of Juſtice, or otherwiſe, even upon the Gallies, on the account of the preſent or precedent Troubles, ſhall be freed and ſet at liberty on both ſides, without paying any Ranſom. Cancelling and anulling all paſt Obligations on that ſubject, diſcharging the ſecurities thereof; inhibiting and forbiding moſt expreſly all ſuch, in whoſe keeping the ſaid Priſoners are, to uſe any force or violence againſt them, to abuſe or miſuſe them any wiſe in their Perſons, on pain of being ſeverely puniſh'd and chaſtis'd. However not meaning that the Ranſoms that have already been diſburs'd and paid by thoſe who were Priſoners of War only, ſhould be redemanded of thoſe that have receiv'd them. And as to what relates to the Differences concerning the ſaid Ranſoms of thoſe that have been made Priſoners on both ſides during the ſaid Troubles, the Cognizance and Judgment thereof is reſerv'd, as we do reſerve it to us, and to our Perſon, forbidding the Parties to ſue for the ſame any where but before us: And all our Officers and Magiſtrates to take the leaſt cognizance thereof.

XL. And as to what has been *done* or *taken*, *without hoſtility*, or in an hoſtile manner, contrary to the publick or particular Regulations of the Chiefs, and of the Communalties and Provinces that had a Command; it ſhall be lawful to ſue for it, according to the common Practice of the Law.

XLI. It is alſo our Will and Pleaſure, that all *Crimes* and *Offences* committed between perſons of the ſame Party in times of Troubles, Truces and Suſpenſions of Arms, ſhall be puniſh'd, unleſs in Actions commanded by the Chiefs of either part, according to the Neceſſity, Law, and Order of War: And as for all Raiſings and Exactions of Money, bearing of Arms, and other Warlike Exploits, done by private Authority, and without being warranted ſo to do; the perſons having ſo done, ſhall be proſecuted according to Law.

XLII. The Goods that ſhall be found in being, and that ſhall have been taken by way of hoſtility, ſhall be reſtor'd to the Right Owners, in caſe they be, and are found to be at the time of the publication of the preſent Edict, in the poſſeſſion of thoſe that have taken them, or of their Heirs, without paying any thing for the Reſtitution thereof. And where the ſaid Goods ſhall have been ſold or alienated by Authority of Juſtice, or by Commiſſion or Publick Order, belonging either to Catholicks, or to thoſe of the ſaid Religion, they ſhall have leave to redeem them, returning the price thereof to the purchaſers; declaring that what was committed at *Paris* and elſewhere, on the 24*th* of *Auguſt*, 1572. and the following Days in conſequence of that, was no Act of Hoſtility.

XLIII. As to what relates to the *Fruits of the Immoveables*, every one ſhall

ſhall retake poſſeſſion of his Houſes and Eſtates, and ſhall reciprocally enjoy the fruits or products of the preſent Year, that ſhall not have been taken or gather'd on the 17th Day of this preſent Month of *September*. Even the Eccleſiaſticks. All Seizures and hinderances made to the contrary, during the ſaid preſent and precedent Troubles notwithſtanding: As alſo every one ſhall enjoy the Arrears of the Rents that ſhall not have been taken by us, or by our Orders and permiſſions, or by order of Juſtice, or by command of our ſaid Brother and Couſin, the King of *Navar*, and Prince of *Conde*, or by others authoris'd by them.

XLIV. All *Titles, Papers, Inſtructions, and Informations that have been taken*, ſhall be return'd on both ſides, to the right owners, altho the ſaid Papers, or the Caſtles and Houſes in which they were kept, have been taken and ſeiz'd, either by our ſpecial Commiſſions, or by order of the Governors, and Lieutenants-General of our Provinces, or by the authority of the Chiefs of the other Party, or under any pretence whatever.

XLV. Thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall not be overcharg'd for the future, *nor oppreſs'd with any ordinary or extraordinary Charges, more than the Catholicks*, and according to the proportion of their Eſtates and Subſtance; and it ſhall be lawful for ſuch as ſhall think themſelves overburthen'd, to ſeek for a Redreſs before the Judges to whom thoſe Matters ſhall be referr'd. And all our Subjects of what Religion or Quality ſoever, ſhall be indifferently diſcharg'd of the Charges that have been impos'd on both ſides, on thoſe who were abſent, and did not enjoy their Eſtates by reaſon of the Troubles, but ſtill without reſtitution of the Fruits that ſhall have been imploy'd for the payment of the ſaid Charges.

XLVI. Neither ſhall thoſe of the ſaid Religion, and others who have been ingag'd in their Party, nor the *Catholicks*, who inhabited in the Cities and places by them detain'd and occupy'd, and who have paid Contributions to them, be liable to be ſued for the payment of the Taxes, Subſidies, Grants, Increaſes, Aſſeſments, Waſtes, Reparations, and other Impoſitions and Subſidies accruing and impos'd ſince the 24*th* of *Auguſt*, 1572. until now, either by our Orders, or by the advice and deliberations of the Governors and Eſtates of the Provinces, Courts of Parliament, and others, which we have and do diſcharge them of, commanding the Treaſurers of *France*, Generals of our Revenues, Receivers General and Particular, their Clerks and Deputies, and other Intendants and Commiſſioners of our ſaid Revenues, neither to ſue, moleſt or diſquiet them for the ſame, directly or indirectly, in any wiſe whatever.

XLVII. *The Forces and Gariſons* that are or ſhall be in Houſes, Places, Cities and Caſtles belonging to our Subjects, ſhall march out of them immediately after the publication of the preſent Edict, and leave the free and abſolute enjoyment thereof to the true owners, as they enjoy'd them formerly; notwithſtanding all the pretenſions of right that might be alledg'd by thoſe that detain them;

them; which pretenſions they ſhall be free to proſecute according to the Common Courſe of Law, after having quitted the ſaid poſſeſſion, which we will have effected, eſpecially in reſpect to the Benefices the Titularies ſhall have been diſpoſſeſs'd of.

XLVIII. *Free Commerce and Paſſage* ſhall be reſtor'd through all the Cities, Towns, Villages, Bridges and Paſſages of our Kingdom, Countries, Lands and Lordſhips under our command and protection, both by Sea and Land, Rivers and Freſh-waters, as they were before the preſent and precedent Troubles; and all new Tolls and Subſidies impos'd by any Authority but our own, during the ſaid Troubles, ſhall be remov'd.

XLIX. All *Places*, *Cities* and *Provinces* of our ſaid Kingdom, Territories, Lands and Lordſhips under our Obedience, ſhall uſe and enjoy the ſame Priviledges, Immunities, Liberties, Franchiſes, Fairs, Markets, Juriſdictions and Seats of Juſtice, as they did before the preſent and precedent Troubles, all Letters to the contrary, and the removing of any of the ſaid Tribunals notwithſtanding; provided thoſe things have only been done upon the account of the Troubles, the which Tribunals ſhall be reſtor'd and re eſtabliſh'd into the Cities and Places where they were before.

L. In ſuch *Cities as have been diſmantled*, during the paſs'd and preſent Troubles, it ſhall be lawful for the Inhabitants to rebuild and repair the Ruins and Diſmantlings of the ſame with our leave, at their own coſt and charges.

LI. Such of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, and others who have been ingag'd in their Party, which had taken to *Farm* before the preſent Troubles, any Regiſtries, or other Demean and Rights to us belonging, which they have not been able to enjoy, by reaſon of the ſaid Troubles, ſhall remain diſcharg'd, as we do hereby diſcharge them of what they have not receiv'd of the ſaid Farms, ſince the 24*th* of *Auguſt* 1572. as alſo of what they have paid without fraud in places not belonging to the Receipt of our Revenues; all Obligations paſs'd by them upon the ſame notwithſtanding.

LII. And to the end that no body may doubt of the good Intention of our ſaid Brother the *King of* Navar, *and of our ſaid Couſin, the Prince of* Conde; We have ſaid and declar'd, do ſay and declare, that we hold and repute them our good Kinſmen, faithful Subjects and Servants.

LIII. As alſo all the *Lords*, Knights, Gentlemen, Officers, and other *Inhabitants* of Cities, Corporations, Villages and other places of our ſaid Kingdom and Countries under our command, who have follow'd, ſuccour'd and favour'd them in any part whatever for our good and loyal Subjects, declaring all Decrees, Informations, and proceedings made and given againſt them upon the account of the ſaid Troubles, void and of no effect, as things never done nor happen'd; willing the ſame to be raz'd out of the Regiſters of the Chief Clerk's Offices, both of our Courts of Parliament, and other Juriſdictions, where they have been recorded.

LIV. We alſo declare, that we hold and repute our Couſin Duke *John Cazimir* for our good Neighbour, Kinſman and Friend.

LV. We do alſo acquit and diſcharge our ſaid Brother and Couſin the King of *Navar*, and Prince of *Conde*, as well as all the Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Officers, Corporations of Cities and Communities, and all others that have abetted and ſuccour'd them, their Heirs and Succeſſors, for all Sums taken and rais'd by them or their Orders, out of our Offices of Receipt and Revenues, to whatever ſum or ſums they may amount, as well as out of Cities, Corporations, and from particular perſons, Rents, Revenues, Plate, Sales of Eſtates, Goods, both Eccleſiaſtical and others: Foreſts belonging to us or others: Fines, Booties, Ranſoms, or other Sums taken by them, upon the account of the preſent and precedent Troubles; and that neither they, nor any that have been employ'd by them for the raiſing of the ſaid Sums, or that have given and furniſh'd them by their Ordinances, ſhall any wiſe be liable to be call'd to an account for the ſame, either at preſent, or for the future: And that both they and their Clerks ſhall remain acquitted for all the management and Adminiſtration of the ſaid Sums, only producing for a full Diſcharge within four Months after the publication of our preſent Edict, given in our Court of Parliament at *Paris*, acquittances duly expedited by our ſaid Brother and Couſin the King of *Navar*, and Prince of *Conde*, or by ſuch as ſhall have been by them committed for the audit and cloſing of their Accounts, or from the Corporations of the Cities that have been employ'd and intruſted during the ſaid Troubles. They ſhall alſo remain acquitted and diſcharg'd for all Acts of Hoſtility, Levies, and marching of Soldiers, Coining and Rating of Species made according to the order of the ſaid Chiefs, Caſting and taking of Artillery and Stores, both out of our Magazine, and from particular perſons; making of Powder and Saltpeter; taking, fortifying, diſmantling and demoliſhing of Cities, Caſtles, Towns; Enterpriſes upon the ſame, Burning and demoliſhing of Churches and Houſes, eſtabliſhing of Courts of Juſtice, Judgments and Executions of the ſame, either in Civil or Criminal Cauſes, Civil Government and Regulations made among themſelves, Voyages, Intelligences, Negotiations, Treaties and Contracts made with all Foreign Princes and Communities, introducing of the ſaid Strangers into the Cities and other parts of this our Kingdom, and generally for all that has been done, manag'd and negotiated during the preſent or paſt troubles, ſince the Death of our late Lord and Father, by thoſe of the pretended *Reform'd* Religion, and others that have been engag'd in their Party, although it be not particularly expreſs'd and ſpecifi'd.

LVI. And thoſe of the ſaid Religion, and others that have adhered to them, *ſhall give over, and deſiſt from this time forward, from all Practices, Leagues and Intelligences they hold out of our ſaid Kingdom*; as alſo all other our Subjects that might have held any. And all Leagues, Aſſociati-

Associations, Fellowships contracted, or to be contracted, under any pretence whatever, to the prejudice of our present Edict, shall be cancell'd and annul'd, as we do cancel and annul them, forbidding our Subjects most expresly to make any Assessments, or raise Money without our leave, Fortifications, lifting of men, Congregations, and Assemblies, other than such as are allow'd them by our said present Edict, and without Arms: Which we do prohibit and forbid them on pain of severe punishment, as contemners and infracters of our Commands and Orders.

LVII. All Prizes taken both by Sea and Land, by vertue of the Licenses and Warrants given, which have been judg'd by the Judges of the Admiralty, and other Commissioners deputed to that end by those of the said Religion, shall remain dormant under the benefit of our present Edict, for which no prosecution shall be made, neither shall the Captains, their Securities, and the said Judges, Officers and others, be call'd to an account for the same, nor molested in any kind whatever: All Letters of Mark and Seisures depending, and not judg'd, notwithstanding; of which we will have them absolutely discharg'd and releas'd.

LVIII. It is also our will and pleasure, *That the Children of such as have retir'd out of our said Kingdom*, since the Death of the late King *Henry*, our most honour'd Lord and Father, upon the account of Religion and the Troubles altho the said Children are born out of our said Kingdom, shall be acknowledg'd as true Natives of *France*, and actual Inhabitants thereof; and such we have and do declare them to be, without their being oblig'd to take any Letters of Naturalization, or other provisions from us besides the present Edict: All Ordinances thereunto contrary notwithstanding, the which we have and do derogate from.

LIX. We also order, that immediately after the publication of this our Edict, all Forces and Armies both by Sea and Land, shall disband and retire. Those of the said Religion, and such as have been ingag'd in their Party, shall be oblig'd to remove all Garisons out of the Cities, Places, Castles and Houses they are possess'd of, belonging either to us, to the Clergy, or other private persons; to quit, restore, and surrender them in full liberty, as they were in full peace before the present and precedent Troubles. ¶ Nevertheless, whereas several private persons have receiv'd and suffer'd during the Troubles, so many Injuries and Damages in their Estates and Persons, that it will be difficult for them to lose the remembrance thereof so soon as it should be requisite for the execution of our Intentions; we being desirous to avoid all inconveniencies that might arise from thence, until the Heart-burnings and Animosities are allay'd, have thought fit to give in keeping to those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, for the time and Term of six years, the Cities following, *viz.* In *Languedoc*, those of *Montpelier* and *Aiguesmortes*: In *Dauphine*, *Nyons* and *Serre*, City and Castle: In *Provence*, *Seine*, *La Grand-tour*, and the Circuit thereof: In *Gu-*

rienne, *Perigueux*, *La Reolle*, and the *Mas of Verdun*; which Cities our said Brother and Cousin the King of *Navar*, and Prince of *Conde*, and twenty Gentlemen of the said Religion, or others that have been engag'd in their Party, who shall be by us nominated; Besides such as shall be committed for the Guard of the said Cities and Castles, shall swear and promise, one and for the whole, for themselves, and for those of the said Religion, and others of their Party, well and faithfully for us to keep them; and at the expiration of the aforesaid Term of Six Years, to reckon from the day and date of the present Edict, to redeliver them into the hands of such as shall be by us deputed, in the same condition they now are in, without the least Innovation or Alteration, and without the least delay or difficulty, upon any pretence whatever; at the end of which Term, the exercise of the said Religion shall be continu'd there, as while in their Possession: Nevertheless it is our Will and Pleasure, That in them all Clergy-men shall freely return, perform Divine Service in all Liberty, and enjoy their Estates; and likewise all the Catholick Inhabitants of the said Cities. The which Clergy-men and other Inhabitants, our said Brother and Cousin, and other Lords, together with the Governors of the said Cities and Garisons, shall take into their Protection and Safeguard, to the end that they may not be disturbed in the said Divine Service, molested nor disquieted in their Persons, and in the enjoyment of their Estates; but on the contrary, restor'd and re-established into the full Possession of the same: Willing moreover, that our Judges shall be also re-establish'd into the said Cities, and the exercise of Justice restor'd, as it us'd to be before.

LX. Forbidding strictly all our Subjects, of what Quality or Condition soever, to form any Enterprizes or private Conspiracies to surprize the said Cities given in keeping to those of the said Religion, or to take or seize any other Cities, Castles, and Places of our said Kingdom, and Territories thereunto belonging, on pain of being punish'd and chastis'd as Infractors of the Peace, and Disturbers of the Publick Quiet.

LXI. *No Governors or Garisons shall be put by us into the Cities at present in Possession of those of the said Religion*, which are to be quitted by them, unless they have always had such, and even in the Reign of the late King *Henry* our said Lord and Father. Likewise, desiring to ease our Subjects in all our Cities, as much as in us lies, it is our Will and Pleasure, That the Governors, Captains, and Soldiers, that have been put in Garison there, shall be remov'd out of the same, excepting out of such as are Frontiers of our said Kingdom, which are fit to be kept there for the Defence and Safety thereof. Neither shall any other Garisons be kept in the Cities, Castles, Houses, and Estates, belonging particularly to our Subjects, than such as us'd to be kept there in time of Peace.

LXII. And to the end that our Justices, Officers, and other our Subjects, may be clearly, and with all certainty, inform'd of our Will and In-

Intention; and to remove all Ambiguities and Doubts that might ariſe on the account of the precedent Edicts, by reaſon of the diverſity of the ſame, we have and do hereby declare all other *Precedent Edicts*, ſecret Articles, Letters, Declarations, Modifications, Requiſitions, Reſtrictions, Interpretations, Decrees, Regiſters, as well ſuch as are ſecret, as other Deliberations by us made in our Courts of Parliament, and elſewhere, concerning the Caſe of Religion, and the Troubles happen'd in our ſaid Kingdom, to be void, and of no effect and value: To which, and to the derogatories therein contain'd, we have by this our Edict derogated, and do derogate, and from this time as well as then, cancel, revoke, and annul the ſame; declaring expreſly, That this our Edict ſhall be firm and inviolable, kept and obſerved by our ſaid Juſticers and Officers, as well as by our other Subjects, without minding or regarding whatever may be contrary or derogating to the ſame.

LXIII. And for the better Aſſurance of the maintaining and obſervation we deſire to have of the ſame, it is our Will and Pleaſure, That all our Governours, and Lieutenant-Generals of our Provinces, Bailiffs, Seneſchals, and other common Judges of the Cities of this our ſaid Kingdom, immediately upon receit of this our ſaid Edict, ſhall ſwear to cauſe it to be obſerved in their ſeveral Precincts; as alſo the Mayors, Sheriffs, Capitouls, Conſuls, and Jurats of Cities, Annual or Perpetual. Enjoining alſo our ſaid Bailiffs, Seneſchals, or their Lieutenants, or other Judges, to ſwear the chief Inhabitants of the ſaid Cities, of either Religion, to the keeping and maintaining of the preſent Edict, immediately after the Publication of the ſame, putting all the Inhabitants of the ſaid Cities under our Protection and Safeguard, to guard each other; charging them reſpectively and by Publick Acts, to be reſponſible for the oppoſition that ſhall be made to our ſaid Edict in the ſaid Cities by the Inhabitants thereof, or to repreſent and deliver the ſaid Oppoſers into the hands of Juſtice.

LXIV. We alſo charge our Truſty and Well-beloved the Members of our *Courts of Parliament*, immediately upon receit of the preſent Edict, to forbear all manner of Proceedings, on pain of Nullity of the Acts they ſhould otherwiſe paſs, and to take the Oath above-mention'd; to cauſe our ſaid Edict to be Publiſh'd and Recorded in our ſaid Courts, according to the Form and Tenor thereof, purely and barely, without uſing any other Modifications, Reſtrictions, Declarations, or ſecret Regiſters, and without ſtaying for any other Order or Command from us; and our Attorneys-General from them to require and proſecute forthwith, without the leaſt delay, the ſaid Proclamation. Likewiſe enjoining the ſaid Governours and Lieutenants-General of our ſaid Provinces, to cauſe it immediately to be publiſhed in their ſeveral Diſtricts, through all the places in which it is uſual in thoſe caſes: To cauſe it to be kept and obſerved, without tarrying for the publication of our

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ſaid Courts of Parliament, to the end that no perſons may plead ignorance. And that all Acts of Hoſtility, Raiſings of Money, Payments and Contributions due, and drawing on, Takings, Demoliſhings, Fortifying of Cities, Places, and Caſtles, may the ſooner ceaſe on both ſides. Declaring all ſuch raiſings of Money, Fortifications, Demoliſhings, Contributions, Takings, and Forcing of Goods, and other Acts of Hoſtility, that ſhall be made or done after the ſaid Publication and Verification, made by the ſaid Governors and Lieutenants-General of our ſaid Provinces, liable to Reſtitution, Puniſhment, and Reparation. To wit, againſt ſuch as ſhall make uſe of Arms, Force, and Violence, to oppoſe our ſaid Edict, hindering the Effect and Execution thereof, with Death, without hopes of Pardon or Remiſſion. And as for other Oppoſitions, that ſhall be made without Arms, Force, or Violence, they ſhall be puniſhed with other Corporal Inflictions, as Baniſhments, and the like; according to the Nature and Exigency of the Offence, which ſhall be left to the Arbitration and Moderation of the Judges, to which we refer the taking the Cognizance thereof. In this place, charging their Honours and Conſciences to proceed therein with the Juſtice and Equality that is requiſite, without any regard to the difference of Perſons or Religion.

Therefore we charge and require the ſaid Perſons holding our ſaid Courts of Parliament, Chambers of Accounts, or Exchequers, Courts of Aids, Bailiffs, Seneſchals, Provoſts, and others our Juſtices and Officers whom it may concern, or their Deputies to cauſe our preſent Edict and Ordinance to be Read, Publiſh'd, and Recorded in their Courts and Juriſdictions, and the ſame to maintain, keep, and obſerve in every particular, to the end that all thoſe that are concern may fully and peaceably enjoy and uſe the Contents thereof; ceaſing, and cauſing all Troubles and Hinderances to the contrary to ceaſe. For ſuch is our Will and Pleaſure. In witneſs whereof we have ſign'd theſe Preſents with our own hand; and to the end that it may be firm and laſting for ever, we have caus'd our Seal to be affix'd to the ſame.

Given at Poictiers *in the Month of* September, *in the Year of our Lord*, 1577. *and of our Reign the Fourth.*

Sign'd *Henry.*

And Lower, by the King he being in his Council.

Sign'd *De Neufville.*

And on the ſide, *Viſa.*

And Seal'd upon Knots of red and green Silk, with green Wax, with the Broad Seal.

Read, Publiſh'd, and Recorded, Heard, the ſame being requir'd and approv'd of by the King's Attorney-General, at Paris *in Parliament on the 8th of* October, *in the year* 1577.

Sign'd *De Hivez.*

Read,

Read likewiſe, Publiſh'd and Record-ed in the Chamber of Accounts, or Exchequer, heard, the ſame being requir'd and approv'd by the King's Attorney-General in the ſame, on the 11*th of* October, 1577.

Sign'd, *Danes.*

Read and Publiſh'd by Sound of Trumpet, and Publick Cry through the Streets of the City of Paris, *Places, and Parts appointed for Cries and Publication, by me* Paquier Roſſignol, *his Majeſty's Crier in the City, Proveſtſhip, and Vice County of* Paris, *accompanied by* Michel Noiret, *Sworn Trumpeter to the ſaid Lord in the ſaid Places, and four other Trumpeters, on the* 8*th of* October, 1577.

Sign'd, *Roſſignol.*

Secret Articles of the 17*th of* September, 1577.

I. HIS Majeſty to gratify the King of *Navar*, ſhall allow him, beſides what is granted by the General Articles to the Sieurs high Juſticers of the ſaid Religion, to cauſe Divine Service to be perform'd for all ſuch as ſhall be willing to aſſiſt at it, altho he be abſent himſelf, in the Houſes belonging to him in the following places; *viz.* in the Dutchy of *Vendemois*, in the City of *Montoire*.

II. His ſaid Majeſty ſhall likewiſe allow the Prince of *Conde* to have the ſaid exerciſe perform'd in his houſe of *la Ferte*, upon the River *Loire* and *Anguien*, tho abſent from thence himſelf.

III. Upon the Article which mentions Baliwicks, has been declar'd and granted what follows. *Firſt*, That under the Denomination of Ancient Bailiwicks, his Majeſty means ſuch as were held under the Reign of the late King *Henry*, for Bailiwicks, Seneſchalſhips, and Governments, referring directly, and without Mediation to the Courts of Parliament.

Secondly, That in Bailiwicks, and Seneſchalſhips, in which thoſe of the ſaid Religion poſſeſs at this preſent two Cities or Towns, belonging to his ſaid Majeſty, or to Catholick Lords, High Juſticers, in which they are allowed to continue the Exerciſe, of their Religion, no other Place ſhall be provided for them to perform the ſaid Exerciſe in, as in the other Bailiwicks of this Kingdom.

Thirdly, That his Majeſty ſhall only provide two Cities in the Government of *Piccardy*, in the Suburbs of which, thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall be allow'd the exerciſe of their ſaid Religion, for all the Bailiwicks, Seneſchalſhips, and Governments belonging thereunto; and in default of Cities, they ſhall be allow'd two convenient Towns or Villages.

Fourthly, In conſideration of the large Extent of the Seneſchalſhips of *Provence* and *Poictou*, thoſe of the ſaid Religion are allow'd another City in every one of them, in the Suburbs of which, or in default of a City, a convenient Town or Village, they ſhall have the exerciſe of the ſaid Religion, beſides thoſe that

ſhall

ſhall be allow'd them by the ſaid Article.

IV. It has alſo been agreed, That no place ſhall be allow'd by virtue of the ſaid Article, on the Territories belonging in proper to the Queen Mother to his Majeſty, for the publick Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion: Nevertheleſs, ſuch Gentlemen as have high Judicatures, or *Fiefs de Haubert* in the ſaid Territories, ſhall be free to enjoy and make uſe of the permiſſion that ſhall be allow'd them by the Edict, as elſewhere.

V. Neither ſhall any place be provided in the Bailiwick of *Beaujolois*, belonging to the Duke of *Montpencier*; but the ſaid High Juſticers ſhall enjoy the Privilege of the Edict there as elſewhere.

VI. A place ſhall be appointed for all the Iſles of *Marennes*, and another for the Iſle of *Oleron*, in which two places thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall be allow'd the exerciſe thereof, for all ſuch Inhabitants of the two Iſles, as ſhall deſire to aſſiſt at it.

VII. Proviſion ſhall alſo be made for the County of *Meſſin*, and others that are under the King's Protection, as it was done by the ſecret Articles made with the Edict of the Year 1570.

VIII. As for the Marriage of Prieſts and Religious Perſons that have been contracted heretofore, his Majeſty for divers good Reaſons and Conſiderations him thereunto moving, will not allow them to be proſecuted or troubled for the ſame; upon which ſubject ſilence ſhall be impos'd to his ſaid Attorney-Generals and other Officers. His Majeſty declaring however, that the Children proceeding from the ſaid Marriages, ſhall only ſucceed to the Movables, Acquiſitions, and Purchas'd Eſtates of their Fathers and Mothers; not willing that the ſaid Profeſs'd Religious Perſons ſhould be capable of a direct or collateral Succeſſion. Neither will his Majeſty allow, that thoſe of the ſaid Religion having heretofore contracted Marriages in the third or fourth degree, ſhould be moleſted for the ſame, or the Validity thereof call'd to queſtion, nor likewiſe the Succeſſion taken from, or diſputed againſt the Children born or to be born, deſcending from the ſaid Marriages: And in order to judge of the Validity of the ſaid Marriages made and contracted by thoſe of the ſaid Religion, and to decide whether they are lawful or not, if the perſon of the ſaid Religion is Defendant, in that caſe the Judges Royal ſhall take cognizance of the Fact of the ſaid Marriage; and he being Plaintiff, and the Defendant a Catholick, the Cognizance thereof ſhall belong to the Official and Eccleſiaſtical Judge; for which Letters-Patent ſhall be granted by his ſaid Majeſty, to be verified in his Courts of Parliament.

IX. And as to Marriages already treated of, either of ſecond or others, among thoſe of the ſaid Religion, thoſe that ſhall have contracted Marriages in ſuch a degree, in that kind applying themſelves to his Majeſty, ſuch Letters-Patent ſhall be granted them, as ſhall be neceſſary to hinder them or their Children from being proſecuted or moleſted for the ſame.

X. Upon what has been granted by the General Articles, That in each of the Parliaments of *Paris*, *Roan*, *Dijon*,

Dijon, and *Rennes*, a Chamber shall be eſtabliſh'd, compos'd of a Preſident and a certain number of Counſellors, taken and choſen out of the ſaid Courts; it has been thought fit and agreed upon, in order to remove all cauſe of Jealouſy from thoſe of the ſaid Religion, and therein to gratifie the moſt humble Petition they have made to his Majeſty about it; That the Preſidents and Counſellors ſhall be choſen by his ſaid Majeſty upon the Regiſter of the Officers of the ſaid Parliaments, among the moſt equitable, moſt peaceable, and moſt moderate; the Liſt whereof ſhall be communicated to the Deputies of the ſaid King of *Navarre*, and to thoſe of the ſaid Religion who ſhall be near his Majeſty, before their being ordain'd to ſerve in the ſaid Chambers; and that in caſe they ſhall ſuſpect any of them, it ſhall be lawful for them to acquaint his Majeſty therewith, who ſhall chuſe others in their ſtead.

XI. The ſame ſhall be obſerv'd in the Election of the Catholick Officers that are to ſerve in the Chambers, that ſhall be eſtabliſh'd in the Countries of *Guienne*, *Languedoc*, *Dauphine*, and *Provence*.

XII. As to what relates to the Election of thoſe of the ſaid Religion, for the Offices of Preſidents, and Counſellors that ſhall be erected by the ſaid Edict to ſerve in the ſaid Chambers, it has been agreed, That it ſhall be made by his Majeſty upon the Atteſtation of the ſaid King of *Navarre*, for the firſt time, and without taking any Money for the ſame; and that upon any Vacation, his ſaid Majeſty ſhall provide other capable perſons in their room, being of the ſaid Religion.

XIII. And whereas thoſe of the ſaid Religion have alledg'd ſeveral reaſons for which they ſuſpect thoſe of the Court of Parliament of *Roan*, which made them very ſolicitous to have a Chamber eſtabliſh'd there, as in the Parliaments of *Bourdeaux*, *Thoulouſe*, and *Dauphine*; in order not to make that Parliament differ from thoſe of *Paris*, *Dijon*, and *Rennes*, it has been granted to thoſe of the ſaid Religion, having any Suits depending in the ſaid Parliament, in caſe they will not receive thoſe of the Chamber that ſhall be erected there for Judges, to apply themſelves to his ſaid Majeſty, and Letters of Tranſferation ſhall be allow'd them by him, in the Chamber of the Parliament of *Paris*, ordain'd for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice to thoſe of the ſaid Religion, or to the Great Council, for Proceſſes mov'd, or to be mov'd, before any Plea in the Cauſe; bringing good and due Atteſtations along with them, of their being of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion.

XIV. His ſaid Majeſty alſo wills and means, That the ſaid Chambers, compos'd and eſtabliſh'd in the ſaid Parliaments, for the diſtribution of Juſtice to thoſe of the ſaid Religion, ſhall be reunited and incorporated in the ſaid Parliaments, when need ſhall require; and when the Cauſes which have mov'd his ſaid Majeſty to eſtabliſh them ſhall ceaſe, and ſhall no longer ſubſiſt among his ſubjects.

XV. To thoſe ends, the Preſidents and Counſellors who ſhall be inveſted with the Offices newly created into the ſaid Chambers, ſhall be

nam'd Preſidents and Counſellors of the Courts of Parliament, each in that into which they ſhall be eſtabliſh'd, and reckon'd in the number of the Preſidents and Counſellors of the ſaid Courts; and ſhall enjoy the ſame Salaries, Authorities, Prerogatives as the Preſidents and Counſellors of the other Courts.

XVI. The Examination of which Preſidents and Counſellors newly choſen, ſhall be made by his Majeſty's Privy Council or by the ſaid Chambers, each one within its Precinct, when there ſhall be a ſufficient Number of them; and yet the accuſtom'd Oath ſhall be taken by them in the Courts where the ſaid Chambers ſhall be eſtabliſh'd; except thoſe of the ſaid Chamber of *Languedoc*, who ſhall take it before the Lord Chancellor, or in the ſaid Chamber when it ſhall be eſtabliſh'd.

XVII. In the ſaid Chamber of *Languedoc*, there ſhall be two Subſtitutes of his Majeſties Attorny and Advocate. The Attorney's ſhall be a Catholick. and the other of the aforeſaid Religion, who ſhall have ſufficient Salaries from his ſaid Majeſty.

XVIII. There ſhall alſo be two Committees of the Parliament of *Thoulouſe*; the one Civil, the other Criminal, which the Regiſters ſhall be reſponſible for.

XIX. Moreover ſome Meſſengers ſhall be appointed, who ſhall be taken out of the ſaid Court, or elſewhere, according to the King's pleaſure, as many as ſhall be neceſſary for the Service of the ſaid Chamber.

XX. The Seſſion of which ſhall be appointed by his Majeſty, and remov'd to ſuch Cities and Parts of the ſaid Country of *Languedoc*, as his ſaid Majeſty ſhall think fit, for the convenience of his Subjects.

XXI. Whereas thoſe of the ſaid Religion have made complaints, that from the Publication of the Edict made in the year 1572. to the day of the Publication of this that ſhall be now, there have been ſeveral Preſcriptions, Nonſuits, or Judgments, given againſt thoſe of the ſaid Religion, in places where the Suits have neither been heard, nor defended; and that tho they have deſired a removal to the Party-Chambers, it has been denied them: It is granted them, that in caſe they can give ſufficient proof of the ſame, they ſhall be receiv'd in their firſt Condition again.

XXII. Likewiſe upon the Remonſtrances that have been made by the King of *Navar*, and the Prince of *Conde*, that they are ſued by ſeveral of thoſe, who during the Troubles, have bought Temporal Eſtates belonging to the Church, requeſting that no Actions may be allow'd the Purchaſers againſt them, or any of thoſe, who by their Command have made the Contracts of the ſaid Sales. It is granted to them in his ſaid Majeſties Name, that all neceſſary Letters Patent, to diſcharge and indemnify them for the ſaid Sales, ſhall be particularly expedited for them; on condition that the money ſhall be reimburs'd, as it is ſpecifi'd in the General Articles of the Edict.

XXIII. His Majeſty ſhall promiſe and ſwear to obſerve and maintain the Edict that ſhall be made upon the

the ſaid General Articles, and to let thoſe of the ſaid Religion, and others that have been ingag'd in their Party, injoy the benefit of the ſame: He ſhall alſo oblige the Queen his Mother, and the Duke of *Anjou* his Brother, to promiſe and ſwear to keep and obſerve the ſaid Edict.

XXIV. The ſame ſhall be done by the King of *Navar*, and the Prince of *Conde*.

XXV. All which Promiſes and Oaths ſhall be made in writing, ſign'd by the Hands, and ſeal'd with the Arms of thoſe that ſhall make them, the which ſhall be reciprocally put and deliver'd into the hands of his Majeſty, and of the ſaid King of *Navar*, or ſuch as ſhall be by them deputed to receive them.

XXVI. The ſaid King of *Navar* ſhall be allow'd, after the Concluſion of the Peace, to ſend to the Queen of *England*, and to Duke *John Caſimir*, to acquaint them therewith; and Paſſes and Convoys ſhall be given by his Majeſty to thoſe that ſhall be ſent thither by the King of *Navar*.

XXVII. All ſuch of the ſaid Religion as are ſtill in poſſeſſion of Benifices, ſhall be oblig'd to reſign them within the ſpace of Six Months to Catholicks; and thoſe who have promiſes of Penſions upon the ſaid Benefices, dated before the 24th of *Auguſt*, 1572. ſhall be henceforward paid for the ſame, and the payment of the ſaid Penſions continued; and thoſe who owe the ſaid Penſions, ſhall be oblig'd to pay the Arrears, in caſe any are due, provided they have actually injoy'd the Fruits of the ſaid Benefices, excepting the Arrears due in the time of the Troubles.

XXVIII. And as for thoſe who are not of the ſaid Religion, yet have follow'd them during the time of the Troubles, they ſhall re-enter into the ſame Poſſeſſion and Injoyment of their Benefices, as they had before the 24th of *Auguſt*, 1572. And thoſe who by private Authority, without order, or gift from his Majeſty, have enjoy'd and receiv'd the Fruits of the ſaid Benefices belonging to the abovemention'd, ſhall be oblig'd to return it to them, and to reſettle them into the ſame.

XXIX. Upon the Requeſt of thoſe of the ſaid Religion, and others, who have been ingag'd in their Party, to annihilate all the Bonds, Notes, and Promiſes made by them, together with all Judgments given upon the ſame againſt them, upon the account of the Imployments, Places, and Offices reſign'd unto them before the laſt Troubles, or ſince; for which they have not been able to obtain Letters Patents, by reaſon of the ſaid Troubles, the which ſaid Imployments and Offices have in the mean while been granted to others; they alſo requeſting the reimburſement of the Money paid by them for the ſame, either into his Majeſty's Exchequer, or to the Reſigners. It has been declar'd, That upon their giving his Majeſty an account of the particulars of the Caſes in queſtion, his ſaid Majeſty will remedy the ſame, and cauſe Juſtice to be done unto them.

XXX. The Officers of Juſtice ſhall alſo decide the particular Debate and Requeſt of the Parties, about the

Annihilation desir'd by those of the said Religion, and others who have been ingag'd in their Party of the Leases, made by them of their Estates and Inheritances, since the said 24th of *August*, in order to re-enter into the Premises, returning the Fines by them receiv'd.

XXXI. His Majesty's Officers in the City of *Rochel*, the Mayor, Sheriffs, Consuls, Common-Council, and other Inhabitants of the said City shall be continu'd and maintain'd in their Ancient Rights and Priviledges; and shall neither be prosecuted, molested, or troubled for their Orders, Decrees, Imprisonments, both within and without the City, the Execution of their Judgments afterwards, as well upon the account of some pretended Enterprizes attempted against the said City, in *December* 1573. as by a Ship, call'd the *Swallow*, and the Execution of the Judgments given against those that were on Board of her, or for any other Acts whatever, of all which they shall be absolutely discharg'd. They shall have no other Governor but the Seneschal, neither shall any Garison be put into the said City and Government.

Neither shall any be put into the Cities and Places belonging to the Government of *Languedoc*, except such as had Garisons in the time of the late King *Henry*.

XXXII. His Majesty shall confirm the Declaration granted by the late King to the Inhabitants of *Pamiers*, professing the said Religion, for the Annihilation of the Decrees given for some Excesses committed in the said City, in the Month of *June*, 1566. and the said Declaration shall be presented to that end to his said Majesty.

XXXIII. The keeping of Eight hundred men, to be paid by his said Majesty, has been granted to the said King of *Navar*, and others of the said Religion, to put into the Cities that are allow'd them for their safety; in which his said Majesty shall not be allow'd to put any Governor, or other Garison. And he shall also Charge the Governors and Lieutenant-Generals of his Provinces, that whenever they shall pass through the same to visit them, they shall avoid all occasion of dispute with those of the said Religion.

XXXIV. The said King of *Navarre* shall present unto his said Majesty, those he shall design to employ for the guarding of the said Cities, the which shall be employ'd there accordingly by him: And in case any of the said persons so employ'd, should behave themselves insolently there, and abuse their said Office, not observing the said Edict of Pacification, the said King of *Navarre* shall be obliged to turn them out, and to present others to his said Majesty, to be put in their place.

XXXV. The City of St. *John d' Angeli* shall be left to the Prince of *Condé* for his Abode, during the Time and Term of Six Years, until he may effectually enjoy his Government of *Picardy*, in which his Majesty will have him continued.

XXXVI. The said Prince shall promise unto his said Majesty, well and faithfully to keep the said City of St. *John*; and at the end of the time

time aboveſaid, the ſame to redeliver, together with the Caſtle, into the hands of the perſon deputed by his Majeſty to that end, in the ſame condition it now is, without any innovation or alteration, and without the leaſt delay or difficulty, upon any account whatever. Moreover, it is his Majeſty's Will and Pleaſure, That all the Eccleſiaſticks ſhall freely return into the ſaid City, perform Divine Service freely, and enjoy their Eſtates, together with all the Catholick Inhabitants; and the ſaid Prince ſhall take all the ſaid Eccleſiaſticks and other Inhabitants under his Protection and Safeguard, to the end that they may not be hindred from performing the ſaid Divine Service, moleſted or troubled in their Perſons, or in the enjoyment of their Eſtates, but on the contrary, reſtor'd to the full poſſeſſion of the ſame.

XXXVII. The ſaid Prince of *Condé* ſhall preſent and nominate unto his ſaid Majeſty, the Perſon to whom he ſhall truſt the keeping of the ſaid City, to the end that Letters-Patent may be granted him for the ſame by his ſaid Majeſty, as it has been done heretofore.

XXXVIII. For the Guard and Safety of the ſaid City, ſhall be allow'd to the ſaid Prince 50 men, maintain'd at his Majeſty's Charge, beſides the Dividend the ſaid King of *Navarre* ſhall allow him out of the 800 men that are left to him for the Guard of the other Cities; his ſaid Majeſty willing that the 850 men allow'd as aforeſaid to the ſaid King of *Navarre*, and Prince of *Conde*, ſhall be employed for the Gariſon of the ſaid Cities, as it has been agreed; and that they ſhall be employ'd no where elſe, without expreſs Command from his ſaid Majeſty, to avoid oppreſſing of his people, and to remove all cauſe of Jealouſie from among his Subjects: His ſaid Majeſty alſo meaning, that the ſaid 850 men ſhall be disbanded at the expiration of the Term allow'd, and the time of the Reſtitution of the ſaid Cities.

XXXIX. By the General Articles, the City of *Montpellier* is left in keeping to thoſe of the ſaid Religion, for the Retreat and Safety of thoſe of the County of *Languedoc*; but his ſaid Majeſty means it, in caſe the ſaid City be ſtill in the hands and in the power of thoſe of the ſaid Religion, on the day theſe Articles ſhall be granted and ſign'd in this City of *Bergerac*, and not otherwiſe; in which caſe, inſtead of the ſaid City, his Majeſty ſhall allow them another, of thoſe that are at preſent within their Power in the ſaid Countrey of *Languedoc*, at their Choice.

XL. His ſaid Majeſty ſhall write to his Ambaſſadors, to require and deſire for all his Subjects of whatever Religion they be, That they may not be troubled as to their Conſcience, nor be liable to the Inquiſition, in going and coming, Negotiating and Trading throughout all *Spain*, *Italy*, and other Foreign Countries, Allies, and Confederates of this Crown, provided they do not offend the Civil Government.

XLI. All Pieces of Ordinance belonging to his ſaid Majeſty, that have been taken during the preſent or precedent Troubles, ſhall be immediately reſtor'd, and put into his ſaid Majeſty's

jeſty's Magazines; except ſuch as are in the Cities given for Surety, which ſhall remain in them; an Inventory being made of the ſame, in order to their being reſtor'd at the Expiration of the aforeſaid Term of Six Years.

XLII. Whereas, if all that has been done againſt the Regulations on both ſides, were indifferently excepted out of the General Pardon, there is no man in the Army but might be proſecuted and troubled, which might occaſion new Troubles; it has been thought fit to grant, that none but execrable Crimes ſhall be excepted out of the ſaid General Pardon; *viz.* Raviſhments of Women, Incendiaries, Murthers, Robberies committed treacherouſly, and out of private Revenge, againſt the Laws of War, Infraction of Paſsports and Safeguards, together with Murthers and Plunders without Command; out of conſideration to thoſe of the ſaid Religion, and others who have been engag'd in the Party of the King of *Navarre*, or the Prince of *Condé*, grounded upon particular occaſions that have oblig'd them to command and order it.

XLIII. It ſhall be ordain'd, That whatever ſhall be taken on either ſide by way of Hoſtility or otherwiſe, upon any accounnt whatever, proceeding from the preſent Troubles, from and upon the 17*th*. of the preſent month, on which the Articles have been granted, agreed upon, and ſign'd, in this City of *Bergerac*, ſhall be liable to Reſtitution and Civil Reparation.

XLIV. As for the City of *Avignon*, and *Venaiſſin* County, his Majeſty deſiring that the Inhabitants thereof may ſhare and enjoy the fruit of the Peace he hopes to ſettle in his Kingdom by the aſſiſtance of God, both out of conſideration to our Holy Father the Pope, and becauſe the ſaid City and County have always been under the Protection of the Kings his Predeceſſors, and that it is a thing very material towards the eſtabliſhing of the ſaid Peace in the adjacent Provinces; his ſaid Majeſty will intreat his ſaid Holineſs to allow the Subjects of this Kingdom, who have Eſtates in the ſaid City of *Avignon*, and County, as alſo to the Subjects of the ſaid City and County, who are of the ſaid Religion, to be reſtor'd and reeſtabliſh'd into the entire and peaceable Injoyments of their Eſtates, which they have been depriv'd of upon the account of the Troubles paſt, and of the ſaid Religion, without their being liable to be troubled in the ſaid Poſſeſſion upon the ſaid account. Which being done, thoſe who occupy and detain at preſent in the ſaid Country, Cities, and Places, belonging either to his Holineſs, or his Subjects, ſhall be oblig'd to deliver them forthwith, and without delay, into the hands of ſuch as ſhall be nominated by his ſaid Holineſs for that purpoſe: For the effecting of which the King of *Navar*, and the Prince of *Conde* ſhall diſpatch a Gentleman on purpoſe to thoſe that are detainers of the ſaid places, to ſignify the ſame unto them, and to require and order them to obey; which in caſe they refuſe to do, the ſaid King of *Navar*, and Prince of *Conde*, do promiſe both in their Names, and in the Names of thoſe

thoſe of the ſaid Religion, and others, who have been ingag'd in their Party, neither to Aid, Comfort, or Aſſiſt them. His Majeſty alſo promiſes, That in caſe after the Reſtitution and delivery of the ſaid Places in the hands of ſuch as ſhall be ordered by his ſaid Holineſs, any of his Majeſty's Subjects having Eſtates in the ſaid Cities and County, or of his Holineſs's Subjects profeſſing the ſaid Religion, ſhould be diſturb'd in the injoyment of their ſaid Eſtates upon the account of the ſaid Religion, he will grant them Letters of Mart and Repriſal upon the Eſtates that are poſſeſs'd by the Subjects of the ſaid City and County of *Avignon*, in the Countries under his Obedience, which Letters ſhall be directed to that end to the Judges to whom of Right the Cognizance of ſuch things appertains.

XLV. The Sums that are neceſſary to be rais'd for the payment of what is due to the *Reiſters, both for the preſent and precedent Troubles, ſhall be impos'd equally upon all his Majeſty's Subjects. And whereas thoſe of the ſaid Religion pretend that the main part of the Money deſtin'd for the payment of the ſaid Reiſters for the precedent Troubles was rais'd before the 24th of *Auguſt*, 1572. and was taken from them and remitted, and that his Majeſty might by ſurprize have made a Gift of the ſaid Money to ſome particular Perſons; It is his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that thoſe who have had the ſaid Money on any account, and under any pretence, ſhall be oblig'd by lawful and reaſonable means to reſtore the ſame: And that whatever Receivers, and others, who have ſtill Money of that kind in their hands, ſhall alſo be oblig'd to deliver it forthwith into the hands of his Majeſty's Receivers-General, and that by Impriſoning of them if neceſſary: Upon the account of which his ſaid Majeſty has, and does diſcharge thoſe of the ſaid Religion, of all Obligations and Promiſes made and given by them upon that account, both to his ſaid Majeſty, the Reiſters, and all others.

XLVI. The ſaid King of *Navar*, and thoſe of the ſaid Religion having made Application to his ſaid Majeſty for the payment of the Reiſters due to the ſaid *John Caſimir*, his Colonels and Rent-maſters: His ſaid Majeſty has declar'd, That he will endeavour to do it as ſoon as ever the neceſſity of his Affairs will permit him.

XLVII. And as to the Six hundred thouſand Livers which thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſay were allow'd them by the laſt Peace, to impoſe upon, and raiſe among themſelves, in order to pay ſome Sum due by them; It has been granted them, That in caſe they can produce the ſaid permiſſion, and make it appear, that nothing has been rais'd by them by Virtue thereof, and that the Sums for which it had been granted are ſtill due, the ſaid permiſſion ſhall be confirm'd by his ſaid Majeſty.

*Germain Horſe.

XLVIII. The Prince of *Orange* ſhall be reſtor'd to all the Lands, Juriſdictions, and Lordſhips he has in this ſaid Kingdom and Territories, under his ſaid Majeſty's Obedience. In like manner ſhall be reſtor'd to him all Titles, Inſtructions, and other

Papers concerning his Principality of *Orange*; in case any have been taken and remov'd by the Governors, and Lieutenants-General, and others his said Majesty's Officers, if what is aboveſaid has not been done already.

The present Articles have been made and granted by expreſs Command from the King, in his Majesty's Name, and by his pleasure, by the Duke of *Montpensier*, and the *Sieurs de Biron*, *Descars*, *S. Sulpice*, *de la Mothe-Fenelon*, by vertue of the power given unto them by his said Majesty, to conclude and agree about the pacification of the Troubles of this Kingdom on the one part. And by the King of *Navar*, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Deputies of those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, the said King of *Navar*, Prince of *Conde*, and Deputies answering for all those of the Provinces of this Kingdom, Countries, Territories and Lordships under the obedience of his said Majesty, who profeſs the said Religion, and others who have been engag'd in their Party on the other Part. In Witneſs whereof the said Articles have been sign'd with their own hands, in the City of *Bergerac*, the 17*th* Day of *September*, 1577.

Thus sign'd in the Original, *Henry de Bourbon*, *Lewis de Bourbon*, *Biron*, *Deſcars*, *S. Sulpiæ*, *de la Mothe-Fenelon*, *La Noue*, *L. Duſaur*, Chancelor to the King of *Navar*; *S. Genis Chauvin*, *Duſaur*, *Clauſone* Deputy of *Languedoc*, *Morin* Deputy of *Guyenne*, *Scorbion* Deputy of *Montauban*, *Payan* Deputy of *Languedoc*, and according to his power *Thore* for the Iſle of *France*, *De Signo* Deputy of *Dauphine*, *Durand* Deputy of *Guienne*, *Guyet* and St. *Beignon* for *Rochel*, *Courtois*, Deputy of *Vendomois*, *Roux*, Deputy of *Provence*, *T. Davaux* for *La Rovergue*. Thus sign'd, compar'd *de Neufville*, and is written, extracted from the Regiſters of Parliament.

Sign'd. *De Pontac.*

Compar'd with the Manuſcript which is in the King's Library by Me. Counſellor and Secretary of the King, Houſe and Crown of France, *and of its Exchequer*, of the *Ancient College.*

Sign'd. *Gon.*

The Articles of the Conference made at Nerac *by the Queen Mother, with the King of* Navar, *and the Deputies of the Pretended* Reform'd *Religion.*

IN order to facilitate the laſt Edict of pacification made in the month of *September*, 1577. and to clear and reſolve the Difficulties that have interpos'd, and that might ſtill retard the good Effect of the said Edict; It has been reſolv'd at the Requeſt, Supplication and Articles preſented by those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, and agreed upon as follow-

followeth, in the Conference held at *Nerac*, in this preſent Month of *February*, 1579. between the Queen Mother, aſſiſted by ſome Princes and Lords of the King's Privy-Council, and the King of *Navar*, alſo aſſiſted by the Deputy of the Prince of *Conde*, Lords and Gentlemen, and the Deputies of thoſe of the pretended *Reform'd* Religion.

I. That the *High Juſticers*, or thoſe that hold full *Fief d' Haubert*, either in Proper, or *Uſe-Fruit*, in the whole, Moietie, or third, ſhall be allow'd to continue the Exerciſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, in the places by them nam'd for their principal abode, although they and their Wives are abſent from the ſame, provided part of their Families remain in the ſaid places, and though the Right of Juſtice, or full *Fief d' Haubert*, be in Controverſie, yet the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall be continu'd there, provided the above-ſaid perſons are ſtill in actual poſſeſſion of the ſaid Juſtice. And as for the Publick Exerciſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, in the places ordain'd by the King, in caſe any of the ſaid places prove inconvenient, they petitioning the King to have it remov'd elſewhere, his Majeſty ſhall provide them another that ſhall be convenient for them.

II. That according to certain Letters-Patent granted by the King, given at *Paris* on the 13th of *Nov.* 1677. conformably to the eleventh Article of what was agreed on at *Bergerac* on the 16*th* of *September* of the ſaid year, 1577. which through inadvertency had been omitted in the laſt Edict of pacification: thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion are allow'd to buy, build, or conſtruct places to perform the ſaid Exerciſe of Religion, in the Suburbs of Cities, or in Towns and Villages that are or ſhall be allow'd them in every Baliwick and Seneſchalſhip, or Government, and in the places where the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion is allow'd them by the Edict. And ſuch as ſhall be found in the ſaid places, that have been built by them, ſhall be reſtor'd to them in the ſame condition they now are.

III. Thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion are allow'd to aſſemble before the Judge Royal, and by his Authority to equal and raiſe among themſelves ſuch ſums as ſhall be thought neceſſary to be employ'd for the maintenance of thoſe who are employ'd to perform the Exerciſes of their ſaid Religion, of which an account ſhall be given to the ſaid Judge-Royal for him to keep.

IV. That according to the 20th Article of the Edict of pacification, the Judges and Magiſtrates of Cities ſhall forthwith provide convenient places for the interment of the Dead, of thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion. And the ſaid Officers and others are forbidden to ask any thing for the Tranſportation of the ſaid Corps, on pain of Extortion.

V. And to prevent all Differences that might ariſe between the Courts of Parliament, and the *Chambers* of the ſaid Courts ordain'd by the ſaid Edict, the King ſhall ſpeedily make a good and large Regulation between

the ſaid Courts of Parliament, and the ſaid Chambers: Inſomuch that thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion ſhall fully enjoy the benefit of the ſaid Edict: The eſtabliſhment of the Chamber of *Languedoc* ſhall alſo ſpeedily be perform'd in purſuance of the ſaid Edict. And in caſe at any time hereafter the Number of Judges ſhould not be ſufficient in the ſame, by reaſon of the affluency of Cauſes, thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall apply themſelves to his ſaid Majeſty, who will make ſufficient proviſion for it. As to what relates to the King's Council, the ſecret Articles of the Year 1577, ſhall be obſerv'd, both as to what relates to the Chamber of *Languedoc*, and that of *Guienne*. Nevertheleſs, the ſaid King's Council ſhall be continu'd in their Places, without being liable to revocation, unleſs in the caſes of the Ordinance, although they bear the Title of Subſtitutes, of Advocates and Attorneys-General in the ſaid Courts of Parliament. The Committes of the Regiſters Civil and Criminal in the ſaid Chamber, ſhall exerciſe their places by the King's Commiſſion and ſhall be call'd Committes of the * Regiſtry Civil and Criminal, and therefore ſhall not be liable to be turn'd out, or to be revok'd by the ſaid Regiſters of Parliament, and that they ſhall be bound to yield the emolument or profit of the ſaid Regiſtries to the ſaid Regiſters; and the ſaid Committies ſhall receive Salaries from the ſaid Regiſters, according as it ſhall be thought fit, and agreed upon by the ſaid Chambers. And as for the Meſſengers, beſides thoſe that ſhall be taken out of the ſaid Parliament, who ſhall be Catholicks, two more ſhall be erected in every Chamber, who ſhall be of the ſaid Religion. And the ſaid Meſſengers ſhall be directed by the ſaid Chambers, both as to the execution of their Places, their Diſtrict, and the Fees they ſhall take. In the Cities where the ſaid Chambers ſhall be erected, there ſhall alſo be two Offices of Serjeants, to be kept by thoſe of the ſaid Religion. And as to Attorneys, the Attorneys of the ſaid Parliament ſhall be allow'd to plead in the ſaid Chambers. And in caſe their number ſhould not be ſufficient, the King ſhall create ſome without paying of Fees, who ſhall be nominated by the ſaid Chambers, in ſuch a number as they ſhall think fit, provided it does not exceed ten; of which they ſhall ſend a Roll, according to which their Patents ſhall be made and ſeal'd. The Expeditions of the Chanceries, or Seal-Offices ſhall be made in preſence of two Counſellers of the ſaid Chambers, of which the one ſhall be a Catholick, and the other one of the aforeſaid Religion: In the abſence of one of the Maſters of Requeſts belonging to the King's Hoſtel, one of the Notaries and Secretaries of the ſaid Courts of Parliament ſhall reſide in the places where the ſaid Chambers ſhall be eſtabliſh'd, or one of the Secretaries in ordinary of the Chancery, to ſign the Expeditions of the ſaid Chancery. And it has been agreed that the Chamber of *Languedoc* ſhall be ſetled in the City of *L' Iſle* in *Albigeois*.

* In French *Greffe*.

VI. As to the Decrees given in the Court of Parliaments ſince the ſaid Edict, in which Courts the Parties have

have not proceeded voluntarily, that is, have alledg'd and propounded ends declinatory; or that have been denounc'd through default, both in matters civil and criminal, notwithstanding which the said Parties have been constrain'd to go forward, they shall be deem'd and reputed as those that have been given before the Edict, and revok'd by the same. The same is ordain'd for the presidial Judgments given since the Edict, and for the Cases abolish'd by the said Edict, and by the present Conference. And as for the Decrees given against those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, who have proceeded voluntarily, without proposing ends Declinatory, the said Decrees shall remain in force. Yet nevertheless without prejudice to the execution of the same, they shall be allow'd, if they think fit, to take some course by way of Civil Request before the said Chambers. And until the said Chambers and their Chanceries are establish'd, Verbal Appeals, and those in Writing interpos'd by those of the said Religion, before Judges, Registers or Committees, Executors of Judgments and Decrees, shall have the same effect as if they had been sued out by Letters-Patent. And as for Processes not yet determin'd, depending in the said Courts of Parliament, of the Quality abovesaid, they shall be return'd, whatever condition they are in, into the said Chambers to which they have their reference, if requir'd by one of the Parties, and according to the Edict, within four Months, in such Provinces where the Chambers are establish'd, after the Registring of these present Articles: And as for the other Provinces in which they are not yet establish'd, four Months after the establishment thereof, before the Registers of the said Courts of Parliament, and that for Suits that are ready for tryal. And as for such as shall be discontinu'd, and are not in a state to be judg'd, the above-mention'd of the pretended *Reform'd* Religion shall be oblig'd to make the said Declaration, at the first intimation and signification that shall be made unto them of the pursuit; and the said term being expir'd, they shall no more be admitted to demand the said Returns. And as for the Suits remov'd either in the Courts of Parliament, Great Council, or elsewhere, those of the said Religion giving a particular account of the said Suits, provision shall be made for the same.

VII. All Sovereign Courts, and others within this Kingdom, are prohibited and forbidden, (before the installation or seting of the said Chambers) to take cognisance of, and to judge the Processes either Civil or Criminal of those of the said Religion, and others who have been engaged in their Party, the cognisance whereof by the last Edict of Peace is referr'd to the said Chambers. The Prohibitions contain'd in the 26th Article of the said Edict of pacification about the cognizance of matters relating to the Troubles until now, shall also be reiterated: And generally all Judgments and Decrees given contrary, and to the prejudice of the Edict, shall be annihilated and revok'd, together with all that has follow'd thereupon.

VIII. That henceforward in all *Inſtructions* other than Informations of criminal proceſſes in the Seneſchalſhips of *Thoulouſe*, *Carcaſſonne*, *Rovergue*, *Lauragais*, *Beziers*, *Montpellier* and *Nimes*, the Magiſtrate, or Commiſſary deputed for the ſaid Inſtruction, if he be a Catholick, ſhall be oblig'd to take an Aſſociate of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, which the Parties ſhall approve of: And in caſe they cannot agree about it, the abovenam'd Magiſtrate or Commiſſary, ſhak take one of the ſaid Religion out of the Office; as in like manner if the ſaid Magiſtrate or Commiſſary be of the ſaid Religion, he ſhall be oblig'd in the form aboveſaid, to take a Catholick Aſſiſtant. And when any occaſion of Criminal Tryal ſhall occur before the Provoſt Marſhals, or their Lieutenants-againſt any one of the ſaid Religion, being an Houſholder, who ſhall be charg'd and accus'd of any publick Crime, the ſaid Provoſts, or their Lieutenants, if they be Catholicks, ſhall be bound, to call to the hearing of ſuch a matter an Aſſiſtant of the ſaid Religion: The which Aſſociate ſhall aſſiſt alſo at the Judgment of the Competency, or Validity of the Indictment, as well as at the Definitive Judgment of the proceſs. The Validity of which Indictment, ſhall only be judg'd at the neareſt preſidial Seat or Tribunal, in an Aſſembly, before the principal Officers of the ſaid Tribunal, who ſhall be found there, on pain of Nullity.

IX. In puting the ſaid Edict of pacification in execution, the Seats of Juſtice ſhall be re-eſtabliſh'd at *Montauban*, *Montpellier*, *Nimes*, and in all other places where they us'd to be before the Troubles.

X. The Mint ſhall be re-eſtabliſh'd in the City of *Montpellier*, as it us'd to be before the Troubles.

XI. The King in order to remove all occaſion of Diſſentions that might create the leaſt Diviſion among his Subjects, ordains that whatever has happen'd ſince the publication of the ſaid laſt Edict, until now, againſt, and to the prejudice of the ſaid Edict, on either ſide, ſhall remain extinguiſh'd and be forgotten as if no ſuch thing had been. And that no body ſhall be proſecuted upon the account of the Aſſembly of Soldiers, made in Cities, or in the open Fields, eſtabliſhment and maintaining of Gariſons, Enterprizes and Seizures of Cities, Places, Caſtles and Houſes, Murthers, Impriſonments, Ranſoms, or any other Exceſs; neither for deſtroying of Churches, Houſes, and Buildings belonging to Eccleſiaſticks and others; of all which, the ſaid Subjects on both ſides ſhall be and remain acquitted and diſcharg'd: Neither ſhall his Majeſty's Attorney-General, or any other perſons publick or private, at any time, or on any occaſion, be allow'd to make any proſecutions of the ſame in any Court of Juriſdiction, nor in any wiſe whatever. The whole in the ſame form and manner as it is expreſs'd by the 55th Article of the laſt Edict of Pacification; excepting Raviſhments of Women, *&c.* Incendiaries, Robberies, Murthers committed treacherouſly, and with premeditation, and not by way of Hoſtility, upon the account of private revenge, and other

ther Crimes and Misdemeanours reserv'd by the last Edict of pacification, which shall be prosecuted according to Law, and punish'd according to the nature of the same. And as to what relates to the Money that has been taken, either out of his Majesty's Exchequers, or out of Cities and Commonalties, and from other private persons; and the Sums that have been impos'd and rais'd of any kind whatever, and howsoever rais'd by those of the said Religion, and other who have been engag'd in their Party since the said Edict of pacification, they are and shall remain absolutely discharg'd for the same, without their being any wise liable to be prosecuted upon the said account; nor those who shall have order'd it, Corporations of Cities and Communalties, nor yet their Clerks. Nevertheless those of the said Religion shall be oblig'd to assemble with the Corporations of those Cities; to make a true estimate among them, on the last Day of *April* next at fartherest, both of their Receits and Expences: The which Estimate they shall be oblig'd to sign, and jointly to affirm, and to deliver the same within the said time of two Months, into the hands of those that are appointed to execute the said Edict of Pacification in *Languedoc*, to the end that upon the said Estimate the Chamber of accounts may pass into receipt, and allow in expence what shall be contain'd in the said Estimate, and no more. And in order to check the insolence of several, and to prevent those Evils for the future, the King declares that hereafter he will no more grant any Pardons for the abovesaid, or the like Transgressions of the Edict: And forbids his Chancellor or Lord Keeper to seal any such, and his Judges to have the least regard for the same. And in case any of those to whom this Pardon is granted, should relapse into the same Fault, they shall not only be punish'd for the new Fault, but shall also be depriv'd of the fruit and benefit which is granted them by this Article.

XII. That all the processes and causes concerning the case of the said Troubles that have been return'd by the Commissioners, Executors of the preceding Edict of pacification, before the presidial Judges, or other Judges, shall be return'd in the State they now stand to the said *Chambers of the Edict*. The King not intending that any of his Subjects should be prosecuted for what has been done since the last Troubles, according to the 55th Article of the said last Edict: And in case any of the said processes should already be judg'd, the Parties shall be allow'd to apply themselves for redress, by the ways of Right to the said Chambers of the Edict.

XIII. Whereas at the beginning of the 42d Article of the said last Edict of pacification, in several Common Impressions that have been made of the same, these Words are found: *And that shall have been taken by way of hostility*, by way of affirmation; altho it should be conceiv'd negatively, and in this manner: *And that shall not have been taken by way of hostility*: As it is written in the Original agreed on, and sign'd at *Bergerac* on the 17th of *September*, 1577. It is ordain'd, that it shall be corrected by the said Original; And all Judges are enjoin'd to judge

judge conformably to this preſent Correction.

XIV. That all Aſſeſments, Impoſitions, Gatherings, raiſing of Money and new Subſidies, by whomſoever, and on any account whatever, unleſs by the King's expreſs Commiſſion, ſhall ceaſe, and that none ſhall be made otherwiſe hereafter, on the Penalties mentioned in the Ordinances.

XV. The General Aſſemblies of Cities and Corporations, ſhall be made according to the Ancient Cuſtoms, and ſuch Inhabitants as us'd to come to the ſame, ſhall be ſummon'd thither, without diſtinction of Religion, according to the laſt Edict of pacification, Article 19.

XVI. That the Edict of pacification, and what has been reſolv'd in this Conference, ſhall be executed in every Article, according to its Form and Tenor, and that the ſaid Execution thereof ſhall begin on the 1ſt Day of *March* next coming at fartheſt, and ſhall be continu'd in *Guyenne* without interruption on either ſide. And as for *Languedoc*, the ſaid Execution or Performance ſhall begin on the 1ſt Day of *April* next coming at fartheſt: But that in the mean time all Priſoners of War ſhall be put at liberty without paying any Ranſom: And all Acts of Hoſtility, and other Tranſgreſſions of the Edict in general ſhall ceaſe, according to the Commiſſions that have been iſſu'd out to that end, which ſhall be ſent every where in the Governments of *Guyenne*, *Languedoc*, and other Provinces when it ſhall be neceſſary.

XVII. It has alſo been agreed by the ſaid Lady Queen, Mother to his Majeſty, the King of *Navar*, and all the above-mentiond, that all the Cities and Places kept by thoſe of the ſaid Religion, ſhall be reſtor'd in the Governments of *Guyenne*, and *Languedoc*, at the time declar'd by the preceding Article: And the Edict of pacification ſhall be put entirely in execution in the ſame, as alſo, and by the ſame means, in the other Cities where the *Catholicks* are more numerous, neither Parties being allow'd to put Gariſons into them: And thus the Inhabitants of the ſame, of both Religions ſhall remain under the ſpecial ſafeguard of the King our Sovereign Lord, it being forbidden on pain of Death, to wrong them, or to undertake any thing againſt the Liberty and Safety of the ſaid Cities. Nevertheleſs, for ſurety of what is above written, and for an aſſurance of the execution of the ſaid Edict, the King leaves and gives in keeping to the ſaid King of *Navar* the following Cities; In the Government of *Guyenne*, *Bazas*, *Puymerol* and *Figeac*, until the laſt Day of *Auguſt* next enſuing, and no longer: And in the Government of *Languedoc*, *Ravel*, *Briateſte*, *Aleth*, *Santei*, *Agreve*, *Baiz ſur Baiz*, *Baignols*, *Alletz*, *Lunel*, *Sommieres*, *Aymargues* and *Gignac*, until the firſt Day of *October* alſo next enſuing, and no longer: On condition, and no otherwiſe, that they ſhall make no Fortifications there, nor demoliſh Churches and other places, nor act any thing elſe contrary to the Edict.

XVIII. That the Eccleſiaſticks, and other Catholick Inhabitants ſhall be receiv'd again into the ſaid Cities without any difficulty, and ſhall fully injoy all their Eſtates, and the Fruits,

Fruits, or the Revenues of the ſame: That they ſhall perform Divine Service in the ſame, according to the uſe of the Catholick Church: That Juſtice ſhall alſo be freely adminiſtred there; That the King's Money as well ordinary as extraordinary, ſhall be rais'd and receiv'd there: And that the Edict ſhall be intirely kept and obſerv'd there. And the ſame ſhall be done, according to the ſaid Edict, in relation to thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, in the other Cities where the Catholicks are more in number. It is alſo reſolv'd, That the Magiſtrates and Officers of the Cities, ſhall take care to ſee it perform'd, on pain of being ſuſpended of their Officers for the firſt times, and on forfeit of them for the ſecond.

XIX. That the ſaid Cities during the time heretofore declar'd, ſhall be govern'd by Perſons of Integrity, Lovers of the Peace and Publick Good, who ſhall be nominated by the King of *Navar*, and approv'd by the ſaid Lady, Queen Mother to the King; who ſhall engage, and be bound with Six in the chief, and Four in the other of the ſaid Towns, the ſame well to preſerve in their Obedience to the King, and to cauſe the Edict to be well maintain'd, and what has been now reſolv'd between the ſaid Lady Queen Mother to the King, and the ſaid King of *Navar*, to maintain all the Inhabitants thereof in Safety, according to the ſaid Edict, and namely to reſtore the ſaid Cities, *viz.* thoſe of the Government of *Guyenne* on the Firſt day of *September* next coming; and thoſe of the Government of *Languedoc*, on the Firſt day of *October* alſo next coming, into the Hands of the Perſon the King ſhall be pleas'd to Deputе to go to the ſaid Cities, to ſee them forthwith reſtor'd in the Condition ſet down in the ſaid Edict of Pacification, without putting any Governor, or Gariſon into the ſame, and without removing the Ammunitions and Artillery that is in the ſaid Cities, belonging either to the King, or to the Communalties of the ſaid Cities.

XX. The ſaid King of *Navar* has alſo remitted the *Mur de Barais*, to the ſaid Lady Queen, who upon his Nomination has agreed to Truſt the keeping thereof to Monſieur *d'Arpajon*, to have it in Charge until the ſaid Firſt day of *Auguſt* next. At which time the ſaid Monſieur *d'Arpagon* ſhall be oblig'd to Surrender it into the hands of the Commiſſary, who ſhall repair to the other Cities, to leave them in the Condition mention'd by the Edict, as the other Fourteen Cities aforemention'd.

XXI. And to avoid all manner of Burthening and Oppreſſing of the Inhabitants of the ſaid Cities, and Adjacent Parts, the ſaid Lady has and does promiſe to the ſaid King of *Navar*, and to the ſaid of the pretended *Reform'd* Religion to furniſh Thirty ſix thouſand *Livres Tournois*, which ſhall be deliver'd into the hands of thoſe the ſaid King of *Navar* ſhall nominate at the beginning of every one of the ſaid Months, *pro Rata*, and by equal Portions, according to the Diviſion they ſhall make of it.

XXII. And therefore it has been expreſly reſolv'd, That the ſaid of the

the pretended *Reform'd* Religion; thoſe who ſhall Command in the ſaid Cities, and thoſe who ſhall be committed for the Guard thereof, ſhall not be allow'd to Quarter in the Houſes of Catholicks, as leaſt as few as poſſible can be, neither ſhall they raiſe, or exact any thing from the Inhabitants thereof, or others, nor from the Adjacent Places, under any colour and pretence whatſoever, without the Kings leave. The Conſuls of the ſaid Cities ſhall be oblig'd during the ſaid Term of Six Months to furniſh the Candles for the Guard, and the Wood for *Corps de Guard*; which cannot amount to much, conſidering the Summer ſeaſon: Allowing them however at the firſt Seſſions to impoſe and raiſe upon the Dioceſſes and Seneſchalſhips, the Sums to which the ſaid Candles and Wood ſhall amount, without conſequence. And as for the Gariſons lying at preſent in the Cities of the ſaid Country of *Languedoc*, held by thoſe of the ſaid Religion, they are allow'd to raiſe, if it has not been done already, what is barely neceſſary for their Maintenance until the laſt day of *March* next, and no more. In order to which, they ſhall give the Commiſſaries who are now going to put an end to all Acts of Hoſtility, the true eſtimate of what the Payment of the ſaid Gariſons will amount to. And the ſaid Eſtimate ſhall be drawn without Fraud, upon the old Roles: In which ſhall not be included in the upper Country of *Languedoc*, *Dornhe*, *S. Germa*, *Pechaudie*, *Pierrefiche*, *Carlus*, *Frigerolles*, *Myeules*, and *Poſtrims*, which ſhall be ſpeedily diſmantled and quitted. And to that end, thoſe who detain them, ſhall forthwith deliver them into the hands of thoſe who are ſent to cauſe the Acts of Hoſtility to ceaſe, if they deſign to injoy the benefit of the General Pardon, granted to thoſe who have been Infractors of the Edict of Pacification, ſince the Publication thereof. And in caſe they do not obey what is aboveſaid, they ſhall be depriv'd of the benefit of the ſaid Pardon, and puniſh'd like Diſturbers of the Common Peace, without hope of any Favour. And a Nomination ſhall alſo be made to the Executors of the Edict, both in *Guienne*, and in *Lower Languedoc*, of the Cities, Towns, and Caſtles, it will be fit to diſmantle, according to the Advice of the Inhabitants of the Country of both Religions; and what the King ſhall afterwards be pleas'd to order upon the ſaid Advice, without including the Places belonging to private Lords. And as for the *Upper Languedoc*, according as aboveſaid, the ſaid Executors ſhall conſult, whether there are any Places of thoſe that are poſſeſs'd by the Catholicks, requiſite, and fit to be diſmantled, according as aboveſaid, to the Advice of thoſe of the Country of both Religions; and alſo according to what the King ſhall be pleas'd to order about it.

XXIII. And for a good, firm, true, and ſincere Aſſurance of what is abovemention'd, the ſaid King of *Navar*, together with the Prince of *Conde*, and Twenty of the Principal Gentlemen of the ſaid Pretended *Reform'd* Religion, ſuch as the Queen Mother ſhall be pleas'd to nominate, together with the Deputies that are here

here, in the Name of the Provinces that have ſent them; beſides thoſe who are to Command in the ſaid Cities, that are left in their hands for the ſaid Six Months, ſhall promiſe and ſwear upon their Faith and Honour, and ingage their Eſtates, to cauſe all the Gariſons to march out of the ſaid Fourteen Cities, and Citadels thereof, and to deliver the ſaid Cities and Citadels, without delay, excuſe, evaſion, or any other pretence whatever, on the abovesaid 1ſt days of *September* and *October* next coming, into the hands of the abovesaid Commiſſary, to leave them in the Condition ſpeciſi'd by the ſaid Edict of Pacification, as is aforeſaid.

XXIV. It has been reſolv'd, That in caſe any Attempt ſhould be made on either ſide, to the prejudice of the laſt Edict of Pacification, and of all that is abovesaid, The Complaint and Proſecution thereof ſhall be made before the King's Governours and Lieutenants-General, and by way of Juſtice in the Courts of Parliament, or Chambers Eſtabliſh'd, in regard of both, according to the Edict. And what ſhall be ordain'd by them, ſhall forthwith be put in execution, at fartheſt, within a Month after it, by the diligence of the King's Council, in relation to the Judgements that ſhall intervene, without uſing any Connivence or Diſſimulation. And the ſaid Governors and Lieutenants-General are expreſly order'd, together with the Bailiffs and Seneſchals, to further, give Aid and Comfort, and to employ all the King's Forces for the execution of what ſhall have been adviſ'd and order'd for the reparation of the ſaid Attempts. Thus the Attempts on either ſide ſhall neither be taken, or reputed as Infractions of the Edict in reſpect to the King, and the King of *Navar*, the General of the Catholicks, and the General of thoſe of the ſaid Religion. It being his Majeſty's true and firm Intention, at the requeſt of the ſaid King of *Navar*, to have them immediately redreſs'd, and the Guilty ſeverely and exemplarily puniſh'd.

XXV. And to that end, the Gentlemen and Inhabitants of the Towns, of both Religions, ſhall be obliged to accompany the Governors, and the King's Lieutenants-General, to aid them with their Perſons and Means, if neceſſary and requir'd ſo to do, in order forthwith to repair the ſaid Attempts. The ſaid Governors and Lieutenants-General, together with the Bailiffs and Seneſchals, ſhall be oblig'd to apply themſelves about it, without delay or excuſe, and to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours and Diligence for the Reparation of the ſaid Attempts, and to puniſh the Guilty according to the Pains ſpeciſi'd in the Edict. Moreover, it has been reſolv'd, That ſuch as ſhall make any Attempts upon Cities, Places, or Caſtles, or that ſhall Aber, Aſſiſt, or Favour them, or give them Counſel, or that ſhall commit any Attempt againſt, and to the prejudice of the Edict, and all that is abovesaid: Alſo ſuch as ſhall refuſe to obey, or ſhall oppoſe themſelves, or by others, directly or indirectly, the Effect and Execution of the ſaid Edict of Pacification, and of all that

is aboveſaid, are from this moment declar'd guilty of High-Treaſon, both they and their Poſterity, Infamous, and for ever incapable of injoying any Honours, Imployments, Dignities, and Succeſſions; and liable to all the Puniſhments inflicted by the Law againſt thoſe that are guilty of High-Treaſon in the higheſt degree: His Majeſty declaring moreover, That he will grant no Pardon for it; forbidding his Secretaries to ſign them, and his Chancellor, or Lord-Keeper to paſs them: And the Courts of Parliament to reſpect them for the future, whatever expreſs or reiterated Commands they might receive about it.

XXVI. It has alſo been reſolv'd, That the Lords deputed for the Execution of the ſaid Edict of Pacification, together with the Secret Articles made at the time of the ſaid laſt Edict of Pacification, and of all that is aboveſaid, proceeding to the ſaid Execution, ſhall reſtore the Houſes and Caſtles of the ſaid King of *Navar*, as they paſs along the Seneſchalſhips, where the ſaid Caſtles and Houſes of the ſaid King of *Navar* are Situate; which ſhall be left without Gariſons on either part, and put into the Condition mention'd by the Edict of Pacification, and according to the Ancient Priviledges.

XXVII. That all that is above ſpecifi'd, and what is contain'd in the laſt Edict of Pacification, ſhall be inviolably kept and obſerv'd on both ſides, under the Penalties ſet down in the ſaid Edict. That the Courts of Parliament, and Chambers ordain'd for Juſtice, according to this ſaid Edict; the Chambers of Accounts, Courts of Aids, Bailiffs, Seneſchals, Provoſts, and all other Officers, to whom it may concern, ſhall cauſe to Regiſter the Letters-Patent, that ſhall be iſſued out for all that is aboveſaid, and the Contents thereof to follow, keep, and obſerve in every particular, according to their Form and Tenor. And the Governours and Lietenants-General of all the Provinces of this Kingdom ſhall be injoyn'd, in the mean time, forthwith to publiſh, every one within his Diſtrict, the ſaid Letters-Patent, to the end that no body may pretend to plead ignorance, and the Contents of the ſame alſo inviolably to keep and obſerve, under the Penalties ſpecifi'd by the ſaid laſt Edict of Pacification, and others here above declar'd.

Done at Nerac *on the laſt day of* February, 1579.

Thus Sign'd *Katherine. Henry.*

Bouchart, Deputy from the Prince of *Conde*, *Biron*, *Joyeuſe*, *Janſac*, *Pybrac*, *de la Mothe Fenelon*, *Clairmont*, *Duranti*, *Turrenne*, *Guitry*, *Du Faur*, Chancellor to the King of *Navar*; *Scorbiac*, deputed by the Generality of *Bourdeaux*; *Tolet*, and *de Vaux*, Deputies for *Rovergue*.

The King having ſeen, and maturely conſider'd word by word, the intire Contents of theſe preſent Articles, agree on in the Conference which the Queen his Mother has held at Nerac, *with the King of* Navar,

Navar, *and the Deputies of thoſe of the pretended* Reform'd *Religion, who were aſſembled there, to facilitate the Execution of the laſt Edict of Pacification: The ſaid Articles agreed on, and ſign'd on both ſides at the ſaid place of* Nerac, *on the laſt day of the Month of* February *laſt paſt: His Majeſty has approv'd, confirm'd and ratify'd the ſame; wills and requires that they ſhall be put in execution according to their Form and Tenor, and to that end that the Letters-Patent, and all neceſſary Diſpatches of the ſame ſhall be forthwith made and ſent.*

Done at *Paris* on the 14*th* Day of *March*, 1519.

Sign'd, *Henry.*

And lower, *De Neufville.*

The King's Edict about the Pacification of the Troubles, containing a Confirmation, Amplification, and Declaration, as well of the precedent Edicts made upon the ſame Subject, even in the Year 1577. *as of the Articles agreed on at the Conference held at* Nerac, *publiſh'd at* Paris *in Parliament, on the* 26th *of* January, 1577.

HEnry by the Grace of God King of *France* and *Poland*, to all thoſe preſent, and hereafter to come, Greeting.

Notwithſtanding that ſince the Agreement and publication of our Edict of pacification, made in the year 1577. we have us'd our utmoſt endeavours for the putting of the ſame in execution, and to oblige our Subjects to follow and obſerve it, even ſo far as to put the Queen our moſt honour'd Lady and Mother, to the trouble of repairing to the principal Provinces of our Kingdom, to remedy and provide againſt, according to her uſual prudence, the Difficulties and Obſtacles which depriv'd our ſaid Subjects of the benefit of our ſaid Edict, whereupon follow'd the Articles of the Conferance at *Nerac*, between the ſaid Lady accompany'd with ſome of the principal Princes of our Blood, and Lords of our Privy-Council; and our moſt Dear and moſt Beloved Brother the King of *Navar*, aſſiſted by the Deputies of our Subjects, who profeſs the pretended *Reform'd* Religion. Yet not having been able, to our great regret, to avoid the Troubles, being renew'd in our Kingdom, we have endeavour'd and us'd all the moſt proper and moſt agreeable means we have been able to deviſe, to extinguiſh them, and to deliver our ſaid Subjects from the evils of War; having to that end by our Letters Patent impow'd our moſt Dear and moſt Beloved only Brother, the Duke of *Anjou*, to cauſe our ſaid Edict of pacification to be entirely executed, together with the Articles of the ſaid Conference of *Nerac*: Who being ſince, according to our Intention, gone into our Country and Dutchy of *Guyenne*, and there having,

having, upon the ſaid Subject, conferr'd at large with our ſaid Brother the King of *Navar*, and the Deputies of our ſaid Subjects of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion there conven'd and aſſembled; The Articles annex'd to theſe Preſents under the Counter Seal of our Chancery, were there propos'd: Which ſaid Articles being ſent to us by our ſaid Brother, we having examin'd and conſider'd the ſame, out of a ſingular deſire to baniſh out of our Kingdom, the Impieties, Extortions, and other Accidents occaſion'd by the ſaid Troubles; to re-eſtabliſh the Honour and Service of God, make way for Juſtice, and to relieve our poor people: Have out of our own Inclination, full Power and Authority Royal, approv'd and ratify'd the ſaid Articles: The ſame do approve and ratifie by theſe Preſents ſign'd by our own Hand: And it is our will and pleaſure that the ſame ſhall be follow'd, kept, executed, and inviolably obſerv'd, according to their Form and Tenor in the ſame manner as our ſaid Edict of pacification.

Therefore we command and require our Truſty and well-beloved the Perſons holding our Courts of Parliament, Chambers of our Accounts, Courts of our Aids, Bailiffs, Seneſchals, Provoſts, and other our Juſtices and Officers to whom it may concern, or their Lieutenants, to cauſe the ſaid Articles hereunto, as aforeſaid, annex'd, to be read, publiſh'd, regiſter'd, kept, executed, and inviolably obſerv'd in the ſame manner as our ſaid Edict of Pacification, and the Articles granted in the ſaid Conference of *Nerac*, making all thoſe that are concern'd, fully and peaceably enjoy and receive the benefit of what is contain'd therein, putting a ſtop to all Troubles and Impediments to the contrary. For ſuch is our pleaſure; and to the end that it may be firm and laſting for ever, we have caus'd our Seal to be affix'd to theſe Preſents.

Given at Blois *in the Month of* December, *in the Year of our Lord*, 1580. *and of our Reign the* 7th.

Sign'd.

Henry.

And upon the Fold, by the King,

Pinart.

And ſeal'd upon Knots of Red and Green Silk, with the Great Seal, and Green Wax.

And it is alſo written upon the Fold of the ſaid Letters,

Viſa.

Articles

Articles propounded, and ſet forth in the Aſſembly and Conference held at Flex, *near the City of* Sainte Foy, *between the Duke of* Anjou *the King's only Brother, by vertue of the power given unto him by his Majeſty, and the King of* Navar, *aſſiſted by the Deputies of thoſe of the pretended* Reform'd *Religion, he anſwering for all the King's Subjects of the ſaid Religion, to be preſented to his Majeſty, to be by him, if ſuch be his pleaſure, granted and approv'd. And in ſo doing to put an end to the Troubles and Diſorders happen'd in this Kindom ſince the laſt Edict of Pacification made in the Month of* September, 1577. *and the Conference held at* Nerac *on the laſt day of* February, 1579. *and to reſtore the King's Subjects in Peace and Union under his Obedience, and ſo to provide by a good and ſpeedy execution, that henceforward nothing may happen among them to the prejudice of the ſaid Pacification.*

Article I. THAT the ſaid laſt Edict of Pacification, and ſecret and particular Articles granted with the ſame; together with the Articles of the aforeſaid Conference held at *Nerac*, ſhall be really, and in effect, obſerv'd and put in execution, in all and every particular; which ſhall hold and ſtand good, not only for the things happen'd during the preceding Troubles, but alſo for ſuch as ſhall or have happen'd from the time of the ſaid Conference, until now; and that all the King's Subjects of both Religions, ſhall enjoy the benefit of the Declarations, Grants, Diſcharges, and General Pardons contain'd in the ſaid Articles, Edicts and Conferences, for what has been done and committed, taken and rais'd on either ſide, during the preſent Troubles, and upon the account thereof, as they ſhould have done for what had happen'd during the precedent Troubles, excepting what is expreſly derogated by the preſent Articles.

II. The Articles of the ſaid Edict concerning the re eſtabliſhment of the Catholick Apoſtolick and *Roman* Religion, for the celebration of Divine Service, in ſuch places where it has been diſcontinu'd, together with the enjoyment and gathering of the Tythes, Fruits, and Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, ſhall be entirely executed, follow'd and obſerv'd, and thoſe who ſhall tranſgreſs the ſame, ſhall be rigorouſly puniſh'd.

III. In putting the 1ſt, 2d, and 11th Articles of the Edict in execution, the King's Attorneys General ſhall be enjoin'd, as well as their Subſtitutes in Bayliwicks, Seneſchalſhips, and other Royal Juriſdictions, to inform againſt, and make proſecution in the King's Name againſt all ſuch who

ſhall

ſhall move Seditions, &c. and in publick ſhall utter Scandalous Expreſſions or any wiſe tranſgreſs the ſaid Edicts, Articles and Conferences, in order to have them puniſh'd according to the Penalties inflicted by the ſame: The which being omitted, the ſaid Attorneys and Subſtitutes ſhall be reſponſible for the ſaid Infractions, in their own particular Names, and depriv'd of their Places, without ever being reſtor'd or re-eſtabliſh'd to the ſame. And the Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſticks, ſhall be requir'd to keep and to oblige the Preachers inſtituted by them, to keep and obſerve the Contents of the ſaid Articles; and his Majeſty commands the ſame moſt expreſly to all others who ſpeak in publick, on the Penalties contain'd in the Edict.

IV. In conſequence of the 4th, 9th, and 13th Articles of the ſaid Edict, all thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion of what condition or quality ſoever are allow'd to *be and ſafely to inhabit in all the Cities and parts of this Kingdom*, without being diſturb'd or proſecuted upon the account of the ſaid Religion, under any pretence whatever, they behaving themſelves according as it is order'd by the aforeſaid Articles of the ſaid Edict. They ſhall not be oblig'd to hang and adorn the Front of their Houſes on the Feſtival Days on which it is order'd; but only ſhall ſuffer them to be hung and adorn'd by the Authority of the Officers who belong to thoſe places. Neither ſhall they be oblig'd to contribute towards the Charges for the Reparations of Churches, or to admit Exhortations when ſick, or at the point of Death, either by Condemnation of Juſtice, or otherwiſe, from any but thoſe of the ſaid Religion.

V. The 1ſt Article of the Conference ſhall hold and remain in force, altho the King's Atorny-General be a Party againſt the High-Juſticers, who were in actual poſſeſſion of the ſaid Juſtice, at the time of the publication of the ſaid Edict.

VI. In executing the 8 Article of the ſaid Edict, thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall nominate unto the King four or five places in every Bayliwick or Seneſchalſhip of the Quality mention'd by the Edict, to the end that being inform'd of the convenience or inconvenience thereof, his Majeſty may chuſe one of them there to eſtabliſh the Exerciſe of their ſaid Religion, or they not proving convenient, to provide another for them within a month after the ſaid Nomination, which ſhall be as convenient for them as can be, and according to the Tenor of the Edict.

VII. And as to the Burying places of thoſe of the ſaid Religion, the Officers belonging to thoſe parts, ſhall be oblig'd within a Fortnight after their being requir'd ſo to do, to provide them convenient places for the ſaid Interments, without delays, on the penalty of Five Hundred Crowns, in their proper and private Names.

VIII. Letters Patent ſhall be paſs'd, directed to the Courts of Parliament for the regiſtring and obſerving of the ſecret and particular Articles made with the ſaid Edict. And as for Marriages, and the Differences that ſhall ariſe upon the ſame, the Judges Eccleſiaſtical and Royal, together with the aforeſaid Chambers, ſhall take cognizance of the ſame reſpectively,

ſpectively, according to the ſaid Articles.

IX. The Taxes and Impoſitions that ſhall be laid upon thoſe of the ſaid Religion, according as it is expreſs'd in the 3d Article of the ſaid Conference, ſhall be executed, all Oppoſitions or Appeals whatever, notwithſtanding.

X. Thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall be allow'd the Exerciſe thereof, in the Cities and places in which it was perform'd on the 17th of *September*, 1577. according to the 7th Article of the ſaid Edict.

XI. The King ſhall ſend a Chamber of Juſtice in the County and Dutchy of *Guyenne*, conſiſting of two Preſidents, 14 Councellors, a King's Attorney and Advocate, perſons of worth, lovers of peace, of Integrity and proper Abilities, which ſhall be choſen by his Majeſty, and taken out of the Parliaments of this Kingdom and Great Council, the Liſt of which ſhall be communicated to the King of *Navar*, to the end that any of them being ſuſpected Perſons, it may be lawful to acquaint his Majeſty therewith, who ſhall elect others in their room. The ſaid Preſidents and Counſellors thus ordain'd, ſhall take cognizance of, and judge all Cauſes, Proceſſes, Differences and Tranſgreſſions of the Edict of Pacification, the Cognizance and Juriſdiction of which, has been by the ſaid Edict referr'd to the Chamber compos'd by the ſame: They ſhall ſerve two whole Years in the ſaid Country, and ſhall remove their place and Seſſions through the Seneſchalſhips of the ſame every ſix Months, in order to purge the Provinces, and to adminiſter Juſtice to every one upon the ſpot. Nevertheleſs it has been agreed, that by the eſtabliſhment of the ſaid Chamber, thoſe of the ſaid pretended reform'd Religion ſhall not be depriv'd of the priviledge and benefit which is granted them by the ſaid Edict, by the eſtabliſhment of the Tripartite Chamber, ordain'd by the ſame. The Preſidents and Councellors of which being of the ſaid Religion, ſhall remain united and incorporate in the Court of the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, according to their erection, there to ſerve, to hold a Rank, and ſit from the very day they have been receiv'd there, and ſhall enjoy all the Honours, Authorities, Preheminences, Rights, Profits and Prerogatives, as the other Preſidents and Counſellors of the ſaid Court. And as for the Provinces of *Languedoc* and *Dauphine*, the Chambers that have been appointed for them by the Edict, ſhall be eſtabliſh'd and conſtituted there according, as it is ſpecifi'd in the ſame, and by the Articles of the ſaid Conference of *Nerac*. And the next ſitting of that of *Languedoc* ſhall be in the City of ——— And that of *Dauphine* ſhall be eſtabliſh'd, according to what has been heretofore ordain'd.

XII. The ſaid Preſidents, Counſellors and Officers of the ſaid Chamber ſhall be oblig'd to repair forthwith to the places appointed for their Seſſions, there to exerciſe their Office, on pain of loſing their ſaid Offices, and to ſerve actually, and reſide in the ſaid Chambers, without departing or abſenting from thence without leave, regiſtred from

from the ſaid Chambers, which ſhall be judge in the Aſſembly, upon the Cauſes of the Ordinance. And the ſaid Catholick Preſidents, Counſellors and Officers ſhall be continu'd there as long as can be, and as the King ſhall judge it neceſſary for his Service, and for the Publick Good: And in licenſing the one, others ſhall be put in their places before their departure.

XIII. All Sovereign and other Courts of this Kingdom are forbidden to take cognizance, and judge Proceſſes, either civil or criminal, in which thoſe of the ſaid Religion are concern'd, until the Day on which the ſaid Chambers ſhall ſit, or afterwards, on pain of nullity, Charges, Damages, and intereſt of the Parties, unleſs they ſhall proceed voluntarily in the ſaid Courts, according to the 26 Article of the ſaid Edict, and the 6th and 7th of the ſaid Conference.

XIV. The King ſhall provide valuable aſſignations to furniſh towards the charges of Juſtice of the ſaid Chambers, and ſhall reimburſe himſelf upon the Eſtates of the Condemn'd.

XV. The King ſhall as ſoon as poſſible can be, make a Regulation between the ſaid Courts of Parliament, and the ſaid Chambers, according to the Edict, and the 5th Article of the ſaid Conference, and conſult ſome Preſidents and Counſellors of the ſaid Parliaments and Chambers about it. Which ſaid Regulation ſhall be kept and obſerv'd, without regard to thoſe that have preceded it.

XVI. Neither ſhall the ſaid Courts of Parliament, or other Sovereign and Inferior Courts, take cognizance of what ſhall be depending and introduc'd into the ſaid Chambers, which they ought to determine according to the Edict, on pain of nullity of the Proceedings.

XVII. In ſuch Chambers where there ſhall be Judges of both Religions, the proportion of Judges and Judgments ſhall be obſerv'd according to their eſtabliſhment, unleſs the Parties conſent to the contrary.

XVIII. The Recuſations or Refuſals propos'd againſt the Preſidents and Counſellors of the ſaid Chambers of *Guyenne*, and *Languedoc*, and *Dauphine*, ſhall be allow'd to the number of ſix, to which number the Parties ſhall be reſtrain'd, otherwiſe they ſhall go forward without any regard to the ſaid Refuſals.

XIX. The Preſidents and Counſellors of the ſaid Chambers ſhall hold no private Councils out of their Aſſembly; in which alſo the Propoſitions, Deliberations and Reſolutions relating to the Publick Good ſhall be made, as well as thoſe relating to the particular State and Policy of the ſaid Cities where the ſaid Chambers ſhall be.

XX. All the Judges to whom the Execution of Decrees and other Commiſſions of the ſaid Chambers ſhall be directed, together with all Meſſengers and Serjeants, ſhall be oblig'd to put them in execution. And the ſaid Meſſengers and Serjeants ſhall ſerve all Warrants throughout the Kingdom, without requiring *Placet*, *Viſa*, nor *Pareatis*, on pain of being ſuſpended, and of paying the

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loſt Damages and Intereſts of the Parties, of which the Cogniſance ſhall appertain to the ſaid Chambers.

21. No Evocation or removal of Cauſes, the tryal of which is refer'd to the ſaid Chambers, ſhall be allow'd, unleſs in the caſe of the Ordinances, the return whereof ſhall be made to the neareſt Chamber eſtabliſh'd according to the Edict. And upon the Revocation of the Removal, and the annihilation of the Proceedings made upon the ſame, Juſtice ſhall be done by the King, at the requeſt of the Parties: and the iſſues of Suits of the ſaid Chambers ſhall be try'd in the next Chamber, obſerving the proportion and form of the ſaid Chambers whence the Proceſſes proceed.

XXII. The Subaltern Officers of the Provinces of *Guyenne*, *Languedoc* and *Dauphine*, the reception of which belongs to the Courts of Parliament, if they be of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, may be examin'd and receiv'd in the Chamber of the Edict, and none but the King's Attorneys General, and thoſe plac'd in the ſaid Offices, ſhall be allow'd to oppoſe and make themſelves Parties againſt their reception: And upon the refuſal of the ſaid Parliaments, the Officers ſhall take the ſaid Oaths in the ſaid Chambers.

XXIII. Such of the ſaid Religion as have reſign'd their Places and Offices out of fear of the Troubles, ſince the 24*th* of *Auguſt*, 1572. to whom by reaſon thereof, ſome Promiſes have been made: The ſaid Promiſes being verified by them, Proviſion ſhall be made for them by Law according to reaſon.

XXIV. The 46*th* Article of the ſaid Edict ſhall be intirely executed, and ſhall be of force for the diſcharge of Arrears and Contributions, and all other Sums impos'd during the Troubles.

XXV. All Deliberations made in the Courts of Parliament, Letters, Remonſtrances, and other things contrary to the ſaid Edict of Pacification and Conference, ſhall be raz'd out of the Regiſters.

XXVI. The Proceſſes of Vagabonds ſhall be tried by Preſidial Judges, Provoſt, Marſhal, and Vice-Seneſchals, according to the 25d Article of the ſaid Edict, and the 8th of the ſaid Conference. And as for the Houſholders in the Provinces of *Guienne*, *Languedoc* and *Dauphine*, the Subſtitutes of the King's Attorneys General in the ſaid Chambers ſhall at the requeſt of the ſaid Houſholders, cauſe the Inditemen's and Informrtions made againſt them, to be brought into the ſame, to know and determine whether the Caſes are liable to Provoſt Courts, or not, that afterwards according to the nature of the Crimes, they may be return'd by the ſaid Chambers, to be try'd by the ordinary Judges, or by the Provoſtal Judges, as they ſhall find it reaſonable. And the ſ id Preſidial Judges, Provoſts Marſhal, and Vice-Seneſchals ſha'l be oblig'd to reſpect obey and fulfil the Commands they ſhall receive from the ſaid Chambers, as they uſe to do thoſe of the ſaid Parliaments, on pain of forfeiture of their Places.

XXVII. The Ruins and diſmantlings of all Cities that have been demoliſh'd during the Troubles, may

be by the King's leave rebuilt and repair'd by the Inhabitants, at their own charge and expence, according to the Fiftieth Article of the Edict.

XXVIII. The like Discharges and Pardons shall be granted in respect to the things done and happen'd on both sides since the said Conference until now, as are contain'd in the said Edict, in the 55th Article, all Proceedings, Sentences and Decrees, and whatever has follow'd thereupon notwithstanding, which shall be declar'd null, and of no effect, as things never happen'd, derogating in respect to that to what is contain'd in the 25th Article of the said Conference; the which notwithstanding shall remain in full force and vertue for the future. In which Pardons shall be included the taking of *Bazaz* and *Langon*: The first taken during the War in the Year 1576, and the other after the said Conference of *Nerac*, and what has insued thereupon, all Judgments and Decrees to the contrary notwithstanding.

XXIX. After the publication of the said Edict, in that part where the said Duke of *Anjou* shall be, all Forces and Armies on both sides shall separate and retire; and after their being retir'd, that is, after the *French* Forces are disbanded and dismissed, and the Foreigners gone out of the Government of *Guienne* in order to march out of the Kingdom: ¶ After the Cities hereafter mention'd shall be deliver'd into the hands of the said Duke of *Anjou*, the said King of *Navar*, and those of the said Religion, and others who have been ingag'd in their Party, shall be oblig'd to deliver into the hands of the said Duke of *Anjou* the Cities of *Mande*, *Cahors*, *Monsegus*, *S. Milion*, and *Mont aigu*: Which *Mont-aigu* shall be dismantled as soon as it is delivered to the said Duke of *Anjou*.

XXX. Immediately after the delivery of the said Cities, the said Duke of *Anjou* shall cause to be deliver'd unto the said King of *Navar*, the Houses, Cities and Castles belonging unto him, which he shall leave in the condition ordain'd by the Edict, and the Articles of the said Conference.

XXXI. And the King shall at the same time order the City and Castle *de la Reolle* to be deliver'd into the hands of the said Duke of *Anjou*, who shall be responsible to his said Majesty for the same, and shall give it in keeping to the Vice-comte of *Turenne* who shall enter into such Obligations, and make such promises as the said Duke of *Anjou* shall require to return, and re-deliver it into his hands in order to his restoring it to his Majesty, in case within two months after the said publication, the Cities yielded in the said Conference, seated in *Guyenne*, should not be deliver'd by those of the said Religion, in the condition mention'd by the Articles of the said Conference: In respect to which Cities at present, still in possession of those of the said Religion, and left to them by the said Conference, the said King of *Navar*, and those of the said Religion, shall promise the said Duke of *Anjou*, who will ingage his word to the King for it, to march the Garisons out of them, and to restore them in the condition they ought to be by the said Edict and Conference, *viz.* Those of the Country

Country of *Guienne* within the ſaid Two Months after the publication of the ſaid preſent Articles made in thoſe parts where the ſaid Duke of *Anjou* ſhall be, and thoſe of *Languedoc*, within three Months after the ſaid publication made by the Governor, or Lieutenant-General of the Province, without any Delays, Putoffs, or Difficulties, upon any account or pretence whatever. And as to the Liberty and Guard of the ſaid Cities, they ſhall obſerve what is enjoin'd them by the ſaid Article of the ſaid Conference. And they ſhall do the ſame for thoſe that have been given them in keeping for their ſurety by the ſaid Edict, and they ſhall nominate unto his Majeſty perſons whoſe Manners, Qualifications, and Conditions are anſwerable to what is requir'd by the Edict, to command in the ſame, and they ſhall be oblig'd and bound to leave and to reſtore them in the condition mention'd by the ſaid Edict, immediately after the expiration of the remainder of the term of time that was granted them by the ſame, according to the form, and under the Penalties therein contain'd.

XXXII. All other Cities, Places, Caſtles and Houſes belonging to the King, and to Eccleſiaſticks, Lords, and Gentlemen, and other his Majeſty's Subjects of both Religions; together with their Titles, Papers, Inſtructions, and other things whatever, ſhall be reſtor'd in the condition ordain'd by the Edict and Articles of the Conference, into the hands of the owners thereof, immediately after the ſaid publication of the ſaid preſent Articles, to leave them the free enjoyment and poſſeſſion thereof, as they had it before their being diſpoſſeſs'd, on the penalties contain'd in the ſaid Edict and Articles, notwithſtanding the right of propriety were diſputed. And ſhall clear the ſaid Cities, Places and Caſtles of all Gariſons, to which end the Articles of the Edict and Conference concerning the Governments and Gariſons of the Forts and Caſtles of the Provinces, Cities and Caſtles ſhall be executed according to their Form and Tenor.

XXXIII. For the effecting of which, the ſaid Duke of *Anjou* has promis'd to remain into the ſaid Country of *Guyenne*, during the ſaid time of two months, to execute and cauſe the ſaid Edict and Articles to be put in execution, according to the power given unto him by his ſaid Majeſty, the which ſhall be publiſh'd to that end, and a Council of capable and fit perſons eſtabliſh'd about his perſon.

XXXIV. The 48th Article of the ſaid Edict concerning *the liberty of Commerce, and the aboliſhing of all New Tolls and Subſidies* impos'd by any Authority but the King's, ſhall be obſerv'd and effected: And in conſideration of the Abuſes and Infractions made to the Edict ſince the publication thereof, in relation to the Salt of *Pecquaiz*, Prohibitions ſhall be made to all perſons, of what quality or condition ſoever, directly to hinder the Draggage of Salt of *Pecquaiz*, to impoſe, exact, or raiſe any Subſidies, either upon Marches, upon the River *Rone*, or elſewhere, in any place or kind ſoever, without expreſs leave from his Majeſty, on pain of Death.

XXXV. All pieces of Ordnance belonging to his Majesty, that have been taken during the present and precedent Troubles, shall be restor'd immediately, according to the 43d of the secret Articles.

XXXVI. The 30th Article of the said Edict, concerning Prisoners and Ransoms, shall be follow'd and observ'd in relation to those who have been made Prisoners since the renewing of the War, and have not been yet deliver'd.

XXXVII. The King of *Navar* and Prince of *Conde* shall effectually enjoy their Governments, according to what is specifi'd by the said Edict, and secret Articles.

XXXVIII. The raising of 600000 Livers, which was granted and allow'd by the said Articles, shall be continu'd, according to the Commissions that have been issu'd out since by vertue thereof, to which his Majesty shall be intreated to add the Sums of 45000 Livers, furnish'd and advanc'd by the *Sieur de la Noue*.

XXXIX. The 22d, 23d, and 24th of the Secret Articles agreed on at *Bergerac*, concerning the Oaths and Promises to be made by the King, the Queen his Mother, the Duke of *Anjou* his Brother, the King of *Navar*, and the Prince of *Conde*, shall be reiterated and accomplish'd.

XL. The Princes of the Blood, Officers of the Crown, Governors and Lieutenants General, Bayliffs, Seneschals of the Provinces, and principal Magistrates of this Kingdom, shall swear and promise to cause the said Edicts, and present Articles, to be kept and observ'd, to employ themselves, and use their endeavours, every one in their Station, for the punishing of the Infractors.

XLI. The Courts of Parliament in bodies shall take the same Oath, which shall be reiterated at every new entry, which shall be made once a year on the Festival of St. *Martin*, at which they shall cause the said Edict to be read and republish'd.

XLII. The Seneschals and Officers of the Seneschalships and presidial Tribunals, shall also take the same Oath in a body, and shall reiterate it, and cause the said Edict to be read and publish'd again on every First Day of Jurisdiction after *Epiphany* or Twelfth Day.

XLIII. The Provosts, Majors, Jurors, Consuls, Capitouls and Sheriffs of Cities, shall take the like Oath in a publick place, to which they shall summon the principal Inhabitants of both Religions, and shall reiterate the same at every new Election of the said Offices.

XLIV. All the above-mention'd, and all other Subjects whatever of this Kingdom, of what Quality soever, shall depart from, and renounce all Leagues, Associations, Fraternities and Intelligences, both within and without the Kingdom: And shall swear to make none hereafter, or adhere to any, nor otherwise to transgress, directly, or indirectly, the said Edict, Articles and Conferences, on the Penalties therein mention'd.

XLV. All Officers Royal, and others, Majors, Jurats, Capitouls, Consuls and Sheriffs, shall answer in their own and private Names, for all the Infractions that shall be made of the said Edict, for want of punishing of the Infractors, both in a Civil and Corpo-

Corporal manner, according to the nature of the Offence.

XLVI. And for the remainder of what is contain'd and ordain'd by the ſaid Edicts, Conferences, and Articles, it ſhall be executed and obſerv'd in every particular, according to its Form and Tenor.

Done at Flex, *near* Sancte Foy, *the* 26th *Day of* November, 1580. *Thus ſign'd by the Duke of* Anjou *the King's Brother, with his own hand,*

Francis.

And by the King of Navar's *own hand,*

Henry.

XLVII. Since the ſigning of the Articles at *Flex*, on the 26*th* of the laſt Month, it has been agreed between the ſaid Duke of *Anjou*, and the King of *Navar*, and thoſe of the pretended *Reform'd* Religion, that inſtead of the City and Caſtle of *La Reolle*, mention'd in the 31ſt of the ſaid Articles, the Cities of *Figeac*, in *Quercy*, and *Monſegur* in *Bazadois*, ſhall be left to the King of *Navar*, and thoſe of the ſaid Religion, for the ſurety of their Perſons; and ſhall keep them during the time that is remaining of ſix years granted by the Edict of Peace, on the ſame account as the other Cities have been left to them. And for the ſurety of the ſaid Cities, the King ſhall maintain for the ſaid King of *Navar*, two Companies of Foot, each conſiſting of fifty men, over and above the number of the other Garriſons, granted by the Secret Articles. And good and valuable aſſignations ſhall be given for the maintenance of the ſaid Garriſons, and the ſaid City and Caſtles of *La Reolle* reſtor'd in the ſame condition as the other Cities not given in guard. The whole according to the King's pleaſure.

Done at Coutras *on the* 16*th Day of* December, 1580. *Thus ſign'd with the own hand of the Duke of* Anjou, *Brother to the King.*

Francis.

And the ſaid own hand of the King of Navar.

Henry.

The King having ſeen, and maturely conſider'd word by word the intire Contents in theſe preſent Articles, propos'd in the Conference held between the Duke of *Anjou* his only Brother, at *Flex* and *Coutrax*, the King of *Navar*, and the Deputies of thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, who were aſſembled there to facilitate the execution of the laſt Edict of Pacification, the ſaid Articles agreed on and ſign'd on both ſides in the ſaid places of *Flex* and *Courtras*, his Majeſty has approv'd, confirm'd, and ratifi'd them, wills and requires them to be obſerv'd and executed according to their Form and Tenor, and that the Patents and Diſpatches that are neceſſary be immediately made and ſent.

Done at Blois *the* 25th *Day of* December, 1580.

Thus Sign'd, *Henry.*

And underneath, *Pinart.*

Read.

Read, Publiſh'd, and Regiſtred, Heard by, and thereunto Conſenting, the King's Attorny-General in conſequence of the other Letters concerning the Caſe of the Pacification of the Troubles of this Kingdom, heretofore Publiſh'd and Regiſtred at Paris *in Parliament, the 26th day of* January, *in the year* 1581.

Thus Sign'd, *Du Tillet.*

The King's Edict about the Pacification of the Troubles of this Kingdom. Given at Nantes, *in the Month of* April, 1598. *and Publiſhed in Parliament the* 15*th of* February, 1599. *Together with the Particular Articles interven'd upon the ſame, alſo veriſi'd in Parliament.*

HENRY by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navar*, to all thoſe preſent, and others to come, Greeting. Among thoſe infinite Graces, it has pleas'd Almighty God to impart unto us, the greateſt and moſt remarkable is, To have given us the Conſtancy, Virtue, and Force, not to ſink under the horrible Troubles, Confuſions, and Diſorders, which were on foot at our coming to the Crown of this Kingdom, which was divided into ſo many Parts and Factions, that that which was the moſt lawful, was almoſt the leaſt; and yet, nevertheleſs, to have born up ſo ſtifly againſt that Storm, as in the end to have overcome it, and to be now entred into the Haven of Safety and Repoſe of this State. The abſolute Glory whereof be aſcribed to him alone, and to us the Favour and Obligation, in that he was pleas'd to make uſe of our Labour for the performance of ſo good a Work, in which it has been viſible to the whole World, that we have over and above the diſcharge of our Duty and Power, done ſomething further, which perhaps at another time would not have been ſo agreeable to our Dignity, which we have not been ſcrupulous to expoſe to that end, ſince we have ſo often and ſo freely expos'd our own Life for the ſame. And in this great Concurrency of ſuch Weighty, and ſuch Perilous Affairs, which could not be compos'd at one and the ſame time, We have been oblig'd to follow this order, firſt, to undertake ſuch as could not be determin'd otherwiſe than by Force, and to defer and ſuſpend for a time ſuch as were, and could be treated by Reaſon and Juſtice. Such as the General Differences among our good Subjects, and the Particular Grievances of the ſoundeſt part of the State, which in our Opinion will be more eaſily cur'd after having remov'd the principal Cauſe thereof, which was the Continuation of the Civil War. Which having, by the Grace of God, ſucceſſfully ended, and Arms, and Hoſtilities being quite laid aſide throughout our Kingdom; We hope for as favourable

favourable a Succeſs in the other Affairs that ſtill remain uncompos'd, and that thereby we ſhall obtain the Eſtabliſhment of a good Peace, and quiet Repoſe, which has ever been the aim of all our Wiſhes and Intentions, and the only Prize we look for, after ſo many Toils and Hardſhips wherein we have paſs'd the courſe of our Life. Among thoſe Affairs we were oblig'd to delay, one of the chief has been the Complaints we have receiv'd from ſeveral of our Catholick Provinces and Cities, in that the Exerciſe of the Catholick Religion was not univerſally re-eſtabliſh'd there, according to the Edicts heretofore made for the Pacification of the Troubles upon the account of Religion. As alſo the Supplications and Remonſtraces that have been made to us by our Subjects of the Pretended *Reform'd* Religion, both upon the unperformance of what is granted them by the ſaid Edicts, and their deſire of having ſome Additions made thereunto for the Exerciſe of their ſaid Religion, the Liberty of their Conſciences, and the Surety of their Perſons and Fortunes; pretending juſt Cauſes of new and greater Apprehenſions, by reaſon of the laſt Troubles and Commotions, the chief Pretence and Foundation of which was their Ruin. All which, not to overcharge our ſelves with too much buſineſs at one inſtant; as alſo becauſe the Terror of Arms does not ſuit with eſtabliſhing of Laws, tho never ſo good, we have ſtill defer'd from time to time to make proviſion for, and take care of. But now, ſince it has pleas'd God to give a beginning to our injoying of ſome Repoſe and Tranquility, We eſteem that we cannot imploy it better, than in applying our ſelves to what may concern the Glory of his Holy Name and Service, and in procuring his being ador'd and pray'd unto by all our Subjects: And that ſince it is not his pleaſure as yet, to grant that it may be done in one and the ſame Form of Religion, it may be done at leaſt with one and the ſame Intention, and with ſuch Rules, that it may occaſion no Troubles or Tumults among them: And that both we, and all this Kingdom, may always deſerve the Glorious Title of *Moſt Chriſtian*, which has been ſo long, and ſo deſervedly acquir'd: And by the ſame means to remove the Cauſe of the Grievances and Troubles which might ariſe hereafter upon the point of Religion, which has always been the moſt prevailing and moſt dangerous of all others; Therefore obſerving, that this Affair is of very great Importance, and worthy of weighty Conſideration, after a reſolving of all the Petitions and Complaints of our Catholick Subjects; and having alſo permitted our ſaid Subjects of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, to Aſſemble by Deputies to draw theirs, and to put all their Remonſtrances together, and having conferr'd ſeveral times with them upon this Subject, and review'd the precedent Edicts; We have thought fit at this time, upon the whole, to give our ſaid Subjects a Univerſal, Clear, Intelligible, and Abſolute Law, by which they ſhall be limited and govern'd in all differences that have heretofore happen'd among them upon

upon that Subject, or that may hereafter happen, whereby both Parties may remain satisfi'd, according as the nature of the time can allow it. We being entred into this Deliberation for no other end, but the Zeal we have for the Service of God, in order that henceforward it may be perform'd by all our said Subjects, and to establish a firm and perpetual Peace among them. Wherein we implore, and expect from his Divine Goodness the same Protection and Favour, which he has ever visibly conferr'd upon this Kingdom, from the first Erection thereof, and during the many Ages it has continued; and that he would bestow the Grace upon our said Subjects, truly to apprehend, that in the Observation of this our Ordinance (next to their Duty towards God, and towards all Men) consists the main foundation of their Union, Concord, Tranquility, and Quiet, and the Restauration of this State to its Pristine Splendor, Wealth, and Power. As we on our part do promise to have it exactly perform'd without permitting it to be any wise transgress'd. For these reasons having by the Advice of the Princes of our Blood, other Princes and Officers of our Crown, and other Great and Notable Persons of our Council of State about us, maturely and diligently weigh'd and consider'd the whole business; We have by this Edict perpetual and irrevocable, denounc'd, declar'd, and ordain'd, and do denounce, declare, and ordain,

I. *First*, That the Remembrance of all things pass'd on both sides, from the beginning of *March* 1585. until our coming to the Crown, and during the other precedent Troubles, or upon the account thereof, shall remain extinguish'd and ras'd out, as matters that never had happen'd. And it shall not be lawful for our Attorneys-General, or other Persons whatever, publick or private, at any time, or upon any occasion soever, to make mention of, or to Commence any Process or Suit thereupon in any Courts or Jurisdictions whatsoever.

II. We forbid all our Subjects of what Estate or Quality soever theybe, To renew the Remembrance thereof; To assail, urge, injure, or provoke one another by way of Reproach of what is past, upon any cause or pretence whatever; To Dispute, Contest, Quarrel, or Outrage, or Offend each other about it by Word or Deed; but to contain themselves, and live peaceably together as Brethren, Friends, and Fellow-Citizens; on pain for the Delinquents, of being punish'd as Infractors of the Peace, and Disturbers of the publick Quiet.

III. We ordain, That the Catholick Apostolick *Roman* Religion shall be re-establish'd and restor'd in all Places and Parts of this our Kingdom and Countries under our Obedience, where the Exercise thereof has been interrupted, there to be peaceably and freely put in practice without any hinderance or disturbance. Forbidding most expresly all Persons of what Estate, Quality, or Condition soever, on the Penalties abovemention'd, To trouble, molest,

moleſt, or diſturb the Eccleſiaſticks in the Celebration of Divine Service, the injoying and taking of Tythes, the Fruits and Revenues of their Benefices, with all other Rights and Immunities appertaining unto them; and that all thoſe, who during the Troubles, have ſeiz'd the Churches, Houſes, Goods, and Revenues belonging to the ſaid Eccleſiaſticks, detain and poſſeſs them, ſhall ſurrender unto them the intire Poſſeſſion, and peaceable Injoyment thereof, with ſuch Titles, Liberties, and Security, as they injoy'd before their being diſpoſſeſs'd of the ſame. Alſo expreſly forbidding thoſe of the ſaid Pretended *Reform'd* Religion, to Preach or perform any other Exercise of the ſaid Religion in the Churches Houſes, and Habitations of the ſaid Eccleſiaſticks.

IV. It ſhall remain at the choice of the ſaid Eccleſiaſticks to buy the Houſes and Buildings erected in prophane Places, whereof they were diſpoſſeſs'd during the Troubles, or elſe to conſtrain the Poſſeſſors of the ſaid Buildings to buy the Ground, the whole according to the Eſtimation that ſhall be made thereof by experienc'd Men, agreed upon by the Parties; and in caſe they ſhould not agree, the Judges of the Place ſhall appoint ſome, reſerving ever to the ſaid Poſſeſſors their recourſe againſt whomſoever it ſhall belong. And where the ſaid Eccleſiaſticks ſhall conſtrain the Poſſeſſors to purchaſe the Ground, the Money it ſhall be valued at, ſhall not be put into their hands, but ſhall remain in the hands of the ſaid Poſſeſſors, to be improv'd at the rate of 5 *per Cent.* until it be employ'd for the benefit of the Church, which ſhall be done within the ſpace of a year. And the ſaid Term being paſs'd, in caſe the Purchaſer will no longer continue the ſaid Rent, he ſhall be diſcharg'd thereof, conſigning the ſaid Money into the hands of ſalvable Perſons, by Authority and Order of Juſtice. And as for Sacred Places, Information thereof ſhall be given by the Commiſſaries, who ſhall be ordain'd for the Execution of the preſent Edict, in order to our taking a courſe for the ſame.

V. Nevertheleſs, no Grounds and Places imploy'd for the Reparations and Fortifications of Cities, and other Places within our Kingdom, or the materials therein us'd, ſhall be claim'd, or recover'd by the ſaid Eccleſiaſticks, or other Perſons, publick or private, until the ſaid Reparations and Fortifications are demoliſh'd by our Ordinances.

VI. And to remove all occaſions of Contention and Trouble from among our Subjects, we have and do permit thoſe of the ſaid Pretended *Reform'd* Religion, to live and reſide in all the Cities and Places within this our Kingdom and Countries under our Obedience, without being examin'd, moleſted, troubled, or conſtrain'd to do any thing in matter of Religion againſt their Conſcience; or examin'd in their Houſes, or Places where they ſhall Inhabit; in all other things behaving themſelves according to what is ſpecifi'd in our preſent Edict.

VII. We have alſo permitted all Lords, Gentlemen, and other Perſons, as well Inhabitants as others,

who make Profeſſion of the Pretended *Reform'd* Religion, enjoying within our Kingdom and Countries under our Obedience High Juriſdiction, or *full Fief d'Haubert*, (as in *Normandy*) either in Proper, in the *Uſe-fruit* thereof, in the whole, or Moiety, or for a third Part, To have in ſuch their Houſes of the ſaid High Juriſdiction, or Fiefs aboveſaid, which they ſhall be oblig'd to nominate before to our Bailiffs and Seneſchals, every one within his Limits, for their principal Abode, the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion, while they reſide there; and in their Abſence their Wives or Families, or part thereof. And tho the Right of Juriſdiction, or full *Fief d'Haubert* be in Controverſy; nevertheleſs the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall be allow'd there, provided the aboveſaid be in actual Poſſeſſion of the ſaid High Juriſdiction, altho our Attorney-General be a Party. We alſo allow them to perform the ſaid Exerciſe in their other Houſes of High Juriſdiction, or aboveſaid *Fief d'Haubert*, while they are there preſent, and no otherwiſe; both for themſelves, their Families, Subjects, and others, who ſhall deſire to repair thither.

* An Inheritance held directly *in Capite* of the King.

VIII. In Houſes of Fiefs, where thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall not have the ſaid High Juriſdiction or *Fief d'Haubert*, they ſhall only be allow'd the ſaid Exerciſe for their Families. Nevertheleſs, we do not mean, that in caſe other Perſons ſhould chance to come in, to the number of Thirty, beſides their Family, either upon the account of Baptiſm, Viſitation of their Friends, or otherwiſe, they ſhould be troubled for the ſame: Provided alſo the ſaid Houſes are neither within Cities, Towns or Villages, belonging to Catholick Lords, High-Juſticers, beſides our ſelf, wherein the ſaid Catholick Lords have their Manſions. In which caſe thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall not be allow'd to perform their ſaid Exerciſe in the ſaid Cities, Towns or Villages, except by permiſſion and leave of the ſaid Lords High-Juſticers, and no otherwiſe.

IX. We alſo permit thoſe of the ſaid Religion, to perform and continue the Exerciſe thereof in all the Cities and Places under our Obedience, where it was eſtabliſh'd, and by them publickly perform'd at ſundry and divers times in the Year 1596. and in the Year 1597. until the end of *Auguſt*, all Decrees and Judgments to the contrary notwithſtanding.

X. The ſaid Exerciſe in like manner ſhall be eſtabliſh'd and Reſtor'd in all Cities and Places where it has or ſhould have been eſtabliſh'd by the Edict of Pacification, made in the Year Seventy Seven, Particular Articles and Conferences of *Nerac* and *Flex*: Neither ſhall the ſaid Eſtabliſhment be obſtructed in the Parts and Places within the Demean granted by the ſaid Edict, Articles and Conferences, for Places of Bayliwikes, or that ſhall be granted hereafter, though they have been ſince alienated to Catholick Perſons, or hereafter ſhall be. And yet we do not intend that the ſaid Exerciſe ſhall be Re-eſtabliſh'd in the Parts and Places of the ſaid Demean, which have

have been heretofore poſſeſs'd by thoſe of the the ſaid pretended Reform'd Religion, in which it had been allow'd out of reſpect to their perſons, or upon the account of the Privileges of the Fiefs, in caſe the ſaid Fiefs be at preſent poſſeſs'd by perſons of the ſaid Catholick, Apoſtolick Religion.

XI. Moreover, in every one of the Ancient Bayliwikes, Seneſchalſhips and Governments, holding the Place of a Bayliwike, having direct reference, without mediation to the Courts of Parliament, We ordain, That in the Suburbs of a City, beſides thoſe that have been granted them by the ſaid Edict, Particular Articles and Conferences: And where there are no Cities, in a Borough or Village, the Exerciſe of the ſaid pretended Reform'd Religion ſhall be publickly perform'd for all ſuch as will repair thither; altho the ſaid Exerciſe were already eſtabliſh'd in divers places of the ſaid Bayliwikes, Seneſchalſhips and Governments; excepting out of the ſaid place of Bayliwike newly granted by the preſent Edict, the Cities in which there are Archbiſhops or Biſhops; in which caſe thoſe of the ſaid Pretended *Reform'd* Religion ſhall be allow'd to demand, and to nominate for the ſaid Place of the ſaid Exerciſe, the Boroughs and Villages near the ſaid Cities. Excepted alſo Places and Lordſhips belonging to Eccleſiaſticks, in which we do not allow the ſaid ſecond Place of Bayliwike to be eſtabliſh'd, we having by ſpecial grace and favour excepted them. Under the name of Ancient Bayliwikes, we mean ſuch as were in the Times of the late King *Henry* our moſt honour'd Lord and Father-in-law, held for Bayliwikes, Seneſchalſhips and Governments, having immediate reference to our ſaid Courts.

XII. We do not mean by this preſent Edict to derogate from the Edicts and Agreements heretofore made for the reducing of ſome Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, and Catholick Cities under our Obedience, in what relates to the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion; the which Edicts and Agreements ſhall be maintain'd and obſerv'd for this reſpect, according as ſhall be ſpecify'd by the Inſtructions of the Commiſſioners that ſhall be appointed for the execution of this preſent Edict.

XIII. We expreſly forbid all thoſe of the ſaid Religion to perform any Exerciſe thereof, either as to the Miniſtry, Government, Diſcipline, or Publick Inſtruction of Children, and others, in this our Kingdom and Countries under our Obedience, in what relates to Religion, in any places, but thoſe that are allow'd and granted by the Edict.

XIV. As alſo to perform any Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion in our Court or Attendance, nor likewiſe in our Lands and Territories beyond the Mounts, nor yet in our City of *Paris*, nor within five Leagues of the ſaid City. Nevertheleſs, thoſe of the ſaid Religion who live in the ſaid Lands and Territories beyond the Mounts, and in our ſaid City, and within five Leagues round about it, ſhall not be examin'd in their Houſes, nor conſtrain'd to do any thing in reſpect of their Religion againſt their Conſcience, behaving

themſelves, in other matters, according as it is ſpecify'd in our preſent Edict.

XV. Neither ſhall the Publick Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion be performed in the Armies, unleſs in the Quarters of the Chief Officers who profeſs the ſame; nevertheleſs it ſhall not be done in the Quarter where we lodge.

XVI. According to the Second Article of the Conference at *Nerac*, We give leave to thoſe of the ſame Religion to build Places for the exerciſe thereof, in the Cities and Places where it is allow'd them; and thoſe they have built heretofore, ſhall be reſtor'd to them, or the Ground thereof, in the Condition it is at preſent, even in thoſe places where the ſaid Exerciſe is not allow'd them, unleſs they have been converted into other Buildings. In which caſe the Poſſeſſors of the ſaid Buildings ſhall give them other places of the ſame Price and Value they were of, before their building upon them, or the true eſtimation of them by the judgment of experienc'd men; always reſerving to the ſaid Owners and Poſſeſſors a remedy againſt whomſoever it ſhall concern.

XVII. We forbid all Preachers, and Lecturers, and others who ſpeak in publick, to uſe any Words, Speeches, or Diſcourſe, that may tend to excite the People to Sedition; but on the contrary we have, and do injoin them, to contain and behave themſelves modeſtly, and to utter nothing but what may tend to the inſtruction and edification of the Auditors; and to maintain the Peace and Tranquility by us eſtabliſh'd in our ſaid Kingdom, on the Penalties ſpecify'd in the precedent Edicts. Injoining moſt expreſly our Attornies General, and their Subſtitutes, to inform out of their Office againſt ſuch as ſhall tranſgreſs the ſame, on pain of anſwering for it in their proper and peculiar Perſons, and Forfeitures of their Offices.

XVIII. We alſo forbid all our Subjects, of what Quality and Condition ſoever, to take away by force or induction, againſt the Will of their Parents, the Children of thoſe of the ſaid Religion, to Baptiſe, or confirm them in the Catholick, Apoſtolick Roman Church: The ſame Prohibitions are made to thoſe of the ſaid pretended Reform'd Religion, the whole on pain of exemplary Puniſhment.

XIX. Thoſe of the ſaid pretended Reform'd Religion, ſhall be no-wiſe conſtrain'd, nor remain bound by reaſon of the Abjurations, Promiſes and Oaths they have heretofore made, or Cautions by them given, upon the account of the ſaid Religion, neither ſhall they be any-wiſe troubl'd or moleſted for the ſame.

XX. They ſhall alſo be bound to obſerve all Feſtivals ordain'd in the Catholick, Apoſtolick and Roman Church; neither ſhall they work, or ſell, in open Shops, on the ſaid days; neither ſhall Handicrafts-men work out of their Shops, or in cloſe Houſes, or Chambers, on the ſaid Feſtival days, and other prohibited days, in any Profeſſion, the noiſe whereof may be heard without by Neighbours, or perſons paſſing along: which nevertheleſs ſhall only

only be ſought after by Officers of Juſtice.

XXI. The Books touching the ſaid pretended Reform'd Religion, ſhall neither be printed nor ſold publickly, unleſs in ſuch Cities and Places in which the Publick Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion is allow'd. And as for other Books which ſhall be printed in other places, they ſhall be ſeen and examin'd, both by our Officers and Divines, as it is ſpecefy'd by our Ordinances. We forbid moſt expreſly the Impreſſion, publication, and ſale of all Defamatory Books, Libels and Pamphlets, under the Penalties contain'd in our Ordinances: Injoining all our Judges and Officers to keep a ſtrict hand over it.

XXII. We ordain that no difference or diſtinction ſhall be made on the account of the ſaid Religion, for the receiving of Scholars to be inſtructed in Univerſities, Colledges and Schools, and the ſick and Poor in Hoſpitals and Publick Alms.

XXIII. Thoſe of the ſaid pretended Reform'd Religion ſhall be oblig'd to keep the Laws of the Catholick, Apoſtolick and *Roman* Church, receiv'd in this our Kingdom, in reſpect to Marriages contracted, or to be contracted as to the degrees of Conſanguinity and Affinity.

XXIV. Thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall alſo pay the Fees of Entrance, as is cuſtomary, for the Places and Offices they ſhall be provided with, without being oblig'd to aſſiſt at any Ceremonies contrary to their ſaid Religion: And being call'd to their Oath, they ſhall only be oblig'd to hold up their hand, ſwear, and promiſe to God, that they will ſpeak the truth: Neither ſhall they be oblig'd to take a diſpenſation for the Oath by them taken, at the paſſing of the Contracts and Obligations.

XXV. It is our Will and Pleaſure, that all thoſe of the ſaid pretended Reform'd Religion, and others who have been ingag'd in their Party, of what State, Quality, or Condition ſoever, ſhall be oblig'd and conſtrain'd by fair and reaſonable means, and under the Penalties contain'd in the Edicts upon that ſubject, to pay and acquit the Tythes of Curates, and other Eccleſiaſticks, and to all other to whom they ſhall belong, according to the uſe and cuſtom of the places.

XXVI. The Diſinheritations, or Privations, either by diſpoſing among the Living, or by way of Teſtament, made only out of hatred, or upon the account of Religion, ſhall neither be valable for the time paſt, or time to come, among our Subjects.

XXVII. In order the better to reunite the Wills of our Subjects, according to our Intention, and to remove all Complaints for the future We do declare all thoſe who do, or ſhall proteſs the ſaid pretended Reform'd Religion, capable of holding or performing all Eſtates, Dignities, Offices, and publick Places whatever, either Royal, Signorial, or of the Cities of our Kingdom, Countries, Territories and Lordſhips, under our Obedience, all Oaths to the contrary notwithſtanding, and to be indifferently received into the ſame; and our

Courts

Courts of Parliament and other Judges ſhall only make inquiry, and inform themſelves about the Life and Converſation, Religion and honeſt Converſation of thoſe who are, or ſhall be provided with Offices, as well of the one, as of the other Religion, without exacting any other Oath from them, but well and faithfully to ſerve the King in the diſcharge of their Offices, and to obſerve the Ordinances, as it has been obſerv'd at all times. And in caſe any Vacancy ſhall happen of the ſaid Eſtates, Places and Offices, as for thoſe that ſhall be in our gift, they ſhall be diſpos'd of indifferently, and without diſtinction, to capable Perſons, as things that concern the union of our ſubjects. We intend alſo that thoſe of the ſaid pretended Reform'd Religion ſhall be admitted and receiv'd into all Councils, Deliberations, Aſſemblies and Functions depending on the above-ſaid Matters; and that they ſhall not be ejected or hinder'd from enjoying them upon the account of the ſaid Religion

XXVIII. We order for interring of the Dead of thoſe of the ſaid Religion, within all the Cities and parts of our Kingdom, that in each place, a convenient place ſhall be provided for them forthwith by our Officers and Magiſtrates, and by the Commiſſioners who ſhall be by us deputed for the putting of this preſent Edict in execution. And ſuch Church-yards as they had heretofore, which they have been depriv'd of by reaſon of the Troubles, ſhall be reſtor'd to them, except they be at preſent built upon, in which caſe others ſhall be provided for them at free coſt.

XXIX. We moſt expreſly enjoin our Officers to take care that no Scandal be committed at the ſaid Interments; and they ſhall be bound within a Fortnight after requeſt made, to provide commodious places for the ſaid Burials of thoſe of the ſaid Religion, without the leaſt protraction, or delays, under penalty of 500 Crowns, to be ſeiz'd on their proper Names and Perſons. The ſaid Officers and others are alſo forbidden to exact any thing for the conveyance of the ſaid Dead Bodies on pain of Extortion.

XXX. To the end that Juſtice may be done and miniſtred to our Subjects without partiality, hatred, or favour, which is one of the principal means to keep peace and concord among them, we have and do ordain that a Chamber ſhall be eſtabliſh'd in our Court of Parliament of *Paris*, conſiſting of a Preſident and 16 Councellors of the ſaid Parliament, the which ſhall be called and entitled, The Chamber of the Edict, which ſhall not only judge the Cauſes and Proceſſes of thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, within the Juriſdiction of the ſaid Court, but alſo thoſe of the Juriſdiction of the Parliaments of *Normandy* and *Britany*, according to the Juriſdiction hereafter conferr'd upon it by this preſent Edict, and that until a Chamber be eſtabliſh'd in each of the ſaid Parliaments, to miniſter Juſtice upon the place. We alſo ordain that the four Offices of Councellors in our ſaid Parliament of *Paris*, remaining of the laſt election by us made, ſhall be forth-

forthwith beſtowed on four of thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, fitly quality'd, and capable to ſerve in the ſaid Parliament, who ſhall be diſtributed, *viz.* The firſt ſhall be receiv'd into the Chamber of the Edict, and the other three in order as they ſhall be receiv'd into three of the Chambers of the Inqueſts. Moreover the two firſt Offices of * *Laiz* Councellors, that ſhall become vacant by Death, ſhall alſo be given to two of thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion; and the perſons thus receiv'd, ſhall be diſtributed into the two other Chambers of Inqueſts.

XXXI. Beſides the Chamber heretofore eſtabliſh'd at *Caſtres*, for the Juriſdiction of our Court of Parliament of *Thoulouſe*, which ſhall be continu'd in the ſtate it now ſtands; we have for the ſame conſiderations ordain'd, and do ordain, that in each of our Courts of Parliament of *Grenoble* and *Bourdeaux*, ſhall alſo be eſtabliſh'd a Chamber, conſiſting of two Preſidents, the one Catholick, and the other of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion; and of twelve Councellors, ſix of which ſhall be Catholicks, and the other ſix of the ſaid Religion; which Catholick Preſidents and Councellors ſhall be by us ſelected and choſen out of the body of our ſaid Courts. And as to thoſe of the ſaid Religion, a new Creation ſhall be made of a Preſident and ſix Councellors for the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, and of a Preſident and three Councellors for that of *Grenoble*, the which with the three Councellors of the ſaid Religion, that are at preſent of the ſaid Parliament, ſhall be employ'd in the ſaid Chamber of *Dauphine*. And the ſaid Offices of new creation, ſhall be allow'd the ſame Salleries, Honours, Authorities, and Preheminencies as the others of the ſaid Courts. And the ſaid Seſſions of the ſaid Chamber of *Bourdeaux* ſhall be held at *Bourdeaux*, or at *Nerac*, and that of *Dauphine* at *Grenoble*.

XXXII. The ſaid Chamber of *Dauphine* ſhall determine the Cauſes of thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, of the Juriſdiction of our Parliament of *Provence*, without being oblig'd to take Letters of Summons, or other Citations, any where but in our Chancery of *Dauphine*: Neither ſhall thoſe of the ſaid Religion of *Normandy* or *Britany* be oblig'd to take out Summons, or other Citations any where but in our Chancery of *Paris*.

* The word ſignifies Legacies.

XXXIII. Our Subjects of the ſaid Religion of the Parliament of *Burgundy*, ſhall have the choice and election to plead in the Chamber ordain'd in the Parliament of *Paris*, or in that of *Dauphine*, neither ſhall they be oblig'd to take out Letters of Summons, or any other Citations, but in the ſaid Chanceries of *Paris*, and of *Dauphine*, according to their own choice.

XXXIV. All the ſaid Chambers compos'd as aboveſaid, ſhall determine and judge in ſovereignty by Sentence Definitive, by Decrees excluding all others of Suits and Differences mov'd and to be mov'd; in which thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion are concern'd as Principals, or Warranties, either as Plaintiffs, or Defendants, in all mat-

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ters, as well Civil as Criminal, whether the ſaid Proceſſes be by Writ, or Verbal Appeal, if the ſaid Parties like it ſo, and one of them requires it, before any Plea in the Cauſe, in relation to Suits to be mov'd: always excepting all matters of Benefices, and the Poſſeſſors of Tythes not enfeoff'd, Eccleſiaſtical Patronages, and Cauſes wherein the Demean of the Church ſhall be concern'd, which ſhall all be try'd and judg'd in the Courts of Parliament; and the ſaid Chambers of the Edict ſhall not be allow'd to take cognizance of the ſame. It is alſo our Will and Pleaſure, that in order to judge and decide Criminal Cauſes, that ſhall happen among the ſaid Eccleſiaſticks, and thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, if the Eccleſiaſtick is Defendant, the Judgment of the Criminal Cauſe ſhall belong to our Sovereign Courts, excluſively to the ſaid Chambers; and the Eccleſiaſtick being Plaintiff, and he of the ſaid Religion Defendant, the Cognizance and Judgment of the Criminal Cauſe ſhall belong by Appeal, and in laſt reference, to the ſaid Eſtabliſh'd Chambers. The ſaid Chambers alſo in Vacation-times ſhall determine of Matters referr'd by the Edicts and Ordinances to the Chambers eſtabliſh'd in times of Vacation, each one in their Juriſdiction.

XXXV. The Chambers of *Grenoble* ſhall from this preſent be united and incorporated to the Body of the ſaid Court of Parliament, and the Preſidents and Councillors of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, entitled Preſidents and Councellors of the ſaid Court, and held in the number and rank of them. To this end they ſhall be firſt diſpos'd of in the other Chambers, and then call'd and drawn out of them, to be employ'd, and to ſerve in that which we inſtitute a-new; yet they ſhall aſſiſt, and have a Voice and Seſſion in all the Deliberations that ſhall be made when the Chambers are aſſembled, and ſhall enjoy the ſame Sallaries, Authorities and Preheminencies, as the othe Preſidents and Councellors do.

XXXVI. It is alſo our Will and Pleaſure, that the ſaid Chambers of *Caſtres* and *Bourdeaux* ſhall be reunited, and incorporated into the ſaid Parliaments, in the ſame manner as the others, when it ſhall be needful, and the Cauſes that have mov'd us to eſtabliſh them ſhall ceaſe, and ſubſiſt no longer among our Subjects: And therefore the Preſidents and Councellors of the ſaid Chambers, being of the ſame Religion, ſhall be call'd and held for Preſidents and Counſellors of the ſaid Courts.

XXXVII. There ſhall be alſo newly created and erected in the Chamber ordain'd for the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, two Subſtitutes of our Attorney and Advocate General, of which the Attorney's Subſtitutes ſhall be a Catholick, and the other of the ſaid Religion, who ſhall be inveſted with the ſaid Offices, with competent Penſions.

XXXVIII. All the ſaid Subſtitutes ſhall take no other quality than that of Subſtitutes; and when the Chambers ordain'd for the Parliaments of *Bourdeaux* and *Thoulouſe* ſhall be united and incorporated into the ſaid Parlia-

Parliaments, the ſaid Subſtitutes ſhall be provided with Councellors Places in the ſame.

XXXIX. The Expeditions of the Chancery of the Chamber of *Bourdeaux* ſhall be perform'd in the preſence of two Councellors of the ſaid Chamber, of which the one ſhall be a Catholick, and the other of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, in the abſence of one of the Maſters of Requeſt of our *Hôtell*, or Houſhold; And one of the Notaries and Secretaries of the ſaid Court of Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, ſhall reſide in the place where the ſaid Chamber ſhall be eſtabliſh'd, or elſe one of the Secretaries in ordinary of the Chancery, to ſign the Expeditions of the ſaid Chancery.

XL. We will and command, That in the ſaid Chamber of *Bourdeaux* there be two Committees of the Regiſter of the ſaid Parliament, the one Civil, the other Criminal, who ſhall officiate by our Commiſſions, and ſhall be call'd Committees of the Regiſtry Civil and Criminal; and therefore ſhall neither be diſplac'd nor revok'd by the ſaid Regiſters, or chief Clerks of Parliament: yet they ſhall be oblig'd to yield the Profit of the ſaid Regiſtries to the ſaid Regiſter; the which Committees ſhall receive Salaries from the ſaid Regiſters, according as it ſhall be thought fit, and order'd by the ſaid Chamber. Moreover, Catholick Meſſengers ſhall be appointed there, who ſhall be taken out of the ſaid Court, or elſewhere, according to our Pleaſure; beſides which, two new ones ſhall be erected, being of the ſaid Religion, without their paying any Fees: All the ſaid Meſſengers ſhall be govern'd by the ſaid Chamber, both as to the execution, and precinct of their Office, as well as the Fees they ſhall receive. A Commiſſion ſhall alſo be diſpatch'd for a Pay-maſter of Salaries, and a Receiver of the Fines levy'd by the Chamber, who ſhall be choſen by us, in caſe the ſaid Chamber be eſtabliſh'd in any place but the ſaid City; and the Commiſſion heretofore granted to the Pay-maſter of the Salaries of the Chamber of *Caſtres*, ſhall remain in full force, and the Commiſſion of Receiver of the Fines levy'd by the ſaid Chamber ſhall be annex'd to the ſaid Office.

XLI. Sufficient Aſſignations ſhall be provided for the Penſions or Salaries of the Officers of the Chambers ordain'd by this Edict.

XLII. The Preſidents, Counſellors, and other Catholick Officers of the ſaid Chambers, ſhall be continu'd as long as poſſible may be, and as we ſhall find it moſt expedient for our Service, and the good of our Subjects: And in diſmiſſing ſome, others ſhall be appointed in their room, before their departure; and they ſhall not, during the time of their waiting, abſent themſelves, or depart from the ſaid Chambers, without their Leave, which ſhall be judg'd by the Proceedings of the Ordinance.

XLIII. The ſaid Chambers ſhall be eſtabliſh'd within ſix Months, during which, (if the Eſtabliſhment continue ſo long a ſetling) the Suits mov'd, or to be mov'd, in which thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall be Parties, within the Juriſdiction of our Parliaments of *Paris*, *Roan*, *Di-*

jon and *Rennes*, ſhall be remov'd, or ſummon'd to the Chamber at preſent eſtabliſh'd at *Paris*, by vertue of the Edict of the Year 1577. or elſe to the great Council, at the Election and Choice of thoſe of the ſaid Religion, if they require it: Thoſe that are of the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, into the Chamber of *Caſtres*, or to the ſaid Great Council, at their choice: And thoſe that are of *Provence*, to the Parliament of *Grenoble*. And in caſe the ſaid Chambers be not eſtabliſh'd within three months after the Preſentation there made of this our preſent Edict, ſuch of our Parliaments as ſhall have made refuſal thereof, ſhall be prohibited to take cognizance, or judge the Cauſes of thoſe of the ſaid Religion.

XLIV. Suits not yet determin'd, depending in the ſaid Courts of Parliament, and Grand Council, of the nature aboveſaid, ſhall be return'd, in what ſtate ſoever they ſtand, into the ſaid Chambers, each Cauſe to its Court of Reference, in caſe one of the Parties of the ſaid Religion requires it, within four months after the eſtabliſhment thereof; and as for ſuch as ſhall be diſcontinu'd, and are not in a ſtate to come to trial, the abovemention'd of the ſaid Religion ſhall be oblig'd to make a Declaration at the firſt intimation and ſignification they ſhall receive of the purſuit; and the ſaid Term being expir'd, they ſhall no longer be receiv'd to demand the ſaid Returns.

XLV. The ſaid Chambers of *Grenoble* and *Bourdeaux*, as well as that of *Chartres*, ſhall obſerve the Stile and Forms of the Parliaments, within the Juriſdictions of which they ſhall be eſtabliſh'd, and ſhall judge in equal numbers both of the one, and other Religion, unleſs the Parties agree to the contrary.

XLVI. All the Judges, to whom the Executions, Decrees, Commiſſions of the ſaid Chambers, and Letters, obtain'd out of their Chanceries, ſhall be directed; as alſo all Meſſengers and Serjeants ſhall be bound to put them in execution; and the Meſſengers and Serjeants ſhall alſo be oblig'd to ſerve all their Warrants in all parts of the Kingdom, without demanding *Placet*, *Viſa*, nor *Pareatis*, on pein of ſuſpenſion of their Places, and paying the Damages, Charges and Intereſts of the Parties: the Cenſure whereof ſhall belong to the ſaid Chambers.

XLVII. No removal of Cauſes ſhall be allow'd, the tryal of which is referr'd to the ſaid Chambers, unleſs in the caſe of the Ordinances, the return whereof ſhall be made to the neareſt Chamber eſtabliſh'd according to our Edict: And the Iſſues of Suits of the ſaid Chambers ſhall be try'd in the next Chamber, obſerving the proportion and Forms of the ſaid Chamber, from whence the Proceſſes ſhall proceed, except for the Chambers of the Edict in our Parliament of *Paris*; where the ſaid Party Suits ſhall be diſpos'd of in the ſaid Chamber, by Judges that ſhall be by us nominated by our particular Letters to this end, unleſs the Parties had rather attend the Renovation of the ſaid Chamber. And if it ſhould happen that one and the ſame Suit ſhould paſs through all the Party Chambers, the iſſue thereof

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ſhall be return'd to the ſaid Chamber of *Paris*.

XLVIII. Refuſals propos'd againſt the Preſidents and Counſellors of the Party-Chambers ſhall be allow'd to the number of ſix, to which number the Parties ſhall be reſtrain'd, otherwiſe they ſhall go forward without any regard to the ſaid Refuſals.

XLIX. The Examination of Preſidents and Counſellors newly erected in the ſaid Party Cambers ſhall be perform'd by our Privy Council, or by the ſaid Chambers, each one within its Precinct, when their number ſhall be ſufficient: Nevertheleſs, the uſual Oath ſhall by them be taken in the Courts where the ſaid Chamber ſhall be eſtabliſh'd, and upon their refuſal, in our Privy Council; except thoſe of the Chamber of *Languedoc*, who ſhall take their Oath before our Chancellor, or in the ſaid Chamber.

L. We will and ordain, That the reception of our Officers of the ſaid Religion, ſhall be judg'd in the ſaid Party Chambers by the plurality of Voices; as it is uſual in other Judgments, it not being requiſite that the Voices ſhould ſurpaſs two thirds, according to the Ordinance, the which in this reſpect is abrogated.

LI. All Propoſitions, Deliberations and Reſolutions, relating to the Publick Peace, and for the particular Eſtate and Policy of the Cities, where the Party-Chambers ſhall reſide, ſhall be made in the ſaid Chambers.

LII. The Article of the Juriſdiction of the ſaid Chambers, ordain'd by the preſent Edict, ſhall be follow'd and obſerv'd according to its Form and Tenor, even in what relates to the Execution, Omiſſion, or Infraction of our Edicts, when thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall be Parties.

LIII. The Subaltern Officers Royal, or others, the reception of which belongs to our Courts of Parliament, if they be of the ſaid pretended Reform'd Religion may be examin'd and receiv'd in the ſaid Chambers: *viz.* Thoſe of the Juriſdiction of the Parliaments of *Paris*, *Normandy* and *Britany*, in the ſaid Chambers of *Paris*; thoſe of *Dauphine* and *Provence*, in the Chamber of *Grenoble*; thoſe of *Burgundy*, in the ſaid Chamber of *Paris*, or of *Dauphine*, at their choice; thoſe of the Juriſdiction of *Thoulouſe*, in the Chamber of *Caſtres*; and thoſe of the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, in the Chamber of *Guienne*; and no other to oppoſe their receptions, or make themſelves Parties, but our Attorneys-General, and their Subſtitutes, and thoſe placed in the ſaid Offices. Nevertheleſs the accuſtomed Oath ſhall by them be taken in the Courts of Parliament, which ſhall not be allow'd to take cognizance of their reception; and upon the refuſal of the ſaid Parliament, the ſaid Officers ſhall take the Oath in the ſaid Chambers, which being thus taken, they ſhall be oblig'd to preſent the Act of their reception, by a Meſſenger or Notary to the Regiſters of the ſaid Courts of Parliament, and to leave a compar'd Copy thereof, with the ſaid Regiſters; who are enjoin'd to regiſter the ſaid Acts, on pain of paying all the Charges, Damages and Intereſts of the Parties; and in caſe the Regi-

ſters ſhould refuſe to do it; it ſhall be ſufficient for the ſaid Officers to bring back the Act of the ſaid Summons, drawn by the ſaid Meſſengers, or Notaries, and to cauſe the ſame to be recorded in the Regiſters of their ſaid Juriſdictions, there to be view'd when need ſhall require, on pain of nullity of their Proceedings and Judgments. And as for thoſe Officers, whoſe reception is not to be made in our ſaid Parliaments; in caſe thoſe by whom it ought to be made, ſhould refuſe to proceed to the ſaid Examination and Reception, the ſaid Officers ſhall repair to the ſaid Chambers, where care ſhall be taken for their ſaid reception.

LIV. The Officers of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, who ſhall be choſen hereafter, to ſerve in the Body of our ſaid Court of Parliament, Grand Council, Chambers of Accounts, Courts of Aids, and in the Offices of the Treaſurer-General of *France*, and other Officers of the Exchequers, ſhall be examin'd and receiv'd in the places where it was uſually perform'd; and in caſe of refuſal, or denial of Juſtice, they ſhall be conſtituted in our Privy Council.

LV. The reception of our Officers made in the Chamber eſtabliſh'd heretofore at *Caſtres*, ſhall remain in force, all Decrees and Ordinances thereunto contrary notwithſtanding. The reception of our Judges, Councellors, and other Officers of the ſaid Religion, made in our Privy-Councel, or by Commiſſioners by us nominated upon the refuſal of our Courts of Parliament, of Aids, and Chambers of Account, ſhall alſo be as valid, as if they had been made in the ſaid Courts and Chambers, and by other Judges, to whom thoſe Receptions appertain. And their Salleries ſhall be allow'd by the Chambers of Accounts, without difficulty: and if any have been diſmiſs'd, they ſhall be re eſtabliſh'd without any farther Mandamus than this preſent Edict; and the ſaid Officers ſhall not be oblig'd to ſhow any other reception; all Decrees given to the contrary notwithſtanding; the which ſhall remain void, and of no effect.

LVI. Until means be procur'd to defray the Expences of Juſtice of our ſaid Chambers out of the Moneys of Fines and Confiſcations, we will aſſign a valuable and ſufficient Fund to diſcharge the ſaid Expences, which Money ſhall be return'd out of the Eſtates of the perſons condemned.

LVII The Preſidents and Councellors of the ſaid Pretended *Reform'd* Religion, heretofore receiv'd into our Courts of Parliament of *Dauphine*, and in the Chamber of the Edict incorporated into the ſame ſhall continue and hold their Place and Order there, *Viz.* The Preſidents as they did and do enjoy them at preſent; and the Councellors according to the Decrees and Patents they have obtain'd about it in our Privy Council.

LVIII. We declare all Sentences, Judgments, Decrees, Proceedings, Seizures, Sales, and Orders made and given againſt thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, whether dead, or alive, ſince the Death of the late King *Henry* the 2*d*. our moſt honour'd Lord and Father-in-Law, by reaſon of the ſaid Religion, Tumults and Troubles happen'd ſince,

ſince, together with the execution of the ſaid Judgments and Decrees from this preſent, cancelled, revoked, and nullified, and the ſame do cancel, revoke and nullifie. We order the ſame to be raz'd and wip'd out of the Records of the Regiſters of Courts as well Sovereign as Inferior. As it is likewiſe our pleaſure, that all Marks, Tracts and Monuments of the ſaid Executions, Books and Acts defamatory to their Perſons, Memory and Poſterity, ſhall be remov'd and defac'd: And that the places in which have been made upon that account, Demoliſhments or Razings, ſhall be reſtor'd to the Owners in ſuch a condition as they are, the ſame to enjoy and to diſpoſe of as they ſhall think fit. And we have generally revok'd, cancell'd and nullifi'd all Proceedings and Informations made for any Enterpriſes whatever, Pretended Crimes of Leze-Majeſty and others. Notwithſtanding which Proceedings, Decrees and Judgments, comprehending reunion, incorporation, and confiſcation, it is our pleaſure that thoſe of the ſaid Religion, and others who have been ingag'd in their Party, and their Heirs, ſhall re-enter into the real and actual poſſeſſion of all and every their Eſtates.

LIX. All Proceedings made, Judgments and Decrees given during the Troubles, againſt thoſe of the ſaid Religion, who have born Arms, or withdrawn themſelves out of our Realm or within the ſame, into Cities and Countries held by them upon another account than that of Religion and the Troubles, together with all Nonſuits, Preſcriptions, either Legal, Conventional, or Cuſtomary, and Feodal Seizures, befallen during the Troubles, or by lawful Impediments proceeding from them, the cognizance whereof ſhall remain in our Judges, ſhall be eſteem'd as not perform'd, granted, or happen'd; and ſuch we have and do declare them to be, and have and do annihilate them; for all which the ſaid Parties ſhall have no redreſs: but they ſhall be reſtor'd to the ſame ſtate in which they were before, the ſaid Decrees and Execution thereof notwithſtanding; and the poſſeſſion they had formerly, ſhall be reſtor'd to them in this reſpect. What is above mention'd ſhall alſo take place, in relation to others who have been ingag'd in the Party of thoſe of the ſaid Religion, or that have abſented themſelves out of our Kingdom, by reaſon of the Troubles. And as for the Children under Age of thoſe of the Quality aboveſaid, who dyed during the Troubles, we reſtore the Parties to the ſame Eſtate in which they were before, without refunding the Charges, or being bound to conſign the Fines or Amerciaments; but yet we do not mean that Judgments given by Preſidial or other Inferior Judges, againſt thoſe of the ſaid Religion, or thoſe who have been ingag'd in their Party, ſhould remain void, if given by Judges, holding Seſſions in Cities held by them, to which they had a free acceſs.

LX. The Decrees given in our Courts of Parliament, in matters, the Cognizance whereof belongs to the Chambers ordain'd by the Edict in the year 1577. and the Articles

ticles of *Nerac* and *Flex*, in which Courts the Parties have not proceeded voluntarily, that is, they have alledg'd and propos'd ends declinatory, or that have been given by default or Excluſion, either in matters Civil or Criminal, notwithſtanding which ends, the ſaid Parties have been conſtrain'd to go forward, ſhall likewiſe be annihilated, and of no value. And as for the Decrees given againſt thoſe of the ſaid Religion, who have proceeded voluntarily, without propoſing declinatory Ends, the ſaid Decrees ſhall remain in force; yet nevertheleſs without prejudice to the Execution thereof, they ſhall be allow'd, if they think good, to take ſome courſe by Civil Requeſt, before the Chambers ordain'd by the preſent Edict; and the time run on, mention'd by the Ordinances, ſhall be no prejudice to them; and until the ſaid Chambers, and their Chanceries are eſtabliſh'd, the Verbal Appeals, or thoſe by Writ brought in by thoſe of the ſaid Religion, before the Judges, Regiſters, or Committees, Executors of Decrees and Judgments, ſhall take the ſame Effect, as if they had been ſued out by Letters Patent.

LXI. In all Inquiries that ſhall be made upon any occaſion whatſoever, in Civil Matters, if the Inquiſitor or Commiſſary is a Catholick, the Parties ſhall be oblig'd to agree about an Aſſociate; and in caſe they cannot agree about one, the ſaid Inquiſitor or Commiſſary ſhall take one out of the Office, being of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion; and the ſame ſhall be practis'd when the Commiſſary or Inquiſitor ſhall be of the ſaid Religion, for a Catholick Adjunct.

LXII. We Will and Ordain, That our Judges ſhall determine the Validity of Teſtaments, in which thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall be concern'd, if they require it; and the Appeals of the ſaid Judgments may be ſued out by thoſe of the ſaid Religion, notwithſtanding all Cuſtoms contrary thereunto, even thoſe of *Brittany*.

LXIII. To prevent all differences that might happen between our Courts of Parliament, and the Chambers of the ſaid Courts, ordain'd by our preſent Edict; We will ſet down an ample and plain Order between the ſaid Courts and Chambers, by which thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion ſhall fully injoy the benefit of the ſaid Edict: Which Order ſhall be verified in our Courts of Parliament, which ſhall be kept and obſerv'd, without having a reſpect to thoſe that have been made before.

LXIV. We prohibit and forbid all our Soveraign Courts, and others of this Kingdom, to take Cognizance, and judge the Proceſſes, Civil and Criminal, of thoſe of the ſaid Religion, the Tryal whereof, by our Edict, is referr'd to the ſaid Chambers, provided the return be demanded, as it is ſpecifi'd by the 40 Articles abovewriten.

LXV. Our Will alſo is by way of Proviſion, until we have otherwiſe ordain'd it, that in all Suits mov'd, or to be mov'd, in which thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall ſtand as Plaintiffs, or Defendants, principal Parties, or Warrantees in Civil Cauſes,

in

in which our Officers and Presidial Tribunals, have power to Judge definitively, they be permitted to demand that two of the Chamber, where the Cause is to be try'd, abstain from the Judgment of them, who without alledging any cause, shall be bound in this case to abstain, notwithstanding the Ordinance by which the Judges cannot be excepted against without just cause; there remaining to them besides refusals of Right against the others. And in Criminal Cases in which the said Presidial Judges, and other Subaltern or Inferior Judges Royal, judge definitively, the Persons impeach'd being of the said Religion, shall also be allow'd to challenge three of the Judges peremptorily. The Provosts of the Marshals of *France*, Vice-Bailiffs, Vice-Seneschals, Lieutenants of the Short Robe, and other Officers of the like Quality, shall also judge according to the Ordinance and Rules heretofore given in relation to Vagabonds. And as for Housholders charg'd and impeach'd with any Provoital or Publick Crime, if they be of the said Religion, they shall also be allow'd to demand that three of the said Judges, who may take Cognizance thereof, abstain from the Judgment of their Causes, which the said Judges shall be oblig'd to do, without any expression of Cause, except when in the Assembly where the said Causes shall be judg'd, there happen to be to the number of two in Civil matters, and three in Criminal Cases of those of the said Religion, in which Case they shall not be allow'd to challenge peremptorily, without shewing cause; the which shall be common and reciprocal to Catholicks in manner and form abovemention'd in respect to the Refusal of Judges, where those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion shall exceed the others in number Nevertheless, we do not mean that the said Presidial Tribunals, Provosts-Marshals, Vice-Bailiffs, Vice-Seneschals, and others, who judge definitively, should by virtue of what is abovesaid, take Cognizance of the Troubles past. And as for Crimes and Excesses committed upon other occasions, than that of the Troubles past, from the beginning of *March* 1585. to the end of the year 1597. in case they do take Cognizance of them: It is our Will that Appeals may be had from their Judgments before the Chambers ordain'd by the present Edict; as shall in the like manner be practis'd for Catholick Accomplices, where some of those of the pretended *Reform'd* Religion shall be Parties.

LXVI. We also will and ordain, That henceforward in all Instructions, except Informations of Criminal Causes, in the Seneschalships of *Thoulouse*, *Carcassonne*, *Rovergue*, *Loragais*, *Beziers*, *Montpelier*, and *Nimes*, the Magistrate, or Commissary, deputed for the said Instruction, if he be a Catholick, shall be bound to take an Associate of the pretended Reform'd Religion, which the Parties shall agree about, and in case they cannot agree, one of the said Religion shall be taken out of the Office, by the aforesaid Magistrate, or Commissary: As in like manner, If the Magistrate, or Commissary, be

be of the ſaid Religion, he ſhall be oblig'd in the manner and form aforeſaid to take a Catholick Aſſiſtant.

LXVII. When any Houſholder of the ſaid Religion, being charg'd and accus'd of any publick Crime, ſhall be try'd before the Provoſts Marſhals, or their Lieutenants, the ſaid Provoſts, or their Lieutenants, being Catholicks ſhall be oblig'd to call to the Proceedings of ſuch a matter an Aſſiſtant of the ſaid Religion; who ſhall alſo aſſiſt at the Tryal of the competency of the Indictment, and at the Judgment definitive of the matter; which Competency ſhall only be try'd at the next Preſidial Tribunal, in open Aſſembly, by the chief Officers of the ſaid Court, being actually there on pain of Nullity, unleſs the Perſons accus'd, deſire to have the ſaid Competency try'd in the Chambers ordain'd by the preſent Edict. In which caſe in reſpect to the Houſholders of the Provinces of *Guyenne*, *Languedoc*, *Provence*, and *Dauphine*, the Subſtitutes of our Attornys-General in the ſaid Chambers, ſhall at the requeſt of the ſaid Houſholders, cauſe the ſaid Charges and Informations againſt them, to be brought before them, to know, and determine, whether the Cauſes are liable to Provoſts-Courts or not, in order, according to the nature of the Crimes, to be return'd by the ſaid Chambers to the Ordinary Judge, or elſe to be try'd by the Provoſtial Judges, according as they ſhall judge it reaſonable, and ſuitable to the Contents of this our preſent Edict: And all the ſaid Preſidial-Judges, Provoſts-Marſhals, Vice-Bailiffs, Vice-Seneſchals, and others, who judge definitively, ſhall be oblig'd reſpectively to obey and obſerve the Commands they ſhall receive from the ſaid Chambers, as they uſe to reſpect the Orders of the ſaid Parliaments, on forfeiture of their Places.

LXVIII. The Publications of Sale, and Seizures, Outcries, and Vendition of Inheritances by the * Spear, in purſuance of a Decree, ſhall be perform'd at the uſual Places and Houſes, if poſſible, according to our Ordinances, or elſe in publick Market-places, in caſe there be any Market places in the Place where the ſaid Inheritances are ſeated; and where there are none, it ſhall be done in the next Market-place within the Precinct of the Seſſion where the Adjudication is to be made, and the Paper of notice ſhall be faſten'd on a Poſt in the ſaid Market; and at the entrance of the Auditories, or Seſſions-houſe of the ſaid Place, and in ſo doing, the ſaid Publications ſhall be good and valid, and they ſhall proceed to the paſſing of the Order for the Sale of the Goods, without minding the Nulities that might be alledg'd in that reſpect.

LXIX. All Titles, Papers, Inſtruments, and Informations, that have been taken, ſhall be reſtor'd on both ſides to the owners, altho the ſaid Papers, or the Caſtles, or Houſes, in which they were kept, were taken and ſeiz'd, either by Special Commiſſions from the late King, our moſt honour'd Lord and Father-in-Law; or from Us, or by the Command of the Governors and Lieutenants-General of our Provinces, or by

by the Authority of the Chiefs of the other ſide, or under any other pretence whatever.

LXX. The Children of ſuch as have withdrawn themſelves out of our Kingdom, ſince the Death of the late King *Henry* II. our moſt honour'd Lord and Father-in-Law, on the account of Religion, and the Troubles, tho the ſaid Children be born out of this Kingdom, ſhall be held for true *French-men* and Natives, and as ſuch we have, and do declare them to be, without their being oblig'd to take Letters of Naturalization, or other Warrants from us, but the preſent Edicts: All Ordinances thereunto contrary notwithſtanding; to which we have and do derogate, upon condition, that the ſaid Children born in Foreign Countrys, ſhall be oblig'd within Ten Years after the ſaid Publication of theſe preſents, to come and Reſide in this Kingdom.

LXXI. Thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, and others, who have been ingag'd in their Party, who ſhall have taken to Farm before the Troubles any Offices, or other Demeans, Cuſtoms, Foreign Impoſitions, or other Duties to us belonging, the which they have not been able to injoy, by reaſon of the Troubles, ſhall remain diſcharg'd, as we do hereby diſcharge them of what they have not receiv'd of the ſaid Farms, or what they have paid without fraud, any where out of our Exchequer. All Obligations enter'd into by them upon this account, notwithſtanding.

LXXII. All Places, Cities, and Provinces of our Kingdom, Countries, Lands, and Lordſhips under our Obedience, ſhall have and injoy the ſame Priviledges, Immunities, Liberties, Franchiſes, Fairs, Markets, Juriſdictions, and Seats of Juſtice, as they did before the Troubles, begun in the Month of *March* 1585. And others preceding, all Letters Patents thereunto contrary, and the Tranſlation of ſome of the ſaid Seats notwithſtanding; provided it was only done upon the account of the Troubles; which Seats ſhall be re-eſtabliſh'd in the Cities and Places where they were before.

LXXIII. In caſe there be yet any Priſoners detain'd by Authority of Juſtice, or otherwiſe, even in the Gallies, by reaſon of the Troubles, or of the ſaid Religion, they ſhall be ſet at Liberty.

LXXIV. Thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall not hereafter be ſurcharg'd or oppreſs'd with any ordinary or extraodinary Impoſition, more than the Catholicks, and according to the proportion of their Eſtates and Subſtance; and the Parties that think themſelves overburthen'd, may have recourſe, and ſhall be redreſſed by the Judges appointed for that Subject: And all our Subjects, whether Catholicks, or of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, ſhall be equally diſcharg'd of all Charges that have been impos'd on both ſides during the Troubles, on thoſe that were of a contrary Party, and not conſenting; as alſo of Debts created and not paid, Expences made without their Approbation; but yet there ſhall be no returns made of the Fruits that ſhall have been imploy'd for the payment of the ſaid Charges.

LXXV. Neither do we allow that thoſe of the ſaid Religion, and others, who have been ingag'd in their Party; nor the Catholicks, who dwell in the Cities, Towns, and Places, held and detain'd by them, and who have contributed to them, ſhould be proſecuted for the payment of Taxes, Aids, Grants, Increaſe, Aſſeſments, Waſts. and Reparations, and other Impoſitions and Subſidies due, and impos'd during the Troubles happen'd before, and ſince our coming to the Crown, either by Edicts, Orders from the late Kings our Predeceſſors, or by Advice and Deliberation of the Governors and Eſtates of the Provinces, Courts of Parliament, and others, whereof we have and do diſcharge them; forbiding our Treaſurers-General of *France*, and of our Exchequers, Receivers-General and Particular, their Clerks, Intermedlers, and other Intendants and Commiſſaries of our Exchequer, to proſecute, moleſt, or trouble them for the ſame directly or indirectly, in any way whatever.

LXXVI. All Commanders, Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Officers, Corporations of Cities, Towns, and Commonalties, and all others, who have aided and aſſiſted them, their Widows, Heirs, and Succeſſors, ſhall be acquitted and diſcharg'd of all Sums that have been taken and rais'd by them, or their Orders, as well belonging to the Crown, to whatever Sums they may amount, as out of Cities, Towns, and Commonalties, and from particular Perſons, Rents, Revenues, Plate, Sale of Moveables belonging to Eccleſiaſticks, and others, High Foreſts belonging to the Demeaſne, or to other Perſons, Fines, Booties, Ranſoms, or Sums of other natures by them taken, by reaſon of the Troubles begun in *March* 1585. and other precedent Troubles, until our coming to the Crown; for which neither they, nor thoſe by them imploy'd for the raiſing of the ſaid Sums, or ſuch as have given or furniſh'd them by their Order, ſhall be any-wiſe proſecuted either for the time being, or to come; and both they and their Committees, or Clarks ſhall remain acquitted and diſcharg'd for all the Management and Adminiſtration of the ſaid Money, bringing in for a full diſcharge, within four Months after the Publication of the preſent Edict made in our Court of Parliament of *Paris*, Acquittances duly expedited by the Chiefs of the ſaid Religion, or from thoſe who were imploy'd by them for the Audit and clearing of Accounts, or from the Commonalties of Cities, which had Authority and Command during the ſaid Troubles. They ſhall in like manner remain acquitted and diſcharg'd of all Acts of Hoſtility, Levies, and Conduct of Soldiers, Coining and Rating of Money, done by order of the ſaid Chiefs; Caſting and Taking of Artillery and Munitions, Making of Powder and Saltpeter; the Taking, Fortifying, Diſmantling, and Demoliſhing of Cities, Caſtles, Towns, and Villages, Enterprizes upon the ſame; the Burning and Demoliſhing of Churches and Houſes, Eſtabliſhing of Courts of Juſtice, Judgments and Executions from the ſame, whether in matters Civil or Criminal, of any Policy or Government eſtabliſh'd among

among them, of Voyages and Intelligences, Negotiations, Treaties, and Contracts made with all Foreign Princes, and Commonalties, and the Introduction of the said Foreigners into the Cities, and other Places of our Kingdom, and generally of all that has been done, or negotiated during the said Troubles, since the Death of the late King *Henry* II. our most honour'd Lord and Brother-in-Law, by those of the said Religion, and others, who have been ingag'd in their Party, tho it be not particularly specifi'd nor expres's'd.

LXXVII. Those of the said Religion shall also be discharg'd for all General and Provincial Assemblies, made and held by them, both at *Nantes*, and elsewhere since, until this present time; likewise for the Councils by them Establish'd and Ordain'd in the Provinces, Deliberations, Ordinances, and Regulations made by the said Assemblies, and Councils, Establishment and Augmentation of Garisons, Assembling of Soldiers, Raising and Taking of Money either from the Receivers-General, or from particular Persons, Collectors of Parishes, or others, in any kind whatever; seizing of Salt, Continuation or new Erection of Impositions, and Tolls, and Receipts of the same, even at *Royan*, and upon the Rivers *Charante*, *Garonne*, *Rone*, and *Dordogne*, equiping of Ships and Sea-Fights, and all Accidents and Excesses occasion'd by obliging People to pay the said Impositions, Tolls, and other Monies, Fortifications of Cities, Castles, and Places, Impositions of Money, and Labour, Receipts of the said Money, turning out of our Receivers and Farmers, and other Officers, establishing of others in their Room, and for all Unions, Dispatches, and Negotiations, made either within or without the Kingdom: And generally for all that has been done deliberated, written, and ordain'd by the said Assemblies and Councils, for which neither those who have given their Advice, Sign'd, Executed, and caus'd the said Ordinances, Regulations, and Deliberations to be sign'd and executed, shall neither be prosecuted or troubled, nor their Widows, Heirs, or Successors, either at present, or for the future, altho the Particulars are not specifi'd here. And upon the whole, perpetual silence shall be impos'd to our Attorneys-General and their Substitutes, and to all such as could have any pretence to it in any kind, or manner whatever; all Sentences, Judgments, Informations, and Proceedings to the contrary notwithstanding.

LXXVIII. Moreover we Approve, Confirm, and Authorize the Accounts that have been heard, allow'd, and examin'd by the Deputies of the said Assembly. And order the same, together with the Acquittances and Fragments that have been return'd by the Accountants, to be carried into our Chamber of Accounts at *Paris*, within three Months after the Publication of the present Edict, and deliver'd into the hands of our Attorney-General, to be deliver'd to the Keeper of the Books and Registers of our Chamber, there to be view'd as often as shall be necessary; neither shall the

ſaid Accounts be examin'd anew, or the Accountants be oblig'd to appear, or to correct any thing, unleſs in the caſe of Omiſſions of Receipts, or falſe Acquittances: Impoſing ſilence to our Attorney-General, to whatever elſe might be thought defective, or the Formalities omitted. Forbidding thoſe that keep our Courts of Accounts, either at *Paris*, or in other Provinces where they are eſtabliſh'd, to take any cognizance thereof in any kind whatever.

LXXIX. As for the Accounts that have not been deliver'd yet, they ſhall be heard, paſs'd, and examin'd by Commiſſioners appointed by us, who ſhall without difficulty paſs, and allow all the Accounts paid by the ſaid Accountants, by virtue of the Ordinances of the ſaid Aſſembly, or others, who were in Power.

LXXX. All Collectors, Receivers, Farmers, and others, ſhall be well and duly diſcharg'd for all the Sums by them paid to the Committees of the ſaid Aſſembly, whatever nature they were of, until the laſt day of this Month. We order the whole to be paſs'd and allow'd in the Accounts that ſhall be given thereof in our Chambers of Accounts, meerly by virtue of the Acquittances they ſhall bring along with them; and in caſe any ſhould be expedited or deliver'd hereafter, they ſhall be void; and thoſe who ſhall accept or diliver them, ſhall be Fin'd as Falſificators. And in caſe any of the Accounts already deliver'd ſhould be blotted, or raz'd, and excepted againſt, we do in that reſpect remove the ſaid Scruples, and allow the ſaid Accounts to be good, by virtue of theſe Preſents, and there ſhall be no need for all that is aboveſaid of any particular Letters, nor any thing elſe, for all which the Extract of the preſent Article will ſuffice.

* *A heavy Impoſition.*

LXXXI. The Governors, Captains, Conſuls, and other Perſons imploy'd for the Collection of the Money to pay the Gariſons of the Places held by thoſe of the ſaid Religion, to whom our Receivers and Collectors of Pariſhes ſhall have furniſh'd by way of Loan upon their Notes and Bonds, either by force, or to obey the Commands made to them by the Treaſurers-General, ſuch Sums of Money as were neceſſary to pay off the ſaid Gariſons to the value of what was ſpecifi'd in the ſettlement we caus'd to be made in the beginning of the Year 1596; and the Additions that have been ſince by us granted, are hereby acquitted and diſcharg'd of what has been paid for the aboveſaid uſe, altho it is not expreſly mention'd in the ſaid Notes and Bonds, the which ſhall be reſtor'd to them as annihilated. And in order thereunto, the Treaſurers-General in every Generality, ſhall order the particular Receivers of our * *Tailles* to give the ſaid Collectors their Acquittances, and the Receivers General their Acquittances to the ſaid particular Receivers: For the diſcharge of which Receivers General, the Sums they ſhall have accounted for, as above ſaid, ſhall be endors'd upon the Orders given to the Treaſurer of the Exchequer, ſign'd by the Treaſurers General of the extraordinary expences of our Wars, for the payment of the ſaid Gariſons. And in caſe

caſe the ſaid Orders do not amount to as much as is ſpecifi'd by our ſaid ſettlement of the Year 1596. and the Additions, it is our pleaſure in order to ſupply the ſame, that new orders ſhall be given for as much as may be wanting for the diſcharge of our Accomptants, and the reſtitution of the ſaid Promiſes and Bonds, to the end that nothing may be requir'd hereafter from thoſe that have given them; and that all neceſſary Letters of Inforcement and Ratification for the diſcharge of the ſaid Accomptants be iſſued out by vertue of this preſent Article.

LXXXII. And therefore thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall give over and deſiſt, from this very time, all Practices, Negotiations and Intelligences, both at home and abroad; and the ſaid Aſſemblies and Councils eſtabliſh'd in the Provinces ſhall ſtraight break up; and all Leagues and Aſſociations made or to be made, under any pretence whatever, to the prejudice of our preſent Edict, ſhall be cancell'd and annull'd, as we do hereby cancel and annul them; forbidding all our Subjects moſt expreſly henceforward to make any Aſſeſſments and raiſings of Money, without our leave, Fortifications, Liſtings of Men, Congregations and Aſſemblies, beſides thoſe that are allow'd them by the preſent Edicts, and without Arms; which we do prohibit and forbid them on pain of rigorous puniſhments, and as contemners and infracters of our Commands and Ordinances.

LXXXIII. All Prizes taken at Sea, during the Troubles, by vertue of the permiſſions given, and all ſuch as have been taken by Land, upon thoſe of the contrary Party, which have been judg'd by the Judges and Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, or by the Chiefs of thoſe of the ſaid Religion, or their Council, ſhall lye dormant under the benefit of our preſent Edicts, and no manner of proſecution ſhall be made for the ſame; neither ſhall the Captains and others who have taken the ſaid Priſes, and the ſaid Judges, Officers, their Widows and Heirs be any wiſe proſecuted or moleſted upon that account; notwithſtanding all Decrees of our Privy-Council and Parliaments, and all Letters of Marque, and Seizures depending and ingag'd, for all which we do releaſe and diſcharge them.

LXXXIV. Neither ſhall thoſe of the ſaid Religion be call'd to an account for their having heretofore, and even ſince the troubles, oppos'd and hinder'd the execution of the Decrees and Judgments given for the re-eſtabliſhment of the Catholick, Apoſtolick and *Roman* Religon, in divers places of this Kingdom.

LXXXV. As for what has been taken or done during the Troubles, otherwiſe than by way of Hoſtility, or by Hoſtility contrary to the Publick or particular Regulations of the Chiefs, or of the Commonalties of the Provinces who were impower'd, they ſhall be proſecuted according to Law.

LXXXVI. Nevertheleſs, whereas if what has been done againſt the Regulations on both ſides were indifferently excepted from the General Pardon granted by this our preſent Edict, and liable to be proſecuted, there are few men in the Armies, who might not be put to trouble, which

which might occaſion a renovation of Troubles; it is our will and pleaſure that none but execrable Crimes ſhould be excepted out of the ſaid General Pardon: *Viz.* Raviſhments, Incendiaries, Murthers and Robberies committed with a deſign and premeditation, not in the way of Hoſtility, but out of private ends and revenge againſt the Law of Arms; infraction of Paſsports and Safeguards, together with Murthers and Plunderings without Orders, in relation to thoſe of the ſaid Religion, and others who have followed the Party of the Chiefs that had Authority over them, grounded upon particular occaſions that may have mov'd them to command or order it.

LXXXVII. We alſo order, That the Crimes and Offences againſt perſons of the ſame Party ſhall be puniſh'd, unleſs in Acts commanded by the Chiefs of either ſide, according to the Neceſſity, Law and Orders of War. And as for the raiſings and exactions of Mony, Bearing of Arms, and other Exploits of War committed by Private Authority, and without command, they ſhall be proſecuted according to Law.

LXXXVIII. The Ruins and Demoliſhments that have been made in Cities and Towns during the Troubles, may be rebuilt and repair'd, with our leave, by the Inhabitants at their proper coſt and charges, and the Letters Patents allow'd heretofore to that end ſhall remain in force.

LXXXIX. It is our will and pleaſure, and poſitive Command, That all the Lords, Knights, Gentlemen and others, of what Quality ſoever, of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, and others who have been ingag'd in their Party, ſhall re-enter, and be effectually reſtor'd to the enjoyment of all and every their Eſtates, Titles, Names, Reaſons and Actions, notwithſtanding the Judgments given againſt them during the Troubles, and by reaſon thereof; which Decrees, Seizures, Judgments, and all that follow'd thereupon, we have declar'd to that end, and do declare null, and of no effect and value.

XC. The Acquiſitions which thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, and others who have been ingag'd in their Party, have made by other Authority than that of the late Kings our Predeceſſors, about the Immoveables belonging to the Church, ſhall be void and of no effect; and therefore we order, and it is our will and pleaſure that the Eccleſiaſticks ſhall be reſtor'd immediately, and without delay, and ſhall be preſerv'd in the poſſeſſion, and real and actual enjoyments of the Eſtates thus alienated, and without being oblig'd to return the price of the ſaid Sales; the ſaid Contracts of Sale notwithſtanding, the which therefore we have and do revoke: Nevertheleſs, allowing the Purchaſers their recourſe at Law againſt the Chiefs, by whoſe Authority the ſaid Eſtates ſhould have been ſold. However for the reimburſment of the Sums by them really and without fraud disburs'd, we will grant our Letters Patent to thoſe of the ſaid Religion, to impoſe and equal upon themſelves the Sums to which the ſaid Sales will amount; and the ſaid Purchaſers ſhall have no Actions againſt them for Damages and Intereſts for want of enjoyment, but

but ſhall reſt ſatisfied with the reſtitution of the Money by them diſburs'd for the ſaid Acquiſitions; including upon the ſaid Price the Fruits by them receiv'd, in caſe the ſaid ſales are found to be made at a low unjuſt Price.

XCI. And to the end that our Juſticers, Officers and other Subjects, may be clearly and with certainty acquainted with our Intentions; and to remove all ambiguities and doubts that might ariſe upon the account of the precedent Edicts, by reaſon of the diverſity thereof; we have and do declare all other preceding Edicts, ſecret Articles, Letters, Declarations, Modifications, Ratifications, Interpretations, Decrees and Regiſters, as well ſecret, as other Deliberations heretofore by us, or by the Kings our Predeceſſors made in our Courts of Parliament, or elſewhere, relating to the caſe of the ſaid Religion, and the troubles happen'd in our ſaid Kingdom, to be null and of no effect; to all which, and the Derogatories therein contain'd, we have by this our Edict derogated and do derogate from this time forward, as well as for that time, do cancel, revoke and annul them: Declaring expreſly, that we will have this our Edict to be firm and inviolable, kept and obſerv'd as well by our ſaid Juſticers, Officers, as by other Subjects, without any regard to any thing that might be contrary, or derogating to it.

XCII. And for the better aſſurance of the maintenance and obſervance we deſire to have thereof, we will and ordain, and it is our pleaſure, that all the Governors and Lieutenants General of our Provinces, Bayliffs, Seneſchals, and other Judges in ordinary of the Cities of this our Kingdom, immediately after the receipts of this our Edict, ſhall ſwear to have it kept and obſerv'd, every one in their ſeveral Precincts; as alſo the Mayors, Sheriffs, Capitouls, Conſuls, and Jurats of Cities, annual and perpetual: enjoining alſo our ſaid Bayliffs, Seneſchals, or their Lieutenants and other Judges, to make the principal Inhabitants of the ſaid Cities of both Religions ſwear to obſerve and maintain the ſame, immediately after the publication thereof. Putting all thoſe of the Cities under our protection, and under the guard of one another; charging them reſpectively and by publick Acts, to anſwer at the Civil Law for the tranſgreſſions that ſhall be made of this our ſaid Edicts in the ſaid Cities by the Inhabitants thereof, or to repreſent and deliver the ſaid Infractors into the hands of Juſtice.

We command our Truſty and Well Beloved the Perſons holding our Courts of Parliament, Chambers of Accounts, and Courts of Aids, immediately upon receipt of the preſent Edict, to put a ſtop to all their proceedings, on pain of nullity of all the Acts they ſhould paſs, and to take the Oath abovemention'd; and this our Edict to publiſh and regiſter in our ſaid Courts, according to the form and tenor thereof, exactly as it is, without any Modification, Reſtrictions, ſecret Regiſters, or Declarations, and without expecting any farther order or command from us; and our Attorneys General to require and proſecute the ſaid immediate Publication thereof.

We

We alſo order our ſaid perſons holding our ſaid Courts of Parliament, Chambers of our Accounts, and Courts of Aids, Bayliffs, Seneſchals, Provoſts, and others our Juſticers and Officers to whom it may belong, and to their Lieutenants, to cauſe this our preſent Edict and Ordinance to be read, publiſh'd and regiſter'd in their Courts and Juriſdictions, and the ſame to maintain, keep and obſerve in every particular; and to make all ſuch whom it may concern, enjoy and uſe the benefit thereof; putting a ſtop to all Troubles and Hinderances thereunto contrary. For ſuch is our pleaſure. For witneſs whereof we have ſign'd theſe Preſents with our own hand; and to the ſame, in order to its being firm and laſting for ever, we have caus'd our Seal to be affix'd.

Given at Nantes *in the Month of* April, *in the Year of our Lord* 1598. *and of our Reign the Ninth.*

Sign'd,

Henry.

And underneath, By the King being in his Council,

Forget.

And on the ſide, *Viſa.*

And ſeal'd with the Great Seal of Green Wax, upon Knots of Red and Green Silk. Read, publiſh'd and regiſter'd, heard, with the approbation of the King's Attorney General at Paris *in Parliament, on the* 25th *of* February, 1599.

Sign'd,

Voyſin.

Read, publiſh'd and regiſter'd in the Chamber of Accounts, hear'd and approv'd by the King's-Attorney General, on the laſt day of March, 1599.

Sign'd,

De la Fontaine.

Read, publiſh'd and regiſtred, heard and approv'd by the King's Attorny General at Paris, *in the Court of Aids, the* 30th *of* April, 1599.

Sign'd,

Bernard.

Particular

Particular Articles, extracted from the General ones, that have been granted by the King to thoſe of the Pretended Reform'd *Religion the which His Majeſty would not have comprehended into the ſaid General Articles, nor in the Edict that has been made and drawn upon the ſame given at* Nantes *in the Month of* April *laſt; and yet nevertherleſs His Majeſty has granted that they ſhall be fully accompliſh'd and obſerv'd, in the ſame manner as the Contents of the ſaid Edict. To which end they ſhall be Regiſtred in his Courts of Parliament, and elſewhere, where it ſhall be neceſſary; and all neceſſary Declarations and Letters Patent to that end ſhall be forthwith expedited.*

I. THE 6th Article of the ſaid Edict, about Liberty of Conſcience, and leave for all his Majeſties Subjects to live and inhabit in this Kingdom, and Countries under his Obedience, ſhall remain in force, and ſhall be obſerv'd according to the Form and Tenor thereof: Even for Miniſters and Teachers, and all others that are, or ſhall turn of the ſaid Religion, whether actual Inhabitants or others, behaving themſelves in all other things conformably to what is ſpecifi'd by the ſaid Edict.

II. Thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall not be oblig'd to contribute towards the Reparations, and Building of Churches, Chappels, Parſonages, nor towards the buying of Sacerdotal Ornaments, Lights, Calling of Bells, Holy Bread, Rights of Fraternity, and other like things, unleſs oblig'd thereunto by Foundations, Gifts, or other Diſpoſitions made by them or their Predeceſſors.

3. Neither ſhall they be oblig'd to hang and adorn the Front of their Houſes on Feſtival-days, on which it is order'd; but only to ſuffer them to be hung and adorn'd by the Authority of the Magiſtrates, without contributing any thing towards it.

IV. Neither ſhall thoſe of the ſaid Religion be oblig'd to receive Exhortations, being Sick, or near Death, either by Condemnation of Juſtice, or otherwiſe, from any but thoſe of the ſaid Religion; and their Miniſters ſhall be allow'd to Viſit and Comfort them without any diſturbance: And as for ſuch as ſhall be condemn'd by Juſtice, it ſhall alſo be lawful for the ſaid Miniſters to viſit and prepare them for Death, without making Publick Prayers, unleſs in ſuch Places as are allow'd by the ſaid Edict for the ſaid Publick Exerciſe.

V. It ſhall be lawful for thoſe of the ſaid Religion, to perform the Publick Exerciſe thereof at *Pimpoul*, and for *Diepe* in the Suburb *du Paulet*; and the ſaid Places of *Pimpoul* and *du Paulet*, ſhall be ordain'd for Places of Baliwicks. The ſaid Exerciſe ſhall be continued at *Sancerre*, as

it is at preſent. The ſaid free and publick Exerciſe ſhall alſo be re-eſtabliſh'd in the City of *Montagnac* in *Languedoc*.

VI. In reſpect to the Article which relates to Bailiwicks, it has been declar'd and granted, as followeth. *Firſt*, For the Eſtabliſhing of the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion, in the two Places granted in every Baliwick, Seneſchalſhip, and Government, thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall nominate Two Cities, in the Suburbs of which the ſaid Exerciſe ſhall be eſtabliſh'd by the Commiſſioners that ſhall be deputed by his Majeſty for the Execution of the Edict. And in caſe the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhould not approve of them, thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall nominate two or three Towns or Villages in the Neighbourhood of the ſaid Cities, for every one of them, out of which the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall chuſe one. And if through Hoſtility, Contagion, or any other lawful Impediment, it cannot be continued in the ſaid Places, others ſhall be allow'd while the ſaid Impediment ſhall continue. *Secondly*, That only two Cities ſhall be provided in the Government of *Piccardy*, into the Suburbs of which, thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall be allow'd the Exerciſe thereof for all the Bailiwicks, Seneſchalſhips, and Governments depending of the ſame; and where it ſhall not be thought fit to eſtabliſh it in the ſaid Cities, they ſhall be allow'd two convenient Towns or Villages. *Thirdly*, By reaſon of the great Extent of the Seneſchalſhip of *Provence*, and Bailiwicks of *Viennois*, his Majeſty does grant a third Place in each of the ſaid Bailiwicks and Seneſchalſhips, the Choice and Nomination of which ſhall be made as aboveſaid, there to eſtabliſh the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion, beſides the other Places in which it is already eſtabliſh'd.

VII. What has been granted by the ſaid Article for the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion in Bailiwicks, ſhall alſo ſerve for the Territories which did belong to the Late Queen Mother-in-Law to his Majeſty, and for the Bailiwick of *Beaujolois*.

VIII. Beſides the Two Places granted for the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion, by the Particular Articles of the year 1577. in the Iſles of *Marennes* and *Oleron*, two more ſhall be allow'd them, for the convenience of the ſaid Inhabitants; *viz.* one for all the Iſles of *Marennes*, and another for the Iſle of *Oleron*.

IX. The Letters Patent granted by his Majeſty, for the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion in the City of *Mentz* ſhall remain in full Force and Virtue.

X. It is his Majeſty's Will and Pleaſure, That the 27th Article of his Edict, relating to the Admiſſion of thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion into Offices and Dignities, ſhall be obſerv'd and maintain'd according to its Form and Tenor, the Edicts and Agreements heretofore made for the Reduction of ſome Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, and Catholick Cities notwithſtanding; the which ſhall not be in force to the prejudice of thoſe of the ſaid Religion, only in what relates to the Exerciſe thereof. And the ſaid Exerciſe ſhall be regulated according as it is ſpecified by the following Articles,

ticles, according to which ſhall be drawn the Inſtructions of the Commiſſioners that ſhall be deputed by his Majeſty for the Execution of his Edict, according as it is ordain'd by the ſame.

XI. According to the Edict made by his Majeſty for the Reduction of the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Exerciſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion ſhall neither be allow'd, nor eſtabliſh'd in the Cities and Suburbs of *Rheims*, *Rocroy*, *St Diſier*, *Guiſe*, *Joinville*, *Fimes*, and *Moncornet* in the *Ardennes*.

XII. Neither ſhall it be allow'd in the other Places adjacent to the ſaid Cities, and Places forbidden by the Edict of the year 1577.

XIII. And to remove the Ambiguity that might ariſe upon the word Adjacent, his Majeſty declares, that he means the Places that are within the Circuit of a League of the ſaid Cities, being the Precinct, or Liberties thereof, in which places the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall not be allow'd, unleſs it were permitted by the Edict of 1577.

XIV. And foraſmuch as by the ſame, the ſaid Exerciſe was allow'd generally in the Fiefs poſſeſs'd by thoſe of the ſaid Religion, without any exception of the ſaid Leagues Circuit; his Majeſty declares, That the ſaid allowance ſhall remain in force, even for Fiefs within the ſaid Circuit, poſſeſſed by thoſe of the ſaid Religion, as it is ſpecify'd by his Edict, given at *Nantes*.

XV. Likewiſe according to the Edict made for the Reduction of the Marſhal *de la Chartres*, in each of the Bailiwicks of *Orleans* and *Bourges*, ſhall only be ordain'd one Place of Bailiwick for the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion, the which however may be continu'd in ſuch places where the Continuation thereof is allow'd by the ſaid Edict of *Nantes*.

XVI. The Conceſſion of Preaching in Fiefs, ſhall alſo extend to the ſaid Bailiwicks, in the manner ſpecifi'd by the ſaid Edict of *Nantes*.

XVII. The Edict made for the Reduction of the Marſhal of *Bois-Dauphin* ſhall alſo be obſerv'd; and the ſaid Exerciſe ſhall not be allow'd in the Cities, Suburbs, and Places brought over by him to his Majeſty's Service; and as for the Circuit, or Liberties thereof, the Edict of 77. ſhall be obſerv'd there, even in the Houſes of Fiefs, according as it is ſpecify'd by the Edict of *Nantes*.

XVIII. No Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall be allow'd in the City, Suburbs, and Caſtle of *Morlais*, according to the Edicts made for the Reduction of the ſaid City, and the Edict of 77. ſhall be obſerv'd for the Precinct thereof according to the Edict of *Nantes*.

XIX. In Conſequence of the Edict for the Reduction of *Quimperorantin*, no Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall be allow'd in all the Biſhoprick of *Cornouaille*.

XX. Alſo according to the Edict made for the Reduction of *Beauvais*, the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall not be allow'd in the ſaid City of *Beauvais*, nor within three Leagues round about it. Nevertheleſs the eſtabliſhing thereof ſhall be allow'd in the remainder of the Extent of the Bailiwick, in the Places allow'd of by the Edict of 77. Even in Houſes

of Fiefs, according to the Edict of *Nantes*.

XXI. And whereas the Edict made for the Reduction of the late Admiral *de Villars*, is only Provisional, and until the King's farther Pleasure, It is his Majesty's Will and Pleasure, the said Edict notwithstanding, that his Edict of *Nantes* shall remain in force for the Cities and Jurisdictions reduced to his Majesty's Obedience by the said Admiral, as well as for the other parts of his Kingdom.

XXII. By the Edict made for the Reduction of the Duke of *Joyeuse*, the Exercise of the said Religion shall not be allowed in the City or Suburbs of *Thoulouse*, nor within four Leagues about it, nor nearer than the Cities of *Villemur*, *Carmain*, and the Isle of *Jourdan*.

XXIII. Neither shall it be restored into the Cities of *Alet*, *Fiat*, *Auriac*, and *Montesquiou*: Nevertheless, in case any of the said Religion in the said City should be desirous to have a place for the Exercise thereof, the Commissioners that shall be deputed by his Majesty for the Execution of his Edict, shall assign them for every one of the said Cities a convenient Place and of easie Access, within a League of the said Cities.

XXIV. It shall be lawful to establish the said Exercise, according as it is specified by the said Edict of *Nantes*, within the Jurisdiction of the Court of Parliament of *Thoulouse*, excepted always in such Bayliwicks, Seneschalships, and other Precincts, of which the principal Seats shall have been restored to his Majesty's Obedience by the said Duke of *Joyeuse*, in which the Edict of 77 shall take place. Nevertheless his Majesty means that the said Exercise shall be continued in such places of the said Bayliwicks and Seneschalships, where it was performed at the time of the said Reduction; and that the Concession thereof in Houses of Fiefs shall remain in Force in the said Bayliwicks and Seneschalships, according as it is specified by the said Edict.

XXV. The Edict made for the Reduction of the City of *Dijon* shall be observed, according to which no other Exercise of Religion shall be allowed in the said City than that of the *Roman* Catholick Apostolick Church, nor yet within the Suburbs thereof, nor within four Leagues round about it.

XXVI. The Edict made for the Reduction of the Duke of *Mayenne*, shall in like manner be observed; according to which the Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion shall not be allowed in the City of *Châlons*, nor within two Leagues round about *Soissons* during the term of six Years, to begin from the month of *January* 1596. after which the Edict of *Nantes* shall be observed there, as in the other parts of the Kingdom.

XXVII. It shall be lawful for those of the said Religion, of what Quality soever, to inhabit, and to have free Egress and Regress into the City of *Lyons*, and other Towns and Places of the Government of *Lyonnois*, all Prohibitions made to the contrary by the Syndics, and Sheriffs of the said City of *Lyons*, tho confirm'd by his Majesty, notwithstanding.

XXVIII. Only one place of Bayliwick shall be allow'd for the Exercise of the said Religion in the whole Seneschal-

Seneſchalſhip of *Poitiers*, beſides thoſe where it is already eſtabliſh'd; and as to the Fiefs, the Edict of *Nantes* ſhall be obſerved. The ſaid Exerciſe ſhall alſo be continued in the City of *Chauvigny*: But it ſhall not be reſtored in the Cities of *Agen* and *Perigueux*, altho it was allowed by the Edict of 77.

XXIX. Only two places of Bayliwicks ſhall be allow'd for the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion in all the Government of *Picardy*, as aboveſaid, neither ſhall the ſaid two places be allow'd within the Precincts of the Bayliwicks and Governments reſerved by the Edicts made for the Reduction of *Amiens*, *Peronne* and *Abbeville*. Nevertheleſs the ſaid Exerciſe ſhall be allowed in Houſes of Fiefs throughout the whole Government of *Picardy*, according to what is ſpecified by the ſaid Edict of *Nantes*.

XXX. The Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall not be allowed in the Cities and Suburbs of *Sens*; and only one place of Bayliwick ſhall be granted in the whole Precinct of the Bayliwick, but ſtill without prejudice to the Permiſſion granted for Houſes of Fiefs, which ſhall remain in Force according to the Edict of *Nantes*.

XXXI. Neither ſhall the ſaid Exerciſe be allowed in the City nor Suburbs of *Nantes*, nor any place of Bayliwicks be granted for the ſaid Exerciſe within three Leagues round about the ſaid City: Nevertheleſs it ſhall be allowed in Houſes of Fiefs, according to the ſaid Edict of *Nantes*.

XXXII. It is his ſaid Majeſty's Will and Pleaſure, that his ſaid Edict of *Nantes* ſhall be obſerved from this very time, in what relates to the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion, in ſuch places where by the Edicts and Agreements made for the Reduction of ſome Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, and Catholick Cities, it was prohibited only provitionally, and until it was otherwiſe ordained. And as for ſuch where the ſaid Prohibition is limitted to a certain time, that time being expired it ſhall be no longer in Force.

XXXIII. A Place ſhall be allowed to thoſe of the ſaid Religion for the City, Provoſtſhip, and Vice-Comty of *Paris*, within five Leagues at fartheſt from the ſaid City, in which they ſhall be allowed the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion.

XXXIV. In all ſuch places where the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall be performed publickly, it ſhall be lawful to aſſemble the People, even by the ſound of Bells, and to perform all Acts and Functions belonging either to the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion, or to the Regulation of their Diſcipline, as to hold Conſiſtories, Conferences, and Provincial and National Synods by his Majeſty's leave.

XXXV. The Miniſters, Elders, and Deacons of the ſaid Religion, ſhall not be obliged to appear as Witneſſes, and to anſwer in Juſtice, for things that ſhall have been revealed in their Conſiſtories, in the caſe of Cenſures, unleſs it were about Matters relating to the King's Perſon, or towards the Preſervation of the State.

XXXVI. Such of the ſaid Religion as live in the Country ſhall be allow'd to aſſiſt at the Exerciſe thereof in the Cities

Cities and Suburbs, and other places where it ſhall be publickly eſtabliſh'd.

XXXVII. Thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall not be allowed to keep publick Schools, unleſs in ſuch Towns and Places where the publick Exerciſe thereof is allowed: And the Patents that have been granted them heretofore for the erecting and maintaining of Colleges, ſhall be Verified if neceſſary, and ſhall remain in full Force and Vigor.

XXXVIII. It ſhall be lawful for Fathers profeſſing the ſaid Religion, to provide ſuch Educators for their Children as they ſhall think fit, and to ſubſtitute one, or ſeveral by Will, or other Declaration paſs'd before a Notary, or written or ſign'd by their own Hands, the Laws received in this Kingdom, Ordinances and Cuſtoms of Places remaining in full Force and Vertue, as to the Gifts and Proviſions of Tutors and Guardians.

XXXIX. As for the Marriage of Prieſts, and other Religious Perſons, that have been heretofore contracted, his Majeſty, for divers good Conſiderations, will not allow their being proſecuted or moleſted for the ſame; upon which Subject ſilence ſhall be impoſed to his Attornies General and other Officers. Nevertheleſs his Majeſty declares, That the Children proceeding from the ſaid Marriages ſhall only ſucceed to the Perſonal Eſtates, and Acquiſitions made by their Fathers and Mothers, and in default of the ſaid Children, the neareſt Relations at Law: And the Wills, Gifts, and other Diſpoſitions made, or to be made, by Perſons of the ſaid Quality, of the ſaid Perſonal Eſtates and Acquiſitions by them made, are hereby declared Good and Lawful. Nevertheleſs his ſaid Majeſty will not allow that the ſaid Perſons having been admitted into Religious Orders, ſhould be capable of any direct or colateral Succeſſion; but only ſhall be allowed to take ſuch Eſtates as ſhall be left them by Will, or Gift, or other Diſpoſitions, ſtill excepting thoſe of the ſaid Direct and Colateral Succeſſions: And as to thoſe who ſhall have taken Religious Orders before the Age mentioned by the Ordinances of *Orleans* or *Blois*, ſhall be followed and obſerved, in what relates to the ſaid Succeſſion, the Tenor of the ſaid Ordinances, every one for the time they have been in Force.

XL. Neither will his ſaid Majeſty allow thoſe of the ſaid Religion, who have heretofore, or ſhall hereafter contract Marriages in the third or fourth Degree, to be proſecuted or moleſted for the ſame; neither ſhall the Validity of the ſaid Marriages be queſtioned, nor the Succeſſion taken from, or diſputed againſt the Children, born, or to be born of the ſame: And as to the Marriages that might already be contracted in the ſecond Degree, or from the ſecond to the third, between thoſe of the ſaid Religion, the ſaid Perſons applying themſelves to his ſaid Majeſty, ſuch Letters Patent as ſhall be neceſſary ſhall be granted them, to the end that they may neither be proſecuted nor moleſted for the ſame, nor the Succeſſion diſputed with their Children.

XLI. The

XLI. The Validity and Lawfulneſs of the ſaid Marriages thus made and contracted, ſhall be Judg'd, the Defendant being of the ſaid Religion, before the Judge Royal; but in caſe of his being Plaintiff, and the Defendant a Catholick, the Cognizance thereof ſhall belong to the Official and Eccleſiaſtical Judge; and both Parties being of the ſaid Religion, the Caſe ſhall be try'd before the Judges Royal: His Majeſty willing that the ſaid Marriages, and the Differences ariſing from the ſame, ſhould be judg'd reſpectively by the Judges Eccleſiaſtical and Royal, and by the Chambers eſtabliſh'd by his Edicts.

XLII. The Gifts and Legacies made, or to be made, whether by Will, in caſe of death, or among the living, for the maintenance of Miniſters, Doctors, Scholars, and Poor of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, and upon other pious Accounts, ſhall be of full force and power, all Judgments and Decrees to the contrary notwithſtanding; but yet without prejudice to his Majeſty's Rights, and others, in caſe the ſaid Legacies and gifts ſhould fall into mortmain: And all neceſſary Actions and Proſecutions for the recovery of the ſaid Legacies, Pious Gifts, and other Rights of all kinds, ſhall be allow'd to be made by Attorny in the name of the Body and Community of thoſe of the ſaid Religion who ſhall be concern'd; and in caſe it happens that any of the ſaid Gifts and Legacies have been heretofore diſpos'd of, otherwiſe than is ſpecify'd by the ſaid Article, no other reſtitution ſhall be demanded, but what ſhall be found in being.

XLIII. His ſaid Majeſty permits thoſe of the ſaid Religion to aſſemble before the Judge Royal, and by his Authority to equal and raiſe among themſelves ſuch Sums as ſhall be judg'd neceſſary to be imploy'd towards the Charges of their Synods, and for the maintenance of thoſe who are imploy'd for the exerciſe of their ſaid Religion, of which the true eſtimate ſhall be given to the ſaid Judge Royal, to be kept by him: The Copy of which ſhall be ſent every ſix months by the ſaid Judges Royal to his Majeſty, or to his Chancellor, and the ſaid Taxes and Impoſitions ſhall be liable to execution, all Oppoſitions or Appeals to the contrary notwithſtanding.

XLIV. The Miniſters of the ſaid Religion ſhall be exempted from Watching, and from Quartering of Soldiers; aſſeſſing and collecting of *Tailles*, or Subſidies; as alſo from Wardſhips and Guardianſhips, and Commiſſions for the keeping of Eſtates ſeiz'd by Authority of Juſtice.

XLV. Thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall be neither proſecuted nor diſturbed for the Burials heretofore made by them in the Church-yards of the ſaid Catholicks, in any place or City whatever, and his Majeſty ſhall order his Officers to take care of the ſame. As to the City of *Paris*, over and above the two Church-yards, thoſe of the ſame Religion poſſeſs there already, *viz.* that of *Trinity*, and that of St. *Germans*, a third convenient place ſhall be allow'd them for the ſaid Interments in the

the Suburbs of St. *Honore*, or St. *Denis*.

XLVI. The Catholick Presidents and Counsellors that shall serve in the Chamber ordain'd in the Parliament of *Paris*, shall be chosen by his Majesty upon the Roll of the Officers of the Parliament.

XLVII. The Counsellors of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, who shall serve in the said Chamber, shall assist, if they think fit, at such Processes as shall be decided by Commissioners, and shall have a deliberative voice in the same, but shall have no share of the Consign'd Money, unless they ought to assist at them by the order and prerogative of their reception.

XLVIII. The Senior President of the Party-Chambers shall preside at the Audience, and in his absence the second; and the distribution of Suits shall be made by the two Presidents jointly, or alternately, monthly, or weekly.

XLIX. A vacation of Offices happening, in possession of, or to be possess'd by those of the said Religion in the said Chambers of the Edict, they shall be given to capable Persons, having Attestations from the Synod, or Assembly, to which they do belong, of their being of the said Religion and Persons of Integrity.

L. The Pardon granted to those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion by the 74th Article of the said Edict, shall stand good for the taking of the Money belonging to the Crown, either by breaking of Coffers, or otherwise, even in respect to that as was rais'd upon the River *Charante*, though assign'd to particular persons.

LI. The 49th of the Secret Articles, made in the Year 1577. concerning the City and Archbishoprick of *Avignon*, and County thereof, together with the Treaty made at *Nimes*, shall be observ'd according to their Form and Tenor; and no Letters of Mart shall be granted by virtue of the said Articles and Treaty, unless by Letters-Patent from the King under the Great Seal. Nevertheless, such as shall be desirous to obtain the same, shall be allow'd, by virtue of this present Article, without any other Commission, to make their application to the Judges Royal, who shall examine the Transgressions, Denial of Justice, and Iniquity of the Judgments, propos'd by those who shall be desirous to obtain the said Letters, and shall send the same, together with their Opinions, seal'd up close, to his Majesty, in order to his ordering the said matter according to reason.

LII. His Majesty grants and wills, that *Nicholas Grimoult* shall be re-establish'd and maintain'd in the Title and Possession of the Offices of Ancient Lieutenant General Civil, and Lieutenant-General Criminal, in the Bailywike of *Aleneon*, notwithstanding the Resignation by him made to *John Marguerite*, his Reception, and the Patent obtain'd by *William Barnard* of the Office of Lieutenant-General, Civil and Criminal, in the tribunal of *Exmes*: The Decrees given against the said *Marguerit*, Resignee during the Troubles in the Privy Council, in the Year 1586, 1587, and 1588. by which *Nicholas Barbier*

Barbier is ſetled in the Rights and Prerogatives of Ancient Lieutenant-General in the ſaid Bailywike, and the ſaid *Bernard* in the Office of Lieutenant at *Exmes*, the which his Majeſty has nullify'd, and all others hereunto contrary. Moreover, his Majeſty, for certain good Conſiderations, has granted and ordain'd, That the ſaid *Grimoult* ſhall within the ſpace of three months re-imburſe the ſaid *Barbier* of the Money by him furniſh'd or disburs'd for the ſaid Office of Lieutenant-General, Civil and Criminal, in the Vice-county of *Alençon*, and 50 Crowns for the Charges: And the ſaid Re-imburſement being made, or the ſaid *Barbier* refuſing, or delaying to receive it; his Majeſty forbids the ſaid *Barbier*, as alſo the ſaid *Bernard*, after the ſignification of this preſent Article, any more to exerciſe the ſaid Offices, on pein of the Crime of Falſity, and ſends the ſaid *Grimoult* to the injoyment of the ſaid Offices and Rights thereunto belonging: And in ſo doing, the Proceſſes which were depending between the ſaid *Grimoult*, *Barbier* and *Bernard*, in his Majeſty's Privy Council, ſhall remain determin'd, and lye dormant, his ſaid Majeſty forbidding the Parliaments, and all others to take cognizance thereof, and the ſaid Parties to make any proſecutions for the ſame. Moreover, his ſaid Majeſty has taken upon himſelf to reimburſe the ſaid *Bernard* of the Sum of a thouſand Crowns paid for the ſaid Office, and 60 Crowns for the Mark of Gold and Charges: Having to that end already order'd a good and ſufficient aſſignation, the recovery of which ſhall be made at the Suit and Charge of the ſaid *Grimoult*.

LIII. His ſaid Majeſty ſhall write to his Ambaſſadors to obtain for all his Subjects, even for thoſe of the ſaid pretended *Reform'd* Religion, that they may not be diſturb'd as to their Conſciences, nor ſubject to the Inquiſition, going or coming, ſojourning and trading throughout all Foreign Countries, in Alliance and Confederacy with this Crown, provided they do not offend the Civil Government of the Countreys where they ſhall be.

LIV. His Majeſty forbids any proſecution for the gathering and receiving of the Impoſitions that have been levy'd at *Royan*, by virtue of the Contract made with the Sieur *de Candelay*, and others, made in continuation of the ſame; making the ſaid Contract valid, and approving it for the time it has been in force in the whole extent of it, until the 8th of *May* next coming.

LV. The Exceſſes committed againſt *Armand Courtiers*, in the City of *Millant*, in the Year 1587. and *John Reines*, and *Peter Seigneuret*; together with the Proceedings made among them by the Conſuls of the ſaid *Millant*, ſhall remain aboliſh'd, and ſhall lye dormant by the Benefice of the Edict; and it ſhall not be lawful for their Widows and Heirs, nor his Majeſty's Attornies-General, their Subſtitutes, or other Perſons whatever, to mention the ſame, or to make any inquiry or proſecution about it: Notwithſtanding, and without regard to the Decree given in the Chamber of *Caſtres* on the 10th of *March* laſt, the which ſhall remain

null, and without effect, together with all Proceedings and Informations made on either ſide.

LVI. All Proſecutions, Proceedings, Sentences, Judgments and Decrees, given either againſt the late Sieur *de La Noue*, or againſt his Son *Odet de la Noue*, ſince their detention and impriſonment in *Flanders* happen'd in the Month of *May*, 1580. and *November*, 1584. and during their continual Occupation in the Wars and Service of his Majeſty, ſhall remain anihilated and nullify'd, and whatever has follow'd in conſequence thereof: And the ſaid *De la Noue* ſhall be admitted to make their defence, and ſhall be reſtor'd to the ſame condition they were in before the ſaid Judgments and Decrees; without their being oblig'd to refund Coſts, nor to conſign the Fines, in caſe they had incurr'd any; neither ſhall it be allow'd to alledge Nonſuits or Preſcription againſt them, during the ſaid time.

Done by the King, being in his Council at Nantes, *the 2d of* May, 1598.

Sign'd,

Henry.

And lower,

Forget.

And Seal'd with the Great Seal of Yellow Wax.

HEnry, *by the Grace of God, King of* France *and* Navar, *To our Truſty and Well-beloved the Perſons holding our Court of Parliament at* Paris, *Greeting. In the Month of* April *laſt paſt, we cauſed our Letters of Edict to be expedited, for the eſtabliſhment of a good Order and Repoſe among our Catholick Subjects, and thoſe of the ſaid pretended* Reform'd *Religion: And we have moreover granted to thoſe of the ſaid Religion certain ſecret and particular Articles, which we will have to be of equal force and vertue, and to be obſerv'd and accompliſh'd in the ſame manner as our ſaid Edict. To this end, We will, and moſt expreſſly order and command you by theſe Preſents, To cauſe the ſaid Articles, ſign'd by our hand, join'd hereunto under the Counter-ſeal of our Chancery, to be regiſter'd in the Regiſters of our ſaid Court; and the Contents thereof to keep, maintain and obſerve from point to point, like unto our ſaid Edict: Ceaſing, and cauſing all Troubles and Impediments thereunto contrary, to ceaſe. For ſuch is our Pleaſure.*

Given at *Nantes*, the 2d day of *May*, in the Year of Our Lord, 1598. And of our Reign the Ninth.

Sign'd by the King,

Forget.

And ſeal'd upon ſingle Labels of Yellow Wax.

Breef

Brief granted by Henry the Great, *to his Subjects of the Pretended Reform'd Religion on the* 30*th of* April, 1589.

THis preſent 3*d* of *April*, 1598. The King being at *Nantes*, and being willing to gratify his Subjects of the Pretended Reform'd Religion, and to help them to ſupply many great Expences they are oblig'd to undergo, has ordain'd, That for the future, to begin from the firſt day of this preſent month, ſhall be put into the hands of Mr. *de Vierſe*, commiſſion'd by his Majeſty to that end, by the Treaſurers of his Exchequer, every one in his year, Reſcriptions to the Sum of 45000 Crowns to be imploy'd in certain ſecret Affairs relating to them, which his Majeſty does neither think fit to ſpecify, or declare: The which Sum of 45000 Crowns ſhall be aſſign'd upon the general Receipts as followeth; *viz.* *Paris* 6000 Crowns; *Roan* 6000 Crowns; *Caen* 3000 Crowns; *Orleans* 4000 Crowns; *Tours* 4000 Crowns; *Poitiers* 8000 Crowns; *Limoges* 6000 Crowns; *Bordeaux* 8000 Crowns. The whole together amounting to the aforeſaid Sum of 45000 Crowns; payable at the four Quarters of the ſaid Year out of the firſt and cleareſt Money of the ſaid General Receipts; out of which nothing ſhall be retrench'd, or put of, upon any account whatever. For which Sum of 45000 Crowns, he ſhall cauſe Acquittances to be deliver'd into the hands of the Treaſurer of his Exchequer for his diſcharge, in giving the ſaid Reſcriptions intire for the ſaid Sum of 45000 Crowns, upon the ſaid Generalities, at the beginning of every year. And where for the convenience of the aboveſaid, it ſhall be requir'd to cauſe part of the ſaid Aſſignations to be paid in particular Receipts eſtabliſh'd: The Treaſurers-General of *France*, and Receivers-General of the ſaid Generalities ſhall be order'd to do it in deduction of the ſaid Reſcriptions of the ſaid Treaſurers of the Exchequer; the which ſhall be afterwards deliver'd by the ſaid Sieur *de Vierſe*, to ſuch as ſhall be nominated by thoſe of the ſaid Religion at the beginning of the year for the receipt and laying out of the Money to be receiv'd by virtue thereof; of which they ſhall be oblig'd to bring a particular account to the ſaid Sieur *de Vierſe* at the end of the year, with the Acquittance of the Parties, to inform his Majeſty with the laying out of the ſaid Money: For which neither the ſaid Sieur *de Vierſe*, nor thoſe that ſhall be imploy'd by thoſe of the ſaid Religion ſhall be oblig'd to give any account in any of the Chambers: For all which, and whatever may depend thereon, his Majeſty has commanded all neceſſary Letters-Patent to be expedited by virtue of this preſent Brief, ſign'd by his own hand, and counterſign'd by us, Counſellor in his Council of State, and Secretary of his Commands.

Sign'd, *Henry.*
And lower, *De Neufville.*

THis laſt day of *April* 1598, the King being at *Nantes*, and being very deſirous to afford all manner of Satisfaction to his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, upon the Petitions and Requeſts he has received from them, about ſuch things as they think neceſſary for the Liberty of their Conſciences, and for the Security of their Perſons, Fortunes and Eſtates. And his Majeſty being convinced of their Fidelity, and ſincere Affection for his Service; as alſo for divers other Important Conſiderations relating to the Quiet and Welfare of this State, him thereunto moving; his ſaid Majeſty, beſides what is contained in the Edict he has lately reſolved to make, and is to be publiſhed for the Regulation of what relates to them, has granted and promiſed them, that all the Places, Towns and Caſtles they held until the end of *Auguſt* laſt paſt, in which Gariſons are to be kept, by the Settlement that ſhall be made about it, and ſign'd by his Majeſty, ſhall remain in their keeping under the Authority and Obedience of his ſaid Majeſty for the term of eight Years, to begin from the day of the Publication of the ſaid Edict. And as for the others which they hold, in which there is to be no Gariſons, there ſhall be no Alteration or Innovation made. Nevertheleſs his ſaid Majeſty does not mean that the Cities and Caſtles of *Vendome* and *Pontorſon* ſhould be compriſed in the number of the ſaid Places left in keeping to thoſe of the ſaid Religion. Neither ſhall the City, Caſtle and Citadel of *Aubenay* be compriſed in the ſaid number, which his Majeſty will diſpoſe of at his own pleaſure, and tho it were into the hands of one of the ſaid Religion, it ſhall be no Preſident for the future, like the other Cities that are granted unto them. And as for *Chauvigny*, it ſhall be reſtored to the Biſhop of *Poitiers* Lord of the ſaid Place, and the new Fortifications made there ras'd and demoliſh'd. And for the maintaining of the Gariſons that ſhall be kept into the ſaid Towns, Places and Caſtles, his ſaid Majeſty has granted them the Sum of 180000 Crowns, without including thoſe of the Province of *Dauphine* into the ſaid number, for which other proviſion ſhall be made beſides the ſaid Sum of 180000 Crowns yearly. And his ſaid Majeſty promiſes and aſſures them, that he will give them good and valuable Aſſignations for the ſame upon the cleareſt part of his Revenue, in ſuch Places where the ſaid Gariſons ſhall be eſtabliſhed. And in caſe the ſaid Revenues ſhould not be ſufficient, the remainder ſhall be paid them out of the neareſt places of Receipt; neither ſhall the ſaid Revenues be imploy'd to any other uſe, until the ſaid Sum is intirely furniſhed and acquitted. Moreover his ſaid Majeſty has promiſed and granted them, that he will call, at the making and eſtabliſhing of the Settlements of the ſaid Gariſons, ſome Perſons of the ſaid Religion, to take their Advice, and hear their Remonſtrances about it; which ſhall be done, as much as poſſible can be, to their Satisfaction. And in caſe, during the ſaid term of eight Years, there ſhould happen any Neceſſity

to

to alter any thing about the ſaid Settlement; whether it ſhall be thought fit by his Majeſty, or at their requeſt, it ſhall be done in the ſaid manner, as it ſhall be reſolved upon the firſt time. And as to the Gariſons of *Dauphine*, his Majeſty ſhall take the advice of the Sieur *de Leſdiguieres* about the Settlement thereof. And in caſe of Vacancies of ſome Governours and Captains of the ſaid Places, his Majeſty alſo promiſes and grants to them, That he will put none into their room, but ſuch as ſhall be of the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion, having Atteſtations from the Aſſembly where they reſide, of their being of the ſaid Religion, and Perſons of Integrity. And it ſhall be ſufficient for the Perſon who ſhall be inveſted of the ſame, upon the Breef that ſhall have been expedited about it, before his receiving his Letters-Patent, to produce the Atteſtation of the ſaid Aſſembly as aboveſaid; the which thoſe of the ſaid Aſſembly ſhall be oblig'd to give him ſpeedily without delays; or in caſe of refuſal, ſhall acquaint his Majeſty with the reaſons them thereunto moving. And the ſaid term of eight Years being expired, altho he ſhall then be acquitted of his Promiſe in relation to the ſaid Cities: Nevertheleſs he has moreover granted and promiſed them, that in caſe he ſhall think fit, after the ſaid time to keep Gariſons in the ſame, or to leave a Governor to command there, he will not diſpoſſeſs the Perſon then being in Poſſeſſion of the ſame, to put another in his room. He alſo declares, That it is his Intention, both during the ſaid eight Years, as well as after it, to gratifie thoſe of the ſaid Religion, and to give them a ſhare of the Imployments, Governments, and other Honours, he ſhall have to diſpoſe of, Indifferently and without any Exception, according to the Quality and Merit of the Perſons, as among his other Catholick Subjects: Yet nevertheleſs without being obliged for the future, particularly to beſtow the Cities and Places thus committed to them there into Command, to Perſons of the ſaid Religion. Moreover his ſaid Majeſty has alſo granted unto them, That thoſe that have been imploy'd by thoſe of the ſaid Religion for the keeping of the Stores, Ammunition, Powder, and Cannons of the ſaid Cities, and ſuch as ſhall be left in keeping to them ſhall be continued in the ſaid Imployments, taking Commiſſions from the Maſter of the Ordnance, and Commiſſary General of the Proviſions. Which Commiſſions ſhall be expedited Gratis, they delivering unto them a particular account of the ſaid Magazines, Ammunition, Powder and Cannon, ſign'd in due form; yet they ſhall not be allowed to pretend to any Immunities or Privileges upon the account of the ſaid Commiſſions. Nevertheleſs they ſhall be imploy'd upon the Settlement that ſhall be made about the ſaid Gariſons, and ſhall receive their Sallaries out of the Sums above granted by his Majeſty, for the maintenance of their Gariſons, for which his Majeſty's other Revenues ſhall no-wiſe be charged. And whereas thoſe of the ſaid Religion, have intreated his

Majeſty

Majeſty to acquaint them with what he has been pleaſed to order about the Exerciſe of the ſame in the City of *Metz*, by reaſon that it is not ſufficiently explained, and compriſed in his Edict and ſecret Articles; his Majeſty declares, That he has ordered Letters-Patent to be drawn, by which it is declared, That the Temple heretofore built in the ſaid City by the Inhabitants thereof, ſhall be reſtored unto them, to make uſe of the Materials, and to diſpoſe of them as they ſhall think fit; but they ſhall not be allowed to preach in it, nor perform any Exerciſe of their Religion: Nevertheleſs a convenient Place ſhall be provided for them within the Encloſure of the ſaid City, where they ſhall be allowed to perform the ſaid Exerciſe publickly, without any neceſſity of expreſſing it by his Edict. His Majeſty alſo grants, that notwithſtanding the Prohibition made of the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion at the Court, and Dependence thereof, the Dukes, Peers of *France*, Officers of the Crown, Marqueſſes, Counts, Governors and Lieutenants General, Marſhals de Camp, and Captains of his ſaid Majeſty's Guards, who ſhall be in his Attendance, ſhall not be moleſted for what they ſhall do within their Houſes, provided it be only for their own particular Families, their Doors being ſhut, without ſinging of Pſalms with a loud Voice, or doing any thing that might diſcover it to be a Publick Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion; and in caſe his ſaid Majeſty ſhall remain above three Days in any Town or Place where the ſaid Exerciſe is allowed, the ſaid time being expired, the ſaid Exerciſe ſhall be continued as before his arrival. His ſaid Majeſty alſo declares, That by reaſon of the preſent State of his Affairs, he has not been able at preſent to include the Countries on the other ſide of the Mounts *Breſſe* and *Barcelona*, in the Permiſſion by him granted for the Exerciſe of the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion. Nevertheleſs his Majeſty promiſes, That when his ſaid Countries ſhall be reduced under his Obedience, he will uſe his Subjects inhabiting in the ſame, in relation to Religion, and other Points granted by his Edict, like his other Subjects, notwithſtanding what is contained in the ſaid Edicts; and in the mean time they ſhall be maintained in the ſame condition they are in at preſent. His Majeſty alſo grants, That thoſe of the Pretended Reformed Religion, that are to be provided with Offices of Preſidents and Counſellors created to ſerve in the Chambers, ordained a-new by his Edict, ſhall be inveſted with the ſaid Offices Gratis, and without paying any Fees for the firſt time, upon the Roll that ſhall be preſented to his Majeſty by the Deputies of the Aſſembly of *Chatelleraud*; as alſo the Subſtitutes of the Attornies and Advocates General erected by the ſaid Edict in the Chamber of *Bordeaux*: And in caſe of an Incorporation of the ſaid Chamber of *Bordeaux*, and that of *Thoulouſe*, into the ſaid Parliaments, the ſaid Subſtitutes ſhall be provided with Counſellors places in the ſame alſo Gratis. His Majeſty will alſo beſtow on Monſieur *Francis Pitou* the Office of Subſtitute

to

to the Attorney General in the Court of Parliament of *Paris*; and to that end a new Erection ſhall be made of the ſaid Office; and after the Deceaſe of the ſaid *Poitou*, it ſhall be given to a Perſon of the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion. And in caſe of Vacation by Death of two Offices of Maſters of Requeſt of the King's Hoſtel, his Majeſty ſhall beſtow them on Perſons of the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion, ſuch as his Majeſty ſhall judge fit and capable for the good of his Service; they paying the uſual Price of the Sale of the ſaid Offices. And in the mean time two Maſters of Requeſt ſhall be appointed in every Quarter to make report of the Petitions of thoſe of the ſaid Religion. Moreover his Majeſty permits the Deputies of the ſaid Religion aſſembled in the ſaid City of *Chatelleraud*, to remain in a body to the number of Ten in the City of *Saumur*, to proſecute the Execution of his Edict, until his ſaid Edict is verified in his Court of Parliament of *Paris*; notwithſtanding their being injoyn'd by the ſaid Edicts to ſeparate immediately: Yet nevertheleſs without their being allowed to make any new Demands in the name of the ſaid Aſſembly, or to meddle with any thing beſides the ſaid Execution, Deputation, and diſpatch of the Commiſſionaries who ſhall be ordained to that end. And his Majeſty has given them his Faith and Word for all that is above-written by this preſent Breef, which he has been pleaſed to Sign with his own Hand, and to have it Counter-ſign'd by Us his Secretaries of State, Willing the ſaid Breef to be of the ſame Force and Value to them, as if the Contents thereof were included in an Edict verified in his Courts of Parliament; thoſe of the ſaid Religion being ſatisfied out of conſideration for the good of his Service, and the State of his Affairs, not to preſs him to put this Ordinance in any other more Authentick Form, being ſo Confident of his Majeſty's Word and Goodneſs, that they aſſure themſelves, that he will make them enjoy the ſame fully: Having to that end ordered all neceſſary Expeditions and Diſpatches for the Execution of what is above-written, to be forthwith expedited.

Thus Sign'd,

Henry.

And lower,

Forget.

The End of the firſt Volume.

Books

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FINIS.

MARIE R.

WILLIAM and MARY, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defenders of the Faith, &c. To all Our loving Subjects, of what Degree, Condition and Quality soever, within our Kingdoms and Dominions, Greeting. Whereas our Truſty and Well-beloved *John Dunton*, Citizen and Stationer of *London*, hath repreſented unto Us, That he is Printing an Engliſh Tranſlation out of *French*, of the *Edict of Nantes*, in Four Volumes; and that, in regard of the great Coſts and Charges it hath already been and will be to him, he hath humbly beſought Us to grant him Our **Royal Licenſe** for the ſole Printing and Publiſhing thereof; We are graciouſly pleaſed to gratifie him therein, and accordingly we do therefore hereby grant unto him the ſaid, *John Dunton*, Our **Royal Licenſe** for the ſole Printing and Publiſhing of the ſaid Book for the Term of Fourteen Years from the Date hereof; ſtrictly charging, prohibiting and forbiding all Our Subjects to Reprint the ſaid Book in whole or in part, or to imprint, buy, vend, utter or diſtribute any Copies or Exemplaries of the ſame, or any part thereof, Reprinted beyond the Seas, within the ſaid Term, without the Conſent and Approbation of him the ſaid *John Dunton* his Executors, Adminiſtrators or Aſſigns firſt had and obtained, as they and every of them offending herein will anſwer the contrary at their Peril; whereof the Maſter, Wardens and Company of Stationers of Our City of *London*, the Commiſſioners and Officers of Our Cuſtoms, and all other Our Officers and Miniſters whom it may concern, are to take Notice, that due Obedience may be given to Our pleaſure herein ſignified.

Given at our Court at White-Hall, *the* 30*th. day of* June 1693. *in the Fifth Year of Our Reign.*

By Her MAJESTIES Command.

J. TRENCHARD.

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THE PREFACE OF THE Second Part.

WE *left the* Reform'd *at the end of our First Part in a tolerable condition, and in a tranquility which ſettled it ſelf by degrees, under the Protection of their King. After the hardſhips of War, Infidelitys, and Maſſacres, they began to reliſh the ſweets of Peace with aſſurance, by the love of a Prince who had not forgot their Services: They thought themſelves ſecure againſt the Malice of their Enemies, and were under no apprehenſions for their Conſciences or Lives. If they retain'd the leaſt doubts or ſuſpicions they only proceeded from a Prudence which conſider'd the future, and conſequently oblig'd them under a King who was favourable towards them, to take meaſures*

against the designs of another, who might perhaps not entertain the same kindness for them. This was the aim of their Assemblies, both General and Particular, of their Councils, of their Synods, of their Associations, Petitions and Demands: All this was lawful. They had had so many dismal proofs of the Maxims of the Church of Rome, *in respect to those that are declar'd Hereticks by them, that they had no reason to confide too much on the appearences of the Peace that Church had granted them. They were not ignorant that the Popes had only consented to it, because the Catholick Religion did lose considerably by the War; and that the Court of* Rome, *finds its account much better in the intrigues of the Cabinet, and in the artificies of a fraudulent Policy, than in Military Expeditions, which they do not understand. So that the* Reform'd, *who had learn'd to be wise by an experience of fourscore years, could not, without relapsing into that ancient simplicity which had done their Fore-fathers so much harm, and which their very Enemies had often upbraided them with in an insulting manner, neglect to take precautions, to secure themselves against the secret snares which the Church of* Rome *can set, with so much Art, and prepare at such a Distance. Tho the King sometimes gave them causes of distrust, yet he was not averse to their Pretentions; and had he lived as long as his Constitution and Vigor, seem'd to promise, he might have put them in a condition which would*

Cahirs.

have

have obliged the Catholicks to cultivate a Peace, which they could not have broken without exposing themselves to sustain at least part of the damages of such a Breach. It is true that he was stopt sometimes by a political consideration, when the Jesuits and the Catholicks of their Party had filled his Head with the dread of a Cabal, ever ready to break out; ever disposed to receive malecontents, and to assist them; ever Mistress of the Government, by reason, that by the number of the places of surety, and by the credit of the Lords who enter'd into that Union, it was strong enough whenever Factions should be form'd in the Kingdom, to incline the Ballance to that Party they should side with. Moreover they told that Prince that it did not consist with his interest to suffer a Confederacy of part of his Subjects amongst themselves, for their own preservation, as if it had been against his Authority, and that it had form'd a state within his Kingdom, having Cities of their own, Laws, Interests, and Politicks contrary to the common good of the Kingdom. The King who was haughty, passionate and jealous of his Grandeur, easily suffer'd himself to be deluded by those shadows; and at those times let fall words which gave cause to believe that he thought the Reform'd *too great, & too formidable already to grant them any new favours. But then those little heats were as soon allaid, as they were assum'd. His resentments were only lightnings, the matter whereof was as soon consum'd as it had taken Fire: there nei-*

ther

ther remain'd the leaſt track of the heat or ſmoak of it. All his anger was evaporated by a Frown and a threatning Word. He thought himſelf ſufficiently reveng'd when he had expreſs'd that it was in his Power to take his revenge when ever he pleas'd.

Thoſe who are well acquainted with the Character of that Prince, know that this was his real temper; which cannot be look'd upon as a Weakneſs; ſince the principle of it was Noble and worthy of a true Hero. He lov'd his Subjects, and Domeſtick quiet. His love of quiet made him angry, when ever he was poſſeſs'd with the thoughts that any body deſign'd to diſturb it: But his love to his Subjects extinguiſh'd that Fire, as ſoon as he reflected on the neceſſity that oblig'd the Reformd to provide for their ſafety. Thoſe that have collected the words which his anger inſpir'd him with, while his Mind was poſſeſs'd with ſome ſuſpicion, ought at the ſame time to have obſerv'd that thoſe little flaſhes were the effect of his Temper, the heat of which often dictated words to him, which he ſhould have been very ſorry any body ſhould have drawn Conſequences from. His Menial Servants were never ſurpriz'd at them, becauſe they daily found that he was eaſily appeas'd again, without being courted to it; and that he often made the firſt ſteps of reconciliation towards thoſe that had given him a pretence of anger, particularly when they were Friends he had a good opinion of. His temper was very different towards the Enemies of the State: Without exclaiming againſt them in words, tho he was

ſometimes

ſometimes guilty of it, even when Prudence requir'd the contrary, he perſiſted in the deſire and deſign of bringing them to Reaſon. This ſhows that he was not naturally inclin'd to refuſe the Reform'd *ſuch lawful means as were neceſſary for their ſafety. Only he did not deſign to leave the Cities of ſurety perpetually in their Power: Neither had they any thoughts of keeping them for ever. Perhaps ſome Lords might have particular deſigns upon that Subject; but the* Reform'd *in general only inſiſted upon the keeping of them, upon the account that the King being mortal as well as other men, he might chance to Dye at a time when the Minority of his Succeſſor might create great Troubles to them. So that if they could have kept them untill the Danger of a Minority had been paſt, they would more eaſily have been inclin'd to reſtore them to the King, ſince they would have been no longer neceſſary to them. But the very Word of Minority was ſufficient to frighten them: and their fear was not ſo ill grounded as to be eſteem'd unworthy of Perſons of Wit and Courage. The weakneſs of* Francis *the* II. *and the Minority of* Charles *the* IX. *had been ſo fatal to them by the Authority* Catherin de Medicis *had thereby Uſurp'd to the prejudice of the Princes of the Blood, which ſhe exercis'd in a very odious manner, That they had a great deal of Reaſon to dread falling again into the ſame misfortunes, under the Regency of a Princes of the ſame Name, and*

during the Minority or Weakneſs of a New King, whoſe Capacity was not known.

Thus it is apparent that the Reform'd, *that fear being excepted, ſaw themſelves in a ſtate of Peace and Proſperity, the perfect ſettlement of which was the only thing they could deſire in order to be happy: and had the King lived but twelve years longer, That time would have been ſufficient to remove part of their ſcruples. They would have ſeen a* Dauphin *of twenty years of Age, capable to Reign himſelf, bred up to all the Maxims and Deſigns of the King his Father accuſtom'd to ſee two Religions among the* French. *They would have ſeen the Edict confirm'd by Poſſeſſion, civil and inteſtin Peace foſter'd by cuſtom between thoſe of different Religions; the Catholicks diſpos'd by degrees to ſee them injoy certain liberties; in a word the prejudices that had excited ſo many animoſities and Wars againſt the* Reform'd, *diſſipated by habit and repoſe, which would have allay'd the Paſſions and heart-burnings on all ſides. But all was alter'd of a ſudden, by the Kings unexpected Death, and that fatal Cataſtrophe hapning at a time when the ancient Diſidencies and Jealouſies were not abſolutely ſtifled, added new ones. So that we ſhall now behold the* Reform'd *entering under that new Reign, in a doubtful condition, which having held them long in Cruel agitations and incertainties, threw them at laſt into a deplorable Ruin: Partly, as when a Ship toſs'd by the Winds and Billows, which drive*

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it againſt the Rocks, having nothing but the courage and skill of her Mariners to defend her againſt that violence, finally ſinks on a ſudden, notwithſtanding their reſiſtance and induſtry, by the redoubling of the Storm. Therefore we may conſider them in this part of the Hiſtory, as well as in the firſt, in three different conditions. The firſt was a preparative to their approaching ruin, which all the circumſtances of Affairs gave them preſages of. The Hiſtory relates the reaſons they had to be afraid; the diviſions of the State and Court, and the ſecret machinations by which their Oppreſſion was contriving by degrees. The ſecond was an open declaration of a deſign to deſtroy them, which proceeded already from the project to the Execution, by the ſpeedieſt, tho the moſt odious means, Fraud and Violence. The Hiſtory ſhews us in this point their Diſunion, Weakneſs and Decay. The third was a ſtate of Conſtraint and Scruitude, in which the Oppreſs'd durſt not complain; and found themſelves reduc'd by their Weakne's to look upon it as a favour, That they were only cavill'd with, inſtead of being totally exirpated by Fire and Sword. The Hiſtory alſo acquaints us how that from the time of their being diſarm'd and reduc'd to the mercy of their Enemies, if any ſtop was put to their final deſtruction, it was only in regard that the then ſtate of Affairs both at home and abroad did not permit them to reduce ſo many thouſands of People to the utmoſt extremity; who were able to defend their

Lives. Thus the Reform'd *return'd by degrees into the ſame condition, in which their Fathers had been formerly, when they were expos'd to Rapes, and other Outrages. In the firſt Part of this Work we behold them paſſing from Oppreſſion to War, and from War to Quiet and Proſperity: In the ſecond Part we find the Scene alter'd again, they fall a new from Proſperity into the Miſeries of War; and finally, from War into an Oppreſſion, which Policy only hinder'd their Enemies from puſhing to extremity.*

Their Enemies have not been wanting to accuſe them of having abus'd that degree of Happineſs and Power, in which they were at the King's Death, and of having occaſion'd their own Ruin by Factions, and continual Enterpriſes. But nothing can be groſſer, or more unjuſt than that Impoſture. It is true that they endeavour'd to ſecure themſelves when they beheld their good Prince in the Grave. The jealouſies they had entertain'd before that fatal accident, which had been combated by the kindneſs he often expreſs'd to them, reviv'd a new, when the reaſon they had to lay them aſide was remov'd by his Death: and they found themſelves reduc'd at that time to that doubtful floating condition, which they had endeavour'd to prevent, while they could rely on the favour of an equitable Prince. Thoſe things ſeem'd to them more conſiderable and preſſing when they appear'd nearer at hand: and they found themſelves ſtill

lyable

lyable to be attack'd on ſo many ſides that they judg'd it abſolutely neceſſary to provide for their ſafety by ſpeedy and effectual means. Therefore the wiſeſt and moſt moderate among them, who were us'd on all other occaſions to recommend Peace and Obedience above all things, joyn'd in that deſign. And indeed the thing ſpoke of it ſelf, and that ſo lowd that the dulleſt and moſt ſtupid might apprehend it. A Minority, an Italian *Regent, old Members of the Leagues, or Jeſuits that were abſolute in the Council; a revengeful Queen, who thought herſelf offended, and was govern'd by foreigners, for whom the* Reform'd *had no great conſideration; a great number of Factions, either old ones, the ſeeds of which were not yet ſtifled; or new ones that daily form'd themſelves; an invincible aſcendant which the Court of* Spain, *that aim'd at nothing but the renewing of the Wars about Religion, had gain'd over* France; *and ſeveral other reaſons obliged that Party, which had been ſo often deceived, to ſtand upon their Guard; and to take proper meaſures to ſecure themſelves, at leaſt untill time had diſſipated thoſe allarms. To pretend that it was a Crime for the* Reform'd, *that had ſuffered ſo much, and were aſſaulted by a thouſand lawful terrors, to renew their Union, to hold aſſemblies, and to preſent Petitions, is undoubtly a tyrannick abſurdity: As if a Wretch ſhould be impeached as a Criminal againſt the* State, *for having cryed out for help, ſeeing himſelf in danger of falling into a*

Preciſice

Precipice, or for having taken hold of the first thing he could light on, to break the violence of his fall. And if it be alledged that at least after having taken measures with the Court for their safety, they ought to have laid aside their fears; troubling themselves with nothing but to serve God according to their Conscience, and to obey the King according to their Duty: I answer that it would have been very reasonable and perhaps very easie so to do, had not the Court, in the very instant they granted them any favours, taken away more from them with one hand, than they gave with the other. They were comforted with words, while they were tormented by Effects. The Clergy granted nothing to the King without a consideration. The first Article of their demands always contain'd something in favour of the Catholick Religion; which never fail'd of being interpreted against the Reform'd *Religion, as if the one could not have been preserv'd without the ruin of the other. The Court and Clergy persisted in this way of proceeding, untill the Civil Wars broke out: and the success of the Artifices that were us'd to amuse the* Reform'd *having incourag'd their Enemies, they proceeded so far as to laugh at them publickly, and to Violate the most solemn Promises without shame. This may be seen at large in that part of the History that relates the disgrace of the Duke of* Sulli, *the Illusions practis'd at the Assembly of* Saumur, *the Divisions sown among the* Reform'd, *the Resolutions*

Reſolutions of the States, the Marriage accompliſh'd between France *and* Spain, *and all the other Tranſactions that juſtly create Jealouſies. So that the ſame Law of Nature which teaches Man to ſecure himſelf behin'd Walls and Ramparts, when he ſuſpects an Enemy, againſt whom he only deſigns to ſtand upon the Defencive; that Law, I ſay, without doubt Authoriz'd the* Reform'd, *to whom the faithleſſneſs of their Enemies was ſo well known, to ſecure themſelves againſt the ſuſpicious proceedings of a Court that had ſworn their Ruin. I do not ſpeak, in this place, of their Union with the Prince of* Conde: *becauſe that War was of a different nature from the Reſt. Religion had little or nothing to do in it; Intereſts of State were the true Motives of it. The* Reform'd *cannot be taxed with it, but the accuſation muſt fall with more violence upon the Catholicks. The laſt occaſion'd it; the firſt only joyn'd with them, but too late, if we conſult prudent Policy only: by reaſon that it was no longer time to prevent the Marriages, which was the pretence us'd for taking Arms. But that delay only proceeded from that moſt of the Provinces and Churches did not think themſelves concern'd in that Buſineſs: So that it was not properly an affair of the whole Party; but of ſome Lords, who were follow'd by their Creatures.*

Therefore

Therefore there is nothing in this first degree of the fall of the Reform'd, *which they can be justly upbraided for: But they seem to be less excusable in the second, in which they are seen actually in Arms against their Prince. We are to resolve two questions, the better to understand the matter. The first is general, and relates to Right,* viz. *Whether there are occasions on which Subjects may lawfully take Arms against a Soveraign. The second is Particular, and relates to the act,* viz. *Whether allowing that there may be such occasions, the case of the* Reform'd *was of that nature, and they had sufficient* Reasons *to Arm. The General Question is of too great a discusion, to be examin'd in a Preface, in which I do not design to inlarge. Therefore I shall only make eight or nine Observations, which may give some light to that matter.* 1. *I will observe that the thing which imbroils the said Question, is that it is perhaps never handled without Passion, or Interest. Those that have given a large extent to the Rights of the People, have often been animated by an Interest of Party: And those that have put no bounds to the Power of Kings are to be suspected either of having been paid for so doing, or of having had particular reasons which obliged them to flatter Princes, in order to obtain some Favours from them. When ever there have been divers Parties in a State, it has been observable that the Weakest was ever the most fawning; and that in order to get the Prince*

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on their ſide, they extended the Rights of ſovereign Power as much as in them lay. This miſchief began in the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity. The Emperors were ſo ſevere againſt the poor Chriſtians, who were repreſented as Enemies to the State, that thoſe poor Perſecuted Wretches were reduc'd to ſtrain the Point, to perſwade them that their Religion was not oppoſite to Soveraign Power. Paſſages of Scripture, Teſtimonys and Examples of the Old and New Teſtament were promiſcuouſly imploy'd with all the Art of intereſted Eloquence, which transferr'd the Rights of the Judaic Kings to all the Princes of the World, without the leaſt conſideration. After Conſtantine *had rais'd Chriſtianity up to the Empire by his Converſion, the Clergy out of intereſt retain'd the Maxims, which they had maintain'd till then out of neceſſity: And whereas they laid a great ſtreſs through Ambition and Avarice, on thoſe Paſſages which direct Princes to be Fathers and Benefactors to the Church, he was oblig'd to continue to them, as it were, by way of reſtitution for the temporal advantages he extorted from them, the authority wherewith he had inveſted their Predeceſſors. Thus thoſe ancient Prelates who thereby acquir'd ſuch Treaſures to the Church, according to the common Phraſe, laid the Foundation of their Succeſſors Policy; who in order to obtain great Privileges, high Dignities, rich Gifts, and great Revenues have always been ready to confirm to them, as it were in exchange for their Favour, the Right of Oppreſſing the*

People, and to trample upon the moſt lawful Priviledges of Liberty. Thoſe who are any wiſe converſant with Hiſtory muſt needs know that for ſeveral Ages complaiſance towards the Prelates, and munificence towards the Church were ſufficient to ſanctifie all the Actions of Soveraigns, and even of Perſons of an inferior Rank, when they were Rich and Potent.

2. *The Policy of the Popes has alſo contributed conſiderably towards the Oppreſſion of the People. They have given Princes a helping hand to ruin their Subjects, whenever Soveraigns have condeſcended to ſubmit to the Authority of the* Roman *See. This is the way by which that See has indemnified Princes for the independence it has extorted from them. By ſacrificing the intereſt of the people to them, they have recompenc'd them for what they have uſurp'd over Crowned Heads. This is the Reaſon that thoſe that are the greateſt aſſertors of Soveraign Power in relation to Subjects, are thoſe that are moſt zealous to maintain that the Popes are the only Judges of the Differences that happen between the State and the Prince; that they only can make it lawful for Subjects to take Arms, and free mankind from all the Bonds of ſubjection. Therefore the Catholicks who were ingaged in the Holy League would never condemn it, nor treat with* Henry *the* IV. *as Rebells who ſued for Pardon. The Popes had Authoriz'd their Fatal Conſpiracy againſt their lawful King; whom they had declar'd a relaps'd Excommunicated*

munication Heretick: From whence we may conclude that to judge of the Liberties of Subjects we muſt never conſult Popes nor their Adherents, who in order to make Kings their Subjects, aſſiſt Kings to make their Subjects Slaves.

3. *Should the Suffrages of all thoſe that have ſpoken of this matter be told, I do not doubt but the people would loſe their Cauſe by the Plurality of Voices: but if we weigh opinions, and allow the recuſation of partial Judges, the number of the Votaries for Arbitrary Power, will diminiſh more than one half. If we retrench the deciſive Voice of Ambitious, ſelf intereſted Writers, and Penſioners: of thoſe that flatter by profeſſion, or out of policy: of thoſe that have been forc'd to allow all to Soveraigns, to gain their favour by the ſacrifice of publick Liberty, and of all thoſe that have had other reaſons for what they have ſaid upon that Subject, beſides thoſe that are drawn from the nature of things: there will not perhaps remain ſo many Votaries of Arbitrary Power as people commonly imagin. And if the rights of the people find as few adherants, it is not to be wondred at. There is nothing to be got by aſſerting that cauſe: and the danger is eminent. Penſions and Favours are not diſpos'd of by the people: and the ſervices of that kind are often attended with a miſerable Life, or a ſhameful Death. To love liberty in a ſtate where it begins to decay; To aſſert it when it is tumbling; To ſpeak for it when its*

Priviledges are violated by the ſtrongeſt; is call'd Sedition and diſturbing of the publick Peace, and judg'd worthy of the ſevereſt torments. Therefore it is no wonder that liberty ſeldom meets Protectors, ſince thoſe that love it, and would preſerve their Rights are accounted Criminal.

4. *We may conclude from thence that this queſtion is neither to be decided by any conſideration of number, nor yet by the quality of Aſſertors, among which there are few that are free from the marks of a lawful recuſation. The beſt way to decide it were to conſult Nature, and the things themſelves: and to ſee what natural Right, of which the Principles are common to all the World, allows to be to each party. In following this maxim it will be ſoon diſcovered that the Original of Societies, and States is very different, and that it is impoſſible to imagine a ſource of that Civil Union, applicable to all the Empires that have been form'd in the World. But in the diverſity of the motives that have induc'd men to erect thoſe Societies, or of the forms they have given them, we will obſerve three things, the truth of which is undeniable. The firſt is that mutual preſervation was the end of thoſe Unions; and that none of them were ever made with an intention to give any one a power of deſtroying, and abuſing the reſt at pleaſure and with out cauſe. If any would except from this Rule the States that have been form'd by the violence of the ſtrongeſt, which has conſtrain'd the*

the weakeſt to obey, it is evident that the ſaid power of commanding others is a uſurpation, which gives no right to him that aſſumes it; and of which the effect ceaſes with the cauſe. I mean that as ſoon as the Oppreſſor loſes the force which he abuſes, or the oppreſs'd recover their former vigor, Liberty reſumes its former rights, and Uſurpation loſes its Conqueſts. That Right is ſo certain, that it is the foundation of that which annuls all forc'd contracts, and allows us to break them, as ſoon as we are free of the conſtraint that forc'd us to accept them. It is in vain to reply that God preſides at the Birth and Preſervation of States; and that when he has allow'd them to be eſtabliſh'd by Force, thoſe that are involved in them muſt reſpect their Slavery as a Divine Ordinance, the yoke of which they ought to bear with patience. I anſwer, that God indeed is the Author of Order and Equity, and that conſequently thoſe forms of Government in which we find Order and Equity are undoubtedly the Work of his Providence: but that he has never reveal'd that he approv'd Diſorder and Injuſtice; and that conſequently we cannot look upon a Government, that is founded on Fury and Rapine, as ordain'd and inſtituted by God. Thus the mutual preſervation, Order and Welfare of Societies ought to be accounted the firſt end of thoſe that have form'd them, and even of God by whom they are authoriz'd.

The ſecond, which is alſo an undeniable Truth, is that

that publick Faith ought to be the Soul of all Governments, and that as there muſt of neceſſity be a bond to unite the parts that compoſe a Body of what nature ſoever, Phiſical or Moral, nothing but Publick Faith can make the Bond of thoſe Societies. It is preſupos'd, by all thoſe that unite their intereſts for their common defence. Each Member uſing his particular endeavours expects that the others ſhould concur with him for the Common Good. So that nothing can be more contrary to or more pernicious in Societies, than the violation of Publick Faith. It breaks the moſt ſacred tyes of Civil Bodies; and, as it were takes away, their very Being. Therefore every individual compris'd in one of thoſe Bodies, has a right to require of the other Members to keep their promiſe, and to contribute on their part without Fraud and Treachery, what they owe towards their mutual preſervation.

The Third, which is likewiſe evident, is, that in all the relations that are among Men, there muſt be ſomething reciprocal of Courſe. There are none in which the Obligations can be proved all on one ſide. Therefore we muſt look on thoſe that are obſerv'd between the Head and the Members, as on all others. The Head muſt owe ſomething to the Members, as well as the Members to the Head. The Duty of theſe is very different, according as the precautions people have taken in ſubmitting themſelves to a certain Power, are more or leſs favourable for liberty. But

there

there are two certain and invariable Characters in all the Forms a State can take. The one is, that even in those, in which Liberty has the greateſt priviledges, the Duty of Subjects is of a great extent, and obliges them to ſubmit to whatever may be advantagious for the Common Good: Nay, even in caſes in which particular loſſes are recompenced by the advantages of the general. The other is that even in thoſe in which Liberty has the narroweſt bounds, Subjection can never extend ſo far as to oblige men to ſuffer themſelves to be deſtroy'd out of Duty or Conſcience. Thoſe muſt needs have a ſtrange depravation of mind who can conceive that when people did ſubmit to one, or many, it could be on condition that their Rulers ſhould be allowed to deſtroy them right or wrong, meerly by Vertue of Soveraign Power. Even thoſe who ſurrender on Diſcretion, do it only in hopes of being preſerv'd by the clemency of the Conqueror, or at leaſt to purchaſe the Redemption of the whole Body at the coſt of ſome few unfortunate Members. The Duty of Soveraigns receives the ſame variation as that of their Subjects, according to the limitations that were given to both at the firſt formation of the State. But it has two Characters which anſwer thoſe of the ſubmiſſion of the People. The one is that how narrow ſoever the Bounds of Supreme Power may be, yet ſtill it is of a vaſt extent, and might be ſtil'd in ſome reſpect Infinite, *in relation to the publick good, to which it muſt always have a relation: The other is,*

that

that even in those States in which it is most extended, it never dispences the Soveraign from watching for the preservation of his Subjects; nor from sincerely applyng to that end the power he is intrusted with. It is contrary to nature to think that destruction without a cause, upon the bare account of a Power given to the Soveraign, can be the Right of Supreme Authority. God who might do it, if he thought fit, claims no such right over mankind. He never destroys without a just Cause; and only to show his Soveraign Power. Therefore there is no reason to believe that he authorizes men to exert a right over others which he is not willing to assume himself.

5. *It follows from those Truths that when a Prince endeavours, without a lawful cause to destroy his people whom he is oblig'd to preserve; when he publickly violates his Faith, which is the Seal of the mutual obligations of his people towards him, and of his towards his people; when he makes use even of their Patience and Submission, to ruin them the more easily; when he pursues them with open Force, and that disdaining to observe the very formalities of Justice, to destroy them with some shaddow of Reason, he makes use of Fire and Sword in all places, to reduce all his Subjects to his Will and Discretion: It follows, I say, that granting those conditions, the resistance of Subjects is not Criminal. They never have a right to attack: But after having us'd all the Submissions and Remonstrances*

ſtrances requir'd in ſuch Caſes, after all that Prudence can adviſe, to avoid falling into the utmoſt extremities, there are neither Divine Laws, nor Humane Reaſons, to take away from them the Right of defending themſelves. It is a Right that is born with all Men, which nothing can ever deprive them of.

6. *Example being of a deciſive force in Political Queſtions, it is moſt Certain that there is no Subject upon which ſo many can be alledg'd, as that of the Reſiſtance of Subjects to their Soveraign, when he viſibly endeavours to oppreſs them. We meet a world of them both in Ancient and Modern Hiſtory. It is the ſource of divers Revolutions, which have from time to time chang'd the face of the World. And even in thoſe States in which Princes have pretended to the higheſt degree of Power, the People being oppreſs'd have often put a ſtop to the ſaid oppreſſions by Vigorous oppoſitions, which otherwiſe would have been carried farther; and this Maxim, that Publick preſervation is a lawful reaſon for People to defend themſelves, is ſo certain and ſo well known, that even in Seditions and Civil Wars in which the Ring Leaders have other ends, they never fail to place* Publick Good *at the Head of their Motives; to perſwade the World by that ſpecious Tittle that their Cauſe is Innocent, and to engage ſuch into their Party as would be averſe to it otherwiſe out of the ſcruples of a Tender Conſcience.*

7. *If any ſhould alledge that it is impoſſible to decide to whom it belongs to judge in what degree of oppreſſion it is lawful to lay a ſide Patience; and that whatever we fix upon in that caſe, we muſt needs expoſe our ſelves, as well as all the Authors that have Writen about it, to inexplicable difficulties: I anſwer that the Reaſon why thoſe Writers are at ſuch a loſs, is that they endeavour to find out ſubtle ſtudy'd ſolutions to an abſurd Objection. No man can judge ſo well, as he whoſe Life's in Jeopardy, whither he be in danger of loſing it, by ſuffering the Agreſſor to have his Will. It would be a cruel abſurdity, to ſay that a Man being ſet upon on the Highway by a Company of Arm'd Men, who have drawn him into that Peril under a fair pretence, may not lawfully reſiſt them, without having firſt conſulted an able Lawyer, or obtain'd leave of my Lord Chief Juſtice. On ſuch occaſions Nature pleads her ſelf, and ſupplies the want of a Doctor, or a Magiſtrate. So likewiſe ſuppoſing the caſe of an evident Oppreſſion, in which every one beholds the Chains that are preparing for him; in which not only the Eſtates and Priviledges of ſome particular Perſons are concern'd, without minding other Rights of leſs Conſequence; but in which the whole State ſuffers, or at leaſt a conſiderable part thereof, which is not to be diſpis'd; in which the moſt natural and moſt precious part of Liberty, is at ſtake; in which there is reaſon to fear that the Pa-*

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tience of the Oppreſs'd may authoriſe the progreſs of Oppreſſion : In ſuch a caſe, I ſay, no body can judge better of the neceſſity of making a defence, than thoſe who ſee and feel the progreſs of the ſlavery that is impos'd upon them.

8. *If any body exclaims againſt theſe and the preceeding Maxims, as being attended with pernicious Conſequences; as favouring Rebellion, as containing pretences and excuſes which the Factious and Diſturbers of the Publick Peace may make an ill uſe of; I anſwer, firſt, that it is a misfortune annex'd to ſeveral Truths; that they are lyable to great inconveniencies : but yet that they are not thereby deprived of the Right of Truth, by reaſon that thoſe inconveniencies do not proceed from the Nature of thoſe Truths, but from the Corruption of the Heart of Man, which extracts a Poyſon out of the moſt profitable things. Thus the very Weapons of the Law are made uſe of to create diſputes, tho made to ſuppreſs them : which abuſe does not hinder thoſe Laws from being Juſt and Neceſſary. Thus Caſuiſts daily diſcover things in Theory, which tho very True are neverteleſs attended with ill Conſequences in the Practice : which I mean of the moſt rigid, as well as of thoſe that are accus'd of ſlackneſs. The moſt indiſpenſible Duties of Religion and Morality are ſo many Arguments of Diſpair to Weak Souls, when repreſented to them in their whole extent, with the abſolute neceſſity thereof, attended*

with all their Circumſtances and Conſequences. Yet thoſe inconveniencies do not deprive thoſe Duties of their natural Juſtice, and do not diſcharge Men of the obligation they lay under, of ſubmitting to them. To love our Neighbour is an indiſpenſible Duty. The command of loving him as our ſelves receives no exceptions. It is the Epitomy of Natural Juſtice: It is the Summary of one half of the Divine Law. It is the Center from which, all the Precepts of Charity proceed as ſo many Lines, which is the greateſt of all Virtues. Yet by the ſtate to which ſin has reduc'd the heart of Men, it happens very often that he who applies himſelf to that important Duty expoſes himſelf to a thouſand dangers. Charity is only a Law to himſelf; and while he obſerves it ſcrupulouſly, the Wicked take the advantage of it, to be the better able to annoy him. There is no greater inconvenient than to give way to the Oppreſſion of the Innocent. That inconvenient is met with in the fundamental precept of Charity: but yet the truth thereof is not therefore the leſs evident; nor the Duty leſs neceſſary. This ſhows that the inconveniencies that attend a Doctrine do not always hinder it from being True.

Secondly, *I anſwer, that the oppoſite Maxim, which abandons the Liberty of the Subject to the diſcretion of Soveraigns, and allows nothing to the People but Submiſſion and Patience, is attended with as many inconevniencies as the other. I confeſs that it would be liable to none, if we could be certain of two things;*

things; the one always to have a good, vertuous, Prince, a True Father of his Country; The other that having such a one, he would harken to and employ none but true Patriots, Persons without Interest, Ambition, or Disguise, by whom he might be well serv'd and council'd. We may indeed, and often do see the first; but the second is very rare; or to say better, impossible. It is easie to determine the Fate of those People whose Fortune, Life, and Liberty pass through the hands of those who cannot be great without oppressing them, or Inrich themselves without their Ruin.

I say in the third place, that both sides being attended with inconveniencies; those are evidently less considerable which attend the maxim which allows people when they are oppres's'd, to resist oppresion, than those that attend that which makes it a Crime for them to oppose their own destruction. The reason of it is that the People are commonly very ill serv'd, very easily divided, tyr'd, and blinded; whereas Princes have all the advantage on their side: That the people never perceive the evil untill it is committed, when it is too late to remedy it; whereas Princes aim at a great distance, and take their measures, before their Subjects are aware of them: That the People often betray each other, and sacrifice Publick Interest to particular advantages: Whereas Princes raise Soldiers among those very People, to attack them, and money to corrupt them. So that it often comes to pass that the Maxim which authorises

them

them to defend their Lives and Liberties becomes for them a truth in ſpeculation only. It alſo happens often that finding the Prince ready in all points, and provided beforehand with all things neceſſary for his Enterprize, the People forfeit the remainder of their Liberty, when they bethink themſelves of taking Arms to defend it. In thoſe caſes their Reſiſtance is called Rebellion: and the Yoke that is impos'd upon them, is ſtill'd a Juſt puniſhment for their Revolt. Moreover the Reſiſtance of Subjects ought never to extend to the Life of the Soveraign. No Circumſtances, nor Authority tho from the Pope can juſtifie an attempt of that Nature. It is the Prerogative of Supreme Power, to fix ſomething that is Sacred in thoſe in whom it reſides, which ought to ſecure their Lives againſt all enterpriſes. Whatever Power People reſerve to themſelves, to hinder the perſon they acknowledge for their Soveraign from incroaching upon their Priviledges, they can preſerve no Right of Life and Death over him. They are ſo many Tribuns of the People whoſe perſon is inviolable, and even their faults, when they commit any, do not deface that character of Majeſty which ſets them above all others, and exempts them from Corporal Puniſhment. Reſiſtance therefore can go no farther on the People's ſide, than to reduce them to thoſe Bounds to which their Authority is limited by the Laws; or at moſt to deprive them of a Power which they apply to a wrong and unlawful uſe; when inſtead of imploy-

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ing it for the Protection of their Subjects, they imploy it to their ruin. Finally the maxim which Authoriſes the Reſiſtance of Subjects againſt the unjuſt violences of their Soveraign being only allowable in this one caſe, the Conſequences thereof are not ſo dangerous as they ſeem to be: by reaſon that Subjects very ſeldom form deſigns againſt the Authority of Princes, unleſs Princes abuſe it to the utmoſt extremity. We commonly find, that whatever precautions have been us'd at the founding of a Monarchy, yet he who is inveſted with the Regal Authority will by degrees uſurp ſome part of the Liberty the People have reſerv'd to themſelves: but there are few examples of Peoples incroaching upon the Prerogatives of their Soveraigns. The Prince and People may be compar'd to the man. and the Horſe of the Fable which was invented to explain this matter in a popular manner. As the Horſe can never pretend to free himſelf of the Bitt and Saddle, having once ſubmitted to it; the people are oblig'd forever to wear the Yoak, they have freely impos'd upon themſelves: But whereas man by degrees extends the power he has receiv'd from the Horſe, beyond the ends for which it was given him, and applies it wholly to his own advantage, forcing him not only to Hunt, and to ſerve him in the Wars, but alſo to carry burthens for his ſervice; to draw the Plough, and to turn divers machines: So the Prince

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inſcenſibly and as it were undeſignedly extends the bounds of his power, in ſo much that by degrees the protection he owes his people, which is the ſource of his Power, ceaſes to be the principal end thereof, and becomes an inlet of Slavery. Let all the States of Europe *be examin'd, and you will not find one in which the Authority of the Soveraign is leſſen'd from what it was at the beginning: but you will find many in which the liberty of the people is very much decay'd. It is the Fate of Monarchies: the longer they laſt, the more the Prince incroaches upon his Subjects. Tho his policy ſhould hinder him from doing it; Time would do it for him, eſpecially in Hereditary States. The long Chain of Succeſſion creates a greater veneration for the Royal Family, and accuſtoms Subjects to ſuffer their ſmall Uſurpations without murmuring. Hiſtory affords us ſufficient proofs of this Truth, almoſt in all the States of the World. From whence it follows that Subjects freely leaving their Rights in ſuſpence, and never endeavouring to defend them untill they are violated in the moſt eſſential parts, the maxim which authorizes their reſiſtance againſt the Enterpriſes of their Soveraigns is not of ſo pernicious a conſequence as ſome imagin. Subjects do ſo ſeldom put it in practice, to the prejudice of a lawful authority, that no body ought to be frighted at it: And it is ſo eaſie for Princes to hinder it from being prejudicial to them, that they can blame none but themſelves*

ſelves, when it produces an ill effect. 'Tis but to be proud of commanding free People, who obey out of Gratitude and Love; to keep their Promiſes; to maintain the Laws, and to inrich their Subjects: To Govern their State with Equity, inſtead of endeavouring to enlarge their Frontiers, or their Authority by unjuſt means. It is not impoſſible to meet with Princes of that Character. France *has produc'd ſome Kings who have ſignaliz'd themſelves by that admirable Policy. Such may be found elſewhere, and if example could prevail with all Soveraigns to Reign thus, I could eaſily name ſome who might ſerve them for a Model.*

9. *The paſſages of Scripture which ſome oppoſe to this maxim are manifeſtly wreſted; and cannot ſerve for the uſe they are applyed to, without being taken in a difficint ſence from that which is natural to them. All the Arguments that are grounded upon thoſe principles are defferent in one of theſe three caſes; either they compare things that ought not to be compar'd; or they make Laws for Societies, of that which only contains Moral Rules among private perſons; or elſe they contain precepts which preſupoſe that thoſe among whom there are Relations of Command and Obedience, do remain, at leaſt prety near, within the mutual bounds of their Duty. It is not to be imagin'd that God deſign'd by his word to deſtroy the Rights of natural Juſtice, which are only grounded upon his own Ju-*

ſtice: His Will admits of no Contradiction. Therefore as there is a Natural Right which authoriſes Men to defend their Lives, when aſſaild, at leaſt to ward the Blows deſign'd by the Deſtroyer; and to diſarm him of the Weapon he abuſes: It is not to be believ'd that the precepts of Patience, Reſignation, and Charity, that are ſo freequent throughout the Holy Scriptures, can receive an explication that anihilates a Right ſo Juſt and ſo Univerſally acknowledged. Truths never contradict themſelves. So that when they ſeem anywiſe to contradict each other, they muſt be underſtood in ſuch a ſence as may reconcile them. Neither would it be difficult to find the medium in which they agree, if it did not happen as I have already ſaid, that by reaſon of the diſpoſitions of the minds and hearts of Men, thoſe things which are ſpeculatively Innocent and True, become pernicious, or impoſſible in the Practice.

From all theſe conſiderations, which the briefneſs of a Preface does not allow me to enlarge any farther upon, we may inferr this concluſion, that tho it were always to be wiſh'd that people might never take up Arms, and that it is even often neceſſary to exceed in Patience and Submiſſion, yet nevertheleſs, there may be occaſions in which oppreſſion is ſo evident; in which the good of the State is ſo openly aſſail'd, in which the moſt Holy Rights of Juſtice and Liberty are violated with ſo little Caution, that the defence of the Oppreſſed

cannot

cannot be look'd upon as unlawful; nor can they be juſtly blaimed for taking Arms for their Preſervation. Nothing but Sophiſtry and Clamour can be oppos'd to the Truth of this maxim: and I am verily perſuaded that thoſe who oppoſe it, would be the firſt to put it in practice if being aſſailed, they could have hopes to preſerve themſelves by reſiſtance. Profit, Ambition, Hope, may induce men to ſpeak otherwiſe than Nature, when there is nothing preſent, or ſenſible to give their words the Lye: But Nature reſumes her Rights, and ſilences Intereſt, and Paſſion, when an urgent occaſion obliges man to remember the firſt of his priviledges, which is Self-Preſervation. If it could be ſaid that the Soul is naturally Chriſtian; *by reaſon that notwithſtanding her being prejudic'd by the Opinion of the Plurality of Gods, which was inſpir'd into her by Education, and is become familiar to her by example and cuſtom, yet as ſoon as the danger preſſes, and brings man to himſelf again, ſhe only remembers one God; we may alſo ſay that ſhe is naturally inſtructed with the Right of repelling Violence and Injuſtice; ſince that notwithſtanding the Clouds wherewith divers Intereſts obſtruct the lights ſhe has receiv'd from Nature upon that Subject, yet one preſſing danger is ſufficient to make her forget all the foreign conſiderations ſhe had been prejudic'd by, and to bring her back again to the uſe of the right ſhe her ſelf thought to have abandon'd.*

It now remains to know, whether the Reform'd *were in that condition which authoriſes the taking up of Arms. But that is a caſe that will plainly appear by the reading of this Hiſtory. It will diſcover an open Conſpiracy againſt them, which after many ill effects for the ſpace of about Forty Years, to reckon from the Reign of* Francis *the* 2d *had been rather deffer'd by the kindneſs of* Henry *the* 4th, *than ſtifled by the Authority of his Edicts. You will ſee it renew'd as ſoon as that Prince was put in his Grave; proſecuted during the ſpace of Ten Years by thouſand ſecret Artifices of the Court of* Rome, *conceal'd and covered by all the Veils of a profound diſſimulation, which however could not hinder them from diſcovering ſome glimpſes of the means that were put in practice, in order to their Ruin. You will ſee the King attacking, while his Subjects ſend Deputies to obtain his favour; Threatning while they Intreat; Arming while they Implore his Mercy, amidſt a thouſand Terrors, by ſubmiſſions and intreaties; executing while they heſitate and are deliberating; taking of Places the keeping of which is ſtill allow'd them for ſome years; turning out their Governours, violating his own Briefs; while they to avoid the reproach of taking Arms with too much precipitation, differ to put themſelves in a poſture of Defence, which in a word ruins them half before the War is declar'd againſt them. If to all this you add a world of infidelities committed by the Council of that Prince; the conſtant practice of the* Roman

Church

Church, in what relates to Treaties made with Heretics; Henry *the* 3d's *Declaration, the Maxims of which had been inſpir'd to that King by the Jeſuits who had had the care of his Education: that ſurpriſing Declaration by which* Henry *the* 3d. *had acquainted the World that the* Reform'd *ought never to truſt to his Word, when ever he made a Peace with them, becauſe he would never do it, unleſs it were in order to take his time better, and to renew the War again with advantage: If, I ſay, we add all this, and ſeveral other conſiderations that may be drawn out of Hiſtory, it will appear clearly that the* Reform'd *were more than convinc'd that their Enemies deſign'd to exterminate them: That they kept barely upon the defenſive; That they were forc'd to take Arms, but too late for their preſervation; That they tarry'd untill the Catholicks proceeded from craft to threatnings, and from threatnings to effects, before they loſt their patience; That a Peace was only granted to deceive them; That they did not break it, neither the firſt, or ſecond time, whatever their Enemies ſay: and in a word that they only defended themſelves weakly, and as it were in going back againſt a manifeſt Aggreſſion. Their King had at that time, evidently renounced the Title of common Father of his Country, as well as* Henry *the* 3d. *and by endeavouring to deſtroy a numerous and very potent part of his Subjects, he had given them a Juſt occaſion to defend themſelves. The Chatholicks would never have had ſo much Patience, had they foreſeen at as great*

a diſtance that a Prince deſign'd, I will not ſay to deſtroy their Religion, and their main Privileges; but only to retrench one of their moſt uſeleſs Ceremonies, and, as I may ſay, to extinguiſh one of the Tapers of their Alters.

I will not inſiſt on the ſecret deſign of the Court of France *to deprive the People in General and without diſtinction of Religion, of the remainder of their Liberty; The Potent Cities of their Revenues, Privileges, Exemptions and Franchiſes; The Nobility of their Luſtre and Credit; The Parliaments of their Power and Majeſty. This deſign was cover'd with the pretence of Religion, while the* Reform'd *had Citys in their Power. However the Court expreſs'd it ſelf ſo clearly about the Caſe of* Rochel, *that no body could pretend to be Ignorant of the reaſons they had to declare a War. That City was under Subjection without being a Slave. It was in* France *partly what the Imperial City's are in* Germany. *The King Commanded in it; but the Authority of that command was limited by Laws. The King had been perſwaded not to content himſelf with that limited Power. What they deſir'd of the* Rochilois *was only to renounce acquir'd advantages, which had been confirm'd, and as it were conſecrated, by Treaties, by Services, by Edicts, by all that is moſt holy and moſt inviolable in humane Right. Therefore that City was ruin'd, only becauſe they were unwilling to ſubmit to ſlavery. So that the War that was wag'd againſt it, tho uſeful according*

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to a certain Policy which allows every thing Juſt that ſucceeds, was nevertheleſs at the bottom the moſt manifeſt oppreſſion that ever was heard of, as well as that of the Principality of Bearn. *But I ſhould be too Prolix if I ſhould urge all that could be ſaid to prove that the reſiſtance of that Place, and of all the* Reform'd *was not unlawful.*

As for the third degree in which this Hiſtory repreſents the Reform'd, *I have no long remarks to make upon it. The Decay of their Religion appears in it in a thouſand wayes. Their Enemies begin to quarel with them upon the leaſt Trifles. Annexes, Synods, Books, Projects of reunion, the Rights of Temples, and ſeveral other Articles become continual occaſions of Debates and Diſputes. Offices, and Trades, the exemption of Miniſters, the Rights of profeſſing their Religion, the Liberty of abiding in all parts of the Kingdom, become the ſubject of a thouſand Conteſtations. The Reſpect due to the miſteries of the* Roman *Religion, according to their pretentions expoſe the* Reform'd *to a thouſand Troubles: To all the enterpriſes of the Clergy, to the violence of their Harangues, and of their Petitions, and to the progreſs of their deſigns againſt them, whereby it is caſie to judge that their Ruin was Sworn. The Death of the Cardinal, ſoon after follow'd by the King, by a Minority; by a weak and wavering Regency; by reaſon of the Miniſtry of a Stranger, not well ſettled yet, prov'd the true reaſon of their being allow'd ſome years Reſpite.*

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Edict of Nantes.

VOL. II.

BOOK I.

A Summary of the Contents of the First Book.

The Court is surpris'd at the Death of the King. Precautions us'd to prevent Disorder. The Regency is given to the Queen. The condition of the Reform'd; who are dreaded and are afraid themselves. False measures taken by the Duke of Sully. *He is advis'd to look to himself. He is kindly entertain'd at Court. The Marshal Duke of* Bouillon *serves the Queen. The Edicts confirm'd by a Declaration. Remarkable Expressions. The free Exercise of Religion confirm'd at* Charenton. *The*

Reform'd *deceiv'd by those Artifices, think themselves secure. New reasons of Diffidence which awaken them. The Vengeance of the King's Death is neglected. Impudence of* Aubigni, *and* Cotton *the Jesuits. The Court avoids penetrating into the Causes of the King's Death. Prisoners releas'd. Suspicions of the most speculative. The double Alliance with* Spain *is resolv'd upon. The Marshal of* Bouillon *endeavours to gain the Prince of* Conde *to side with the* Reform'd *again; but in vain.* * Cahiers *answer'd. Disgrace of the Duke of* Sully, *who is remov'd from the Treasury and from the Government of the Bastille. He writes to the Queen. A General Assembly allow'd for* Chatelleraud, *but put of to* Saumur, *by a new Brief. The Marshal* de Bouillon *gain'd by the Queen. Instructions for Provincial Assemblies. Excuse of the demands that seem'd to be new. Farther Instructions. The Assembly of* Saumur, *and the quality of their Deputies. In what manner those of* Bearn *assisted at it. Defective Deputations tollerated. The Marshal of* Bouillons *inconstancy about the Presidentship, of which the reasons are unknown.* Du Plessis *is Elected President, and excuses himself in vain. Discontent of the Marshall Duke, who reconciles himself in outward appearence with the Duke of* Sully, *and takes the part of* Senevieres *: the Assembly does the same. The Court dissembles, and the Marshal slackens. An Oath of Union: another Oath against underhand dealings, both ill kept. The Duke of* Sully's *case is examined; who makes a long discourse to explain it. The Assembly is of opinion that their Religion is concern'd in that Affair. An Anonymous answer to the Dukes discourse. The like writings in vogue during the Session of that Assembly. A Satirical Letter; which divides the* Reform'd *into three Orders; Malicious, Zealous and Judicious. Qualifications of the Queen. True Charrcters of the* Reform'd. *From whence the reports that the Assembly design'd to make a War did proceed. Artifices of the ancient Enemies of the* Reform'd. *Several Catholick Cities Arm themselves. A Sedition at* Orleans. Du Plessis *reinforces the Garrison of* Saumur, *with the Kings leave. Commissioners*

Petition or Remonstrances.

ners of the King at the Aſſembly, who draw the general * Cahier. *The Commiſſioners declare that they have no Power to Treat. The Aſſembly ſends Deputies to the Court, and draw Five* Cahiers. *The Court will have the Principality of* Bearn *to Treat ſeperately. Union in appearance in the Aſſembly; where diſcord breaks out at laſt. The Power of the Deputies who carry the* Cahier, *is limited. The Deputies are well receiv'd at Court, where they are flatter'd at firſt, and deceiv'd afterwards; Finally, the Court proceeds even to threats, and they are commanded to retire. Letters are ſent by them. The Aſſembly expects the return of the King's Commiſſioners; and excuſe themſelves from nominating ſix Deputies, in which they perſiſt after having heard* Bullion. *Artifices to deſtroy the ſteadineſs of the Aſſembly; of which ſome Members ſuffer themſelves to be corrupted. Dangerous Councils imputed to the Marſhal of* Bouillon. Bellujon *is cenſur'd by the Aſſembly. A Letter from the Court authorizing the inferior Number againſt the Plurality of Voices.* Bullion *ſeems to accept a medium; but retracts all of a ſudden, by a ſtrange advice of the Marſhal Duke, Wiſe advice of* Du Pleſſis *who wards the blow. The Aſſembly nominates Commiſſioners. Vexations of the Marſhal about the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe. Nomination of the Deputies General.*

* Petition.

THE whole Kingdom was ſencibly afflicted at the Kings Death: at leaſt all thoſe who were ſollicitous for the welfare of *France*, and were not as yet infected with the Maxims imputed to the Jeſuits, were wounded with the ſame Stab that ſent him out of the World. Even thoſe that had been deſirous of his Death, and that have been ſuſpected of having occaſion'd it, or at leaſt of having been accomplicies in it, were at firſt aſtoniſh'd as well as the reſt, and found themſelves Invovl'd in Troubles they had not foreſeen, or for the preventing of which they had not as yet taken ſufficient meaſures. Altho the Tragical end of that Prince had been long a hatching, yet they had not pro-

1610.

The Court is ſurpriſed at the death of the King.

1610. vided againſt all the inconveniencies that were likely to attend a Death ſo ſudden. Their thoughts being wholly bent on the ſucceſs of their Enterpriſe, they had not conſider'd the Conſequences. Paſſion commonly occaſions thoſe Raſh inconſiderate Attempts. It hinders men from perceiving the effects of the ſatisfaction it has in view, while it imploies them wholly in the purſuit of it. And it is no ſooner obtain'd, but the pleaſure of the injoyment thereof is interrupted by the ſight of the inconveniencies that had not been conſider'd: And the mind aſtoniſh'd at the difficulties which Paſſion had conceal'd from it, diſcovers too late the inſufficiency of the Precautions it had taken to prevent them. So that thoſe who expected the greateſt advantage by the King's Death, found themſelves at firſt at a loſs about the Seditions his Death was likely to excite in the Kingdom. The late King's Party was great and Formidable: and had it been influenc'd by ſome Chief of conſideration, it would not have been difficult to puniſh the Enemies of that Prince, for the joy they receiv'd by his Death. Moreover there were ſtill Seeds remaining of the former Factions; which had they been reviv'd by the preſent occaſion, might have reduc'd the Court to great exſtreams, and perhaps to have been the Victim of thoſe Diſorders. Therefore they were oblig'd to uſe a great deal of Caution, and to endeavour by all manner of ſuppleneſs to oblige thoſe who were capable to cauſe a diſturbance to remain inquiet.

Precautions us'd to prevent diſorder.

The Court met with very favourable diſpoſitions to that end. There was no Union among the great ones. Jealouſie would not permit them to chuſe a Chief to command over them. The Prince of *Conde* who could beſt pretend to it, was then at *Milan*; and before he could come back from a Place ſo diſtant, and reſolve upon what Party he had beſt to take, it was very likely that all things would be ſettled and fix'd. Moreover, there are always too many Perſons who only follow Kings becauſe they are the fountain of Favours and Rewards: And conſequently who eaſily turn their inclinations and ſervices on another ſide, when Providence places the diſtribu-

ſtribution of Gifts into other Hands. The Court made an advantageous uſe of this diſpoſition of minds. They deceiv'd the moſt formidable, by ſeeming to place a great Confidence in them; and imploy'd them to hinder the Commotions of the People, which perhaps would have gone far had any body undertaken to make an ill uſe of the general agitation. They ingag'd, all thoſe whoſe Fortune was not ſettled, and who were deſirous to ingratiate themſelves with thoſe that could advance them, to their Party by hopes of reward. 1610.

The Regency is given to the Queen.

After thoſe things had been taken care of which were moſt urgent, the Court proceeded to the Affair of the Regency. The Queen obtain'd it with ſo much eaſe, That no body oppos'd it; All the Orders or Degrees of the State ſtriving to out do each other to expreſs moſt devotion and reſpect towards her. The next task was to ſecure the *Reform'd*, whom they look'd upon to be the moſt difficult to be manag'd. They had loſt all in loſing the King: with whom we may ſay, that they had ſeen two Qualities expire, without which they could not expect that any would maintain them. The one was the affection he certainly had for them, by reaſon of the Service he had receiv'd from them in his greateſt Exigency, and becauſe he look'd upon them as Friends that were worthy of his Confidence, and neceſſary towards the ſucceſs of his enterpriſes. The other was Publick Faith and ſincerity, which he valued himſelf upon, beyond all other Princes, which made him ſo exact an obſerver of his Word, that People commonly found more favour in the performance, than he had made them hope for by his Promiſe. Inſtead of that they found themſelves at the mercy of a Council that was ill affected towards them, in which their ancient Enemies were the ſtrongeſt, and in which a Cabal Reign'd, of which all the deſigns tended to the ruin of the Proteſtants. Moreover they were ſencible that *Italian* Policy, which is chiefly grounded on Fraud and Treachery, would ſoon get the upper hand of the Court, and that Promiſes would only ſerve as a mask to ſurpriſe the credulity of the People. Therefore the Court looked upon the *Reform'd*, as thoſe that were beſt

The Condition of the *Reformed*.

Who are dreaded and yet are afraid.

1610. able to do a great deal of harm in those places where they were the strongest, incase they would make use of their advantages. But those who liv'd in places where the smallness of their number expos'd them to be insulted upon, took measures which put the Court to a greater loss yet; because they might perswade those who lived in distant Provinces, that the *Reform'd* could expect no good from the Government. Insomuch that many of those who found themselves too weak to make a defence, retir'd in divers places where they expected to find their safety: as if there had been cause to fear a second St. *Bartholomew* at the first Sedition.

False Measures taken by the Duke of *Sully*.

This Terror not only disturb'd the minds of the People: it also turn'd the Duke of *Sully*'s brains, who made a false step, which serv'd for a spetious pretence to ruin him. As he was a going to the *Louvre* upon the news of the King's Death; meeting with some Lords by the way, whom he invited to serve the young King and the Queen faithfully, they answering him that it was a thing they were resolv'd to make others promise, he immediately went back, and shut himself up in the *Bastille*. Then took up all the Bread he could meet with at the Bakers, and caus'd it to be carried into the Castle, as if he had been afraid of being starved there; and was resolv'd to take in Provisions to sustain a Siege. It is evident that grief and surprise depriv'd him of his usual Prudence and Courage: but at the same time it is most certain that any other Man would have been as much at a loss, had he been in his place. He had reason to fear not only that his places were in danger of being taken from him, but also of being called to an account for what he had got during the time of his being in Favour, which was considerable enough to create a jealousie: So much the rather too because he had kept all the Kings favours to himself, and had imparted his good Fortune to nobody. Whatever side, he turn'd himself on, he beheld none but Enemies, the *Reform'd* accused him of Coldness and Neglect. The Bigots beheld his Credit with Trouble, because he was an *Heretic*. He had displeased all the Courtiers by his abrupt uncivil behaviour

haviour. The Queen hated him, becauſe he had often taken the late Kings part againſt her, and that the *Italians* that were in her ſervice had egg'd her on againſt him. All theſe reflections crouding at once into his mind, it is not to be wondered at if he found himſelf aſtoniſhed: eſpecially becauſe he had not a Genious to take proper Reſolutions and expedients of a ſudden: he requir'd retirement and a little meditation to think, after which he commonly choſe pretty well. 1610.

His Terrors were alſo increas'd, by ſome ſecret advices he received to look to himſelf. As it had been in his power to buy Spies, while he had the direction of the Treaſury, he was informed that as ſoon as the King's Death was known at Court, the Queen and her Confidents let fall ſome words, which threatened him Perſonally. He was alſo informed that a ſecret Council had been held at the Nuncios, in which he had been mentioned; and that it behoved him to think of his ſafety. A Princeſs whom he had ingaged in his intereſt by cauſing her Penſions to be paid with eaſe, ſent him the ſame advice. All this being conſidered, a little Terror was excuſable, and another perhaps would have been guilty of the ſame weakneſs. But he did not maintain the firſt ſtep he had made: he went to Court the very next day upon ſome words of Civility that were brought to him from the Queen, where that Princeſs received him very well; and the King who was too young, and of too eaſie a diſpoſition, not to follow his Mothers inſtructions in all things, looked kindly upon him Thoſe Civilities blinded him, and whereas he had formerly given the Queen, and thoſe ſhe lov'd great cauſes of diſcontent, which he had a mind to retrieve, he fell into another extream, and offered his Services to them in terms which ſavoured a little of lowneſs. He had ſoon after cauſe enough given him to repent it, and to diſcover that they only entertained him kindly at firſt to laugh at him. Some have been of opinion that he was obliged for the good treatment he received at firſt to the ready Money he had in the *Baſtille*, which they had a mind to get out of his hands: for

He is adviſed to look to himſelf.

He is well received at Court.

1610. for fear that in caſe they ſhould have diſoblig'd him, he might have us'd it to his own advantage, and perhaps to Arm the *Reform'd* in his behalf.

The Marſhal *de Bouillon*, who made himſelf fear'd by his Credit, was the ſooneſt gain'd of any. He did not ſo much as tarry till he was courted to it, he offer'd himſelf; and made advances to the Queens Favourites, which many people thought below him. But there was alſo a neceſſity of ſatisfying the *Reform'd*: and as it behov'd the Queen, in order to maintain her Authority, not to take poſſeſſion of the Regency by broils, ſhe apply'd herſelf earneſtly about it, after ſhe was once certain of it. She met no great difficulty in it. The *Reform'd* ever poſſeſs'd with the ſame genius, deſired nothing but their *Bellys full of Preaching*: and the only way to obtain every thing from them, was but to promiſe them the obſervation of the Edicts. Therefore upon the very firſt propoſitions made by their Deputies General, the Court granted them a confirmation of the *Edict of Nantes*, in all the Points and Articles of it, together with that of all the other Articles, Regulations, and Decrees, granted and given upon the interpretation or upon the execution of that ſolemn Law. The Declaration thereof was expedited on the 29*th* of *May*, and verified within a few days after. They would not have made ſo much haſte about it, but that they were afraid of giving thoſe People that were allarm'd a ſpecious pretence of taking meaſures together for their defence. Moreover the ſaid Declaration, was couch'd in terms fit to remove the jealouſies and ſuſpicions of the moſt Diſident, inſomuch, that if expreſſions had not a very different ſence in the Edicts of Kings, from the Common acceptation, it was ſufficient to perſwade the *Reform'd*, that they ſhould have at leaſt as much quiet under the Government of the Son, as under the Protection of the Father. But they ſoon diſcover'd that thoſe Magnificent promiſes were only agreeable Illuſions.

A Declaration which confirms the Edict.

We may judge of the ſtile of the Declaration by four principal things that were ſet out in it. The firſt was, that all the King's Subjects, both Catholicks and thoſe of the P. R. Religion endeavour'd *by a laudable emulation to out do one another in expreſſing their Obedience, and in Actions and Deportments which might teſtifie their Fidelity.* This praiſe perhaps was a little too great for an Obedience of a Fortnight's ſtanding: but the Commonality is often taken that way. They are ingag'd to give what is requir'd of them by ſuppoſing it to be given already. People are ingag'd in honour, and are diſpos'd to render themſelves worthy of the Praiſe which flatters them, by giving it to them before they have deſerv'd it. The ſecond was that experience had taught *Lewis* the 13*th's* Predeceſſors that Fury and the Violence of Arms had not only been ineffectual, to bring thoſe back to the *Roman* Church that had quitted it; but that it had rather prov'd diſadvantageous to them: which had oblig'd them to apply themſelves to mildneſs, by granting the free exerciſe of the P. R. Religion. The third was that the Edict of *Nantes* had eſtabliſh'd a firm Peace among the Subjects of both Religions, which had never been interrupted ſince. The fourth was that the Edict of *Nantes* being Perpetual and Irrevocable, had no need of being confirm'd by any Declaration. It was natural to judge by this Clauſe that this laſt Edict was only given to explain the ſence and force of the words, *Perpetual and Irrevocable*, and that it determin'd the ſignification of it in the moſt natural and plaineſt ſence that could be given in the Common dialect. 1610. *Remarkable Expreſſions.*

We eaſily believe what we wiſh; beſides, it is natural to believe that others look upon thoſe things as truths which appear to us certain, and undeniable. Therefore as the *Reform'd* look'd upon thoſe four Points as evident truths, and did paſſionately deſire that every body might look upon them as ſuch, they eaſily believ'd that the Court had the ſame thoughts. The major part of them ſuffer'd themſelves to be blinded by it, and imagin'd that a King who did declare

1610. so plainly that his hands were tyed by the Edict, of which he became Garantee and Executor in the King his Father's room, would never do any thing against those irrevocable and perpetual dispositions. Moreover, the Court in order the better to heighten the sincerity which they design'd to make a show of, publish'd a Brief that same day which confirm'd the favour the *Reform'd* had receiv'd four years before from the late King, by permitting them to perform the exercise of their Religion in the Town of *Charenton*. And to omit nothing that might contribute to deceive the simple, Persons were appointed to insinuate among the People that nothing was so proper and so necessary in order to revenge the King's Death which the publick Voice imputed plainly to foreign Intreagues, as a good understanding and Peace between the Catholicks and the *Reform'd*. Persons of that Character were not wanting to intrude among the Curious and Idle sort of People, who met together to discourse about publick Affairs: and they never fail'd to say that it were better to perish than to leave that cruel death unpunish'd. Those words mov'd the *Reform'd* to the very bottom of their Hearts; because they imagin'd that all those that were oblig'd to revenge it, were indue'd to it by the Principles of Affection which mov'd them. By those Artifices those People were brought back again, who fled at first out of fear; and all the rest were deluded into an assurance of safety, and never perceived their Error till it was too late to remedy it.

The free exercise of Religion confirm'd at Charenton.

The Reform'd being deceiv'd by those Artifices fall into a fond Opinion of safety.

The Clergy harrangu'd the King and Queen that year; but they only mention'd their own affairs. At least it did not appear that they ask'd any thing against the *Reform'd*, whose jealousies they were unwilling to renew. Nevertheless they perceiv'd through all those affectations, that evil designs were hatching against them, and that it behov'd them to seek out better Sureties than the bare promises of the Court. They were soon inform'd that a private Council was held there, in which none but *Italians*, or Jesuits, or old Leaguers, or Biggots were admitted; that

New Reasons of diffidence which awaken them.

that nothing was talk'd of there but the Marriage of the King, and of his eldeſt Siſter, with the Infanta, and Infant of *Spain*: The breaking of ancient Alliances; the removing of the *Reform'd* from all affairs of State: The Annihilation of Edicts: all which things were ſuppos'd to be link'd together, the one leading of neceſſity to the other. Notice was taken of the abuſive anſwer of *Villeroy* to *Sully*, in a Council at which the Queen was preſent, and in which they were treating about Expedients for the ſafety of the State. The laſt oppos'd the putting of a Garriſon in *Lyons*, where it was no longer neceſſary, by reaſon that by the Conqueſt of *Breſſe*, the ſaid City was no longer a Frontier; to which *Villeroy* reply'd that it was nevertheleſs neceſſary to keep Forces there becauſe it was in the Neighbourhood of *Leſdiguieres* and of the *Huguenots*, who were as much to be fear'd as the *Spaniards*. The *Reform'd* alſo obſerved with grief that all the Kings deſigns were buried with him; and that the Council hardly minded the affairs of *Cleve* and of *Juliers* for Honour and for form ſake. The whole project of that War was alter'd, and the third part of the Forces the King had deſign'd for it, were not ſent thither. The Command of the ſaid Army was given to the Marſhal *de la Chatre*, tho it had been promis'd to the Marſhal *de Bouillon*: which alteration was made at the ſolicitation of the Pope's Nuncio, who was affraid the ſaid War might prove advantagious to the Proteſtants; and that the *Reform'd* being Commanded by a General of their own Religion, would be too ſevere towards the Catholicks. For the ſame Reaſon, moſt of the Forces that were rais'd by *Leſdiguieres* in *Dauphine* in order to be joyn'd with the Duke of *Savoy*, were disbanded. All the hopes that had been conceiv'd of ſeeing the Kings Death reveng'd vaniſhed in a ſhort time: Since that far from going about it with that Vigour that was expected, it was obſerv'd that even thoſe who were oblig'd in duty to proſecute it, took care to ſtifle what ever might be capable to diſcover the miſtery of that Parricide. 1610.

1610. There were so many Instances of the coldness the Court had express'd to revenge the Death of that Prince, that it almost form'd a demonstration of a desire to the contrary. There seem'd to be a great deal of constraint and study in their Mourning; and whereas they affected the contrary of all the Maxims of the late King, people presum'd that they were not much concern'd at the Death of a Prince who had put so long a constraint upon their inclinations. It was daily observ'd by some words that fell from those who should have been most concern'd at that loss, that they did not look upon that accident as a great misfortune: and the remembrance of the domestick vexations the King had been so much troubled with in his latter years, gave great cause to suspect that those who had occasion'd them, had but little regret at his Death. The speculative added to this, that after the fatal Blow, so little care was taken to secure the Murtherer, that he might have made his escape during the Tumult, had he but dropt his Knife: but they were in some measure forc'd to seize him, because he held the fatal Instrument of his Crime in his hand. Some Persons a Horseback appearing at that moment, only to cry out that the villain ought to be kill'd, they were suffer'd to escape without examining whether they went, from whence they came; tho it was easie to Judge that their advice only tended by his Death to remove the means to penetrate into the secret of the Enterprise: as it happen'd by the Imprudence of those that slew the Murtherer of *Henry* the 3*d* upon the Spot. After the Murtherer was seiz'd, he was so ill guarded, that it look'd as if they desir'd to favour his Escape. All people were allow'd to speak to him; and notwithstanding the Horror his Crime ought to have inspir'd in every body, he was discours'd with by Persons who express'd no great Astonishment. Even in Prison he was allow'd to speak with suspected People; neither was any care taken to oblige a Fryar to explain himself, who after a long and free conversation with him, had the boldness to exhort him, at his

his going not to accuſe perſons of Worth. The Jeſuit *Aubigni* being nam'd by the Criminal as a Perſon to whom he had confeſs'd himſelf, came of with barely ſaying to *Servin* Advocate General, that God had given him the Grace to forget whatever was reveal'd to him in confeſſion Thoſe of his Order have had the Impudence to ſay, after the Death of that great Man, that *Aubigni* had never made that Anſwer, and that it was invented by *Servin* who was a declar'd Enemy to their Society, to caſt a ſuſpition upon them of having contributed to the Death of the King. And indeed they could not avoid that juſt ſuſpition, which went further yet in the minds of thoſe who had a little penetration: And more credit was given to the Teſtimony of a Magiſtrate of known probity than to the Apology of that Cabal of Villains, woſe darling vertue is Impoſture. Moreover what *Servin* reported againſt *Aubigni*, was confirm'd by the Common Doctrine of the Society upon the ſubject of Confeſſion, and by the uſual excuſe of the Confeſſors who follow their Maxims. *Cotton* the Jeſuit and ſeveral others, brag'd of the ſame Gift, to forget what was reveal'd to them in Confeſſion by their Penitents: and the ſame Jeſuit had had the confidence to make very remarkable anſwers to the late King upon that ſubject. The King had been warn'd of that horrible Maxim of the Jeſuits, that tho it were about the Kings Death, yet the Perſon to whom it were reveal'd in Confeſſion, ought to conceal it with an inviolable ſecreſie. *Cotton* being queſtion'd by the King himſelf about this Doctrine, maintain'd it to be good and truly Chriſtian; and after having refuſed the objections that were made upon the Conſequences of thoſe Maxims, by divers illuſive Precautions, he made a ſhift to evade the moſt Terrible, by a wretched excuſe. The King ask'd him how he would behave himſelf in caſe any body ſhould reveal to him a Conſpiracy againſt his Life, finding no poſſibility to diſſuade the Wretch from doing it by his Exhortations, or advice? he anſwer'd, that he would interpoſe his Body between the King and the blow, to ſave him, at the expence of

1610.

Impudence of the Jeſuit Aubigni.

And of Cotton.

1610. of his own Life. But such strokes depending on certain moments, which offer themselves without being foreseen, and in which it may happen that the Confessor neither ought or can be near his Prince, It is easie to judge that this ridiculous good will of the Jesuit, could never secure the Kings Life against the enterprizes of a Murtherer. However the King was forc'd to receive this false appearance of Fidelity, because there was none more solid to be hop'd for; besides that the King not daring to offend that perfidious Society, for fear of proving the experience of those dangerous Maxims on himself, was reduc'd to seem satisfi'd with those vain excuses.

They avoyd penetrating into the Causes of the Kings Death.

They added to all the Reflections I have already alledg'd, that during the course of the Information, the Commissioners refus'd to receive such Evidences as might have serv'd to discover the bottom of that Mistery of Iniquity. A certain Woman who had serv'd the Marchioness *de Verneuil*, and who reveal'd strange things, was silenc'd, altho' Queen *Marguerite*, who did not want Judgment, look'd upon her deposition as not being despicable. Even afterwards when the said business was brought into question again, the Testimony of the said Woman was rejected anew, by charging her with a thousand reproaches; and lest a time might come in which she would be more favourably hearken'd unto, she was Condemn'd as a Calumniator to end her days between four Walls. The whole care of those before whom the Paricide was examind, was to make him pass for an Hipocondriack; and to make him tell such motives of his enterprize, as might persuade the World that he had undertaken it of his own accord. For Instance, that it was because the King had not reduc'd the *Reform'd* to Embrace the Catholick Religion, as he might have done. Secondly, because he was persuaded that the *Reform'd* had design'd a Masacre against all the Catholicks the preceeding year, on *Christmas-Day*. Thirdly, that he had done it on the account of the great Crimes his Conscience was burthen'd with, for which he could hope no Pardon, unless it were by some

ſome great Action that might prove advantageous to the Catholick Religion. Altho he pretended that theſe thoughts were altogether his own, it was not hard to ſee that they were more likely to proceed from the Inſpiration of others; and the very proofs of the weakneſs of his mind, his Viſions, his diſquiets, ſeemd to many a ſtrong argument, that he had only lent his hand to the Deſigns of Perſons who had better heads than he. Theſe thoughts enter'd chiefly into the minds of thoſe who had heard of that horrid Chamber of Meditation, of which ſtrange things were reported, and in which 'tis ſaid that the Jeſuits inſtructed their Penitents in a very extraordinary manner; but yet very fit to make ſtrong Impreſſions upon weak minds. From whence it was concluded that ſuch a Man as this Paricide, had been a fit ſubject to ſuffer himſelf to be guided by ſuch Illuſions. 1610.

Priſoners releas'd.

The Country of the Criminal was another Source of conjectures: and all the others were corroborated by the Reflections that might be made upon the releaſing of ſeveral Perſons who were Priſoners at the time of the Kings Death, and who had been taken up upon the appearances of a Conſpiracy that was on foot, after the finding, at *La Fleche*, the Book I have mention'd elſe where. None but two or three unfortunate *Poitevins* were Executed, and perhaps not ſo much upon the account of their being the moſt Guilty, or that their Enterprize was the moſt Important, as becauſe it was neceſſary to perſuade the vulgar, that the others would have been puniſhed alſo, had they been found Guilty as well as theſe. Perhaps alſo the better to ſtifle the remembrance of a Conſpiracy in which none but Catholicks were concern'd, they thought fit to Execute thoſe Wretches, becauſe there was a Proteſtant among them; In order to perſuade the World that this Conſpiracy to the proſecution of which a ſtop was put, and of which the King's Death might be the ſequel, was not a work of the Catholicks. But nothing confirm'd theſe thoughts more than the reports of the King's Death, which for ſome time had been ſpread through *Europe*. The News of that very

1610. ry Murther was reported the ſame day on which it was committed, in places ſo diſtant from *Paris*, and with ſuch circumſtances, as were impoſſible to be known without Divine Revelation, or without having known the thing Originally. It was very natural from thence to conclude, that there were places in which the King's Death was ſpoken of, as a thing that was expected; and conſequently that there was a Conſpiracy by which that Death was prepar'd: and that thoſe that were concern'd in it, endeavour'd to conceal the ſecret of it, by making him paſs for the Author of the Enterpriſe, who had only been the Executioner.

Suſpicions of the moſt Speculative

In a word, It was thought, that thoſe who Govern'd, deſign'd to conceal the true Motives of that Death from the People, and not to dive too far into the ſecret of it, for fear of diſcovering Perſons of ſo high a Rank, and who were ſo nearly related to the King, that it would be dangerous to attack them; eſpecially in a State where the leaſt pretence might have fill'd all with Factions and Diſturbances. Nevertheleſs, theſe conſiderations did not ſecure thoſe Perſons from being expos'd to the ſecret Judgments of thoſe who had a diffident diſpoſition; and the miſery that has attended their latter years, has been look'd upon by ſome, as a puniſhment for their neglect of diſcovering the Authors of a Crime which a thouſand reaſons oblig'd them to Revenge. However the *Reform'd* were ſencibly griev'd to ſee nothing but the Blood of ſo unworthy a Victim ſpilt upon the Aſhes of that Hero. This difference indeed has been obſerv'd between the Death of *Henry* the 4*th* and that of his Predeceſſor, that this was abſolutely forgotten: whereas *Henry* the 4*th's* occaſion'd Civil Wars, and that it was not the fault of his good Subjects if it was not more exactly inquir'd into. It was particularly the paſſionate deſire of the *Reform'd*; who ſeeing how much the memory of their Protector was neglected, concluded that the Court had as little inclination to maintain what he had done, as to Revenge his Perſon.

All

All this convinc'd them that they had more reaſon than ever to dread ſurprizes and violences: and their Terrors increas'd when they heard that the double Alliance with *Spain*, which they had been ſo much afraid of, was finally reſolv'd upon. In the mean time the Marſhal *de Bouillon* being deſirous to deſerve the Queen's favour, and to improve the times, and the alterations that were happen'd in affairs, ſtoopt even to pleaſe her Confidents; and condeſcended to ſell his Place of firſt Gentleman of the King's Chamber to *Conchini*, who was afterwards Marqueſs and Marſhal *d'Ancre*: a Man unworthy of that Rank, whether we conſider his Birth, Perſonal Qualifications, or his Services. The Marſhal obtain'd great advantages by it, as to his Intereſt; but his Credit prov'd never the greater for it; and *Conchini* was not of a Nature to be ingag'd out of Gratitude. The Queen behav'd herſelf kindly towards him, in order to uſe him as a Tool to ruin the *Reform'd*; and the complaiſance he had for her, contributed conſiderably towards the Ruin of their Affairs. But whereas that Lord had commonly more than one proſpect, he did not abſolutely confide on thoſe appearances. Therefore he endeavour'd to ſtrengthen himſelf and his Party by a conſiderable Conqueſt. The Prince of *Conde* who had nothing more to fear at Court after the King's Death, had been recall'd there. At his firſt arrival he conſulted the moſt conſiderable of the *Reform'd*: and particularly, before he would appear there, he reſolv'd to confer with the Duke of *Sully*, as if he had deſign'd to regulate himſelf according to his advice. It appear'd by the ſequel that he had not reliſh'd it: and he expreſs'd but little regar'd for him on divers occaſions. But the Marſhal *de Bouillon* who had a better Genius, and greater deſigns than the Duke of *Sully*, fancy'd that it might be poſſible to perſuade the Prince to return to the Communion of the *Reform'd* Religion; that having been bred among them in his tendereſt years, and having before his Eyes the example of his Father, and of his Grand-Father, whoſe Names had been made ſo

1610.

The double Alliance with Spain *reſolv'd upon.*

The Marſhal de Bouillon *endeavours to gain the Prince of* Conde.

1610. famous by the Wars of Religion, it would be eaſie to recal him to their Union. He urg'd very powerful Reaſons to him upon that Subject. He repreſented to him what might prove the Conſequences of a Minority, which was a Source of Civil Wars. He deſcrib'd to him the Power of the *Reform'd*, which having a Prince at their Head was ſufficient to diſpoſe of the Regency. He alledg'd the Example of the two laſt Princes of *Conde*; and endeavour'd to ſhow him that Reformation ought to be Heriditary to their Family, and that it was in ſome meaſure inſeperable from their Glory. He repreſented to him that in a Conjuncture of Affairs when the Government was weak, the Court at odds, and the remainder of the Kingdom divided, he might be ſtrong enough with the *Reform'd* to obtain the firſt Authority himſelf. He ſeem'd moreover to give him a glimpſe that Time might occaſion ſuch a turn of Affairs, as would allow him to think on greater things. But whether the Prince did not think affairs diſpos'd to ſo eaſie a ſucceſs; or whether his Education had inſpir'd him with Irreſolution and Timerouſneſs; or whether thoſe who had been intruſted with the Government of his Youth had given him an averſion for a Religion which had contributed ſo much towards the Glory of his Houſe; or finally, whether he thought it more ſuitable with his deſigns to remain a Catholick, becauſe he did not think it impoſſible to ſecure the *Reform'd* on his ſide without embracing their Doctrine, and to ingage them to joyn with the Malecontented Catholicks under him, he did not reliſh thoſe propoſitions, and he took other meaſures to advance himſelf.

The Deputy's General obtain'd ſome favourable Anſwers to * the *Cahiers* they preſented: particularly upon the Subject of the Sufficiency or Power of the Chamber of *Grenoble*; and upon ſome diſputes of the Chamber of Accounts of *Provence* againſt the *Reform'd*, to hinder them from removing their Cauſes to that † Party-Chamber. Moreover they obtain'd Decrees and Commiſſions upon that

* *Petitions Anſwer'd.*

† Chambre Mipartie, *in which the Judges were part Catholicks and part Proteſtants*

that Subject in the Month of *February* of the following Year. The King alſo promis'd to write to the Duke of *Savoy*, to oblige him to grant to the *Reform'd* of the Marquiſat of *Saluces*, who had been conſtrain'd to remove from thence upon the account of Religion, leave to go and come, there to receive the fruits of the Eſtates they had left behind them, or to diſpoſe of them as they ſhould think fit. And whereas the *Reform'd* complain'd, that the Eſtates of *Dauphine* made them contribute towards the Gifts they made to Monks and Nuns, either by way of Penſion, or to Build, or repair their Convents, or Churches: and that they refus'd even to receive or Regiſter the oppoſitions of the *Reform'd*: the King ſetting aſide what was paſt, forbid the Eſtates to Comprehend the *Reform'd* for the future in the like Impoſitions; and to make them amends for not ordering the Reſtitution of the Sums they had been oblig'd to pay till then, he granted 1800 Livers which ſhould be rais'd upon ſuch Lands of the ſaid Country as were Lyable to Contributions towards the charges of the Journey the Deputys of that Province had ſent to Court to ſollicit that affair. 1610.

Diſgrace of the Duke of Sully.

But the moſt Important Affair of the Year was the diſgrace of the Duke of *Sully*, who loſt his Super Intendency of the Finances, and the Government of the *Baſtille*. Never did people argue more upon the Cauſes of an Event, than they did upon this fall: and the *Reform'd* themſelves look'd upon it as a ſpecimen of the Evil that was deſign'd to them. The Court of *Rome* had murmer'd ſo long to ſee the Finances in the Power of a Proteſtant, that it is very likely that Religion had a ſhare in the reaſons for which they were taken from them. But on the other hand it was as clear as Day that the ancient diſcontents of the Queen, of *Concini*, of his Wife, and of ſome others were the principal Motives of it. His Zeal for reducing the Houſe of *Auſtria* had made him Odious to all Paſſionate Catholicks, or to thoſe that enter'd into the Intreagues of *Spain*. His unſociable humour had created him Enemys among

1610. all degrees of People: and even during the time of his Favour, a letter had been written to him without a Name, but yet pretty well Pen'd, to exhort him to be more Complaiſant and more Liberal. The Count of *Soiſſons* hated him for the ill Services he had often done him by taking the King's part againſt him. The Prince of *Conde* was diſguſted by him; and upon that account had followed the advice of the Marſhal de *Bouillon* his Enemy. *Sillery Villeroy*, and *Jeannin*, who were the three Heads of the Council that govern'd all the reſt, had conceiv'd of old a hatred of Ambition againſt him; becauſe he had a greater ſhare than all of them, both in Affairs, and in the Kings favour. Moreover he depriv'd them of the Pleaſure to which Men of their Quality are moſt ſencible, not allowing them the leaſt Authority in the management of the Finances, which he had the Sole diſpoſal of without imparting it to any body: ſo that they could neither inrich themſelves nor their Creatures. Being thus aſſail'd on all ſides, and ſeconded by none, it was impoſſible for him to defend himſelf againſt the Revenge, Ambition, and Avidity of ſo many Enemies. Nothing ſpoke in favour of him at Court but his Fidelity, his Labours and Long Services: but thoſe are but little regarded there, unleſs one has better Recommendations; and that Merit be ſeconded with Flattery, and Complaiſance.

Who is removed from the Exchequer and from the Government of the Baſtille.

Therefore after having maintain'd himſelf in his Places for the ſpace of ſix Months, he receiv'd an order from the Queen to reſign the Finances, and the Government of the *Baſtille*. But that which prov'd moſt offenſive to him, was that they were taken from him in an inſulting manner; perſuading him that he had deſir'd to be diſcharg'd of them, and to receive a Recompence inſtead thereof. The Pretence on which the Court gave this Turn to his Diſgrace, was that when he offer'd his Services to the Queen, he at the ſame time offer'd his Perſon and Places to her in terms that were very poſitive and full of exageration. But tho it was only meant as a Compliment, the Queen took it in the Verbal Senſe, and ſeem'd to have underſtood that in Earneſt, which

Sully

Sully had only ſaid to expreſs his Devotion the better to that Princeſs. So that the Command he receiv'd to reſign his Places, was pen'd in ſuch a manner, that it ſeem'd to be a favour he had deſir'd; the remainder of his Employments were confirm'd to him; and he was allow'd a recompence of 300000 Livers for thoſe that were taken from him. This was accompanied with Expreſſions and Teſtimonies of his Majeſties being very well ſatisfied with his Services. The Queen writ every where to give an Account of this Removal, and of the Reaſons that had induc'd her to it: ſo that ſhe prepoſſeſs'd peoples minds, which ſo bold an attempt, at the beginning of a Regency, might have been capable to ſhake, had *Sully* ſpoken firſt. 1611.

The Duke ſeeing himſelf depriv'd of the high Credit he had poſſeſs'd at Court during the Life of his good Maſter; and dreading perhaps that this firſt ſtroke was but a ſpecimen of what they deſign'd againſt him, reſolv'd no longer to appear in a Place where he had ſo many Enemies, and in which he could make but a very melancholly Figure for the future. Therefore he remov'd to *Sully* within a Weeks time, and from thence, in order to be reveng'd of thoſe that had injur'd him, Perſons who little valued that Vengeance, or rather to acquaint all *Europe* with the injuſtice that had been done to him, he writ an Apology in the form of a Letter, to the Queen. It was very ſtrong and bold. He diſown'd the pretences that were us'd to diveſt him; and conſtantly refus'd the profer'd Recompences. He declar'd that he would have been leſs offended, if the moroſſneſs and untractableneſs of his Humour had been alledg'd as the cauſe of his diſgrace, inſtead of a pretence which turn'd him into Ridicule; and which under the appearance of an Approbation of his Services, depriv'd him of his Employments, as if he had been unworthy, or incapable of them. He expreſs'd his Services in it, in Terms that look'd ſomewhat like a Reproach: and demonſtrated that he had ſav'd upwards of two Millions by his management. It is certain at leaſt that he had acquitted the King's debts, clear'd his *He writes to the Queen.*

Demeſne,

1611. *Demesne*, and Revenues, and put his Exchequer in a better condition than ever it had been. So that he might speak the more boldly, because he had no Enemys that could be so impudent as to deny it. Some Replys were dispers'd against him; but at the bottom those who had thrown him down thought they might content themselves with his fall, and so left him the Consolation of not disputing with him about the truth of his Services.

General Assembly allowed for Chastelleraud.

Nevertheless that affair was canvas'd again in a General Assembly which the *Reform'd* held that year at *Saumur*; and had not their Divisions hindred them from taking good Resolutions, or from putting those in Execution which they had taken, the Court would have been very much at a loss. The Deputys General had followed the King to *Rheims*, where he was gone to be Crown'd, and had obtain'd a Brief of the 10*th* of *October* of the preceding year, which allow'd the holding an Assembly at *Chatelleraud* on the 15*th* of *May* following. But the said Brief oblig'd the Deputies only to Treat about the Nomination of those that were to succeed *Mirande*, and *Villarnoul*, and forbad them to meddle with any thing else. To say the truth that prohibition was a mere illusion: since that the Nomination of new Deputies implying of course, as *Henry* the IV*th* had explain'd it at the Synod of *Rochel*, in 1607, the care of receiving the account of the Deputation of those that had preceeded them; and that of Writing new Instructions for those that did succeed, and to prescribe them those things which they were to solicit at Court, it was allowable under that Pretence to speak of all the Complaints that were to be incerted in the * *Cahiers* of the Provinces; and of all such things as the Deputies might be order'd to ask of the King for the Common safety. Therefore all things relating to Religion had all along been debated in Assemblies of that Nature; and they us'd to draw *Cahiers* there to which that Assembly received an answer before their breaking up.

* *Petitions or Addresses.*

When

When the Breef was granted for *Chatelleraud*, the Duke of *Sully* ſtill enjoy'd his imployments: but when the Time for the meeting of the Aſſembly drew at hand, the Court began to fear that the ſaid exaſperated Lord would render himſelf Maſter of the Aſſembly, incaſe they were allow'd to ſit in a Town of his Government, and therefore they thought fit to remove it to another place. Therefore the King ordered the Deputies by a new Breef of the 2*d* of *May* to repair to *Saumur*, as a Place more agreeable and more convenient. This alteration made all of a ſudden, without ſo much as harkning to the Remonſtrances of the Deputies General, ſeem'd very ſtrange to the Deputies; and ſo much the rather, becauſe it proved the conſequence of the Marſhal *de Bouillon*'s arrival at Court. In effect this new order was given ſoon after his having ſpoken with the Queen. This Princeſs who was deſirous to make uſe of him to divide the *Reform'd*, dazzel'd him by the marks of her Confidence; and ask'd his advice in things ſhe had reſolv'd before hand; as if ſhe tarry'd for his opinion to determine her ſelf. It prov'd no hard task to make him conſent to the transferring of the Aſſembly, by reaſon that he being at odds with the Duke of *Sully*, dreaded a concurrence in a place where the ſaid Duke was the ſtrongeſt. His proceedings in the ſequel made ſome believe that he himſelf had inſpired the thoughts of that Alteration. 1611.

Remov'd to Saumur by a new Brief.

Nevertheleſs, he had expreſs'd very good intentions at firſt: And when the Aſſembly was reſolv'd upon, he had oblig'd *du Pleſſis* to draw Inſtructions to be ſent into the Provinces, to ſerve as an overture to form the * *Cahiers* of the Provincial Aſſemblies. The Marſhal *de Leſdiguieres* was of the opinion of Marſhal *de Bouillon*; and both imploy'd *Bellujon*, to incline *du Pleſſis* to it. He conſented, and having communicated the *Memoirs* he had drawn to them, he found them of his opinion: So that moſt of the Provinces then conform'd to it.

The Marſhal de Bouillon is gain'd by the Queen.

* *Petitions or Addreſſes.*

He ſpoke about the Quality of thoſe that were to be deputed by every Province; and propoſed the ſending of Perſons

Inſtructions for the Provincial Aſſembly.

1611. ſons of Quality and Sufficiency; That they ſhould deſire the Lords, and the Perſons of moſt Authority to appear there; That it would be proper to deliberate whether they could relinquiſh ſomething of the laſt ſettlements in the next Aſſembly, by reaſon of the Conjuncture of the times; That the Deputies ſhould be allow'd by their Inſtructions a power to acquieſs to what ever they ſhould think uſeful and advantageous for the Churches, when propos'd by others; That it ſhould be left to their diſcretion to remain aſſembled all or part; untill the Aſſembly had receiv'd ſatisfaction; That the demands of the Provinces ſhould be modeſt, leſt they ſhould be accus'd of taking an advantage of the Publick Calamities, to make a quarel; That they ſhould all be grounded as much as poſſible, either expreſsly, or by good conſequences upon the Edicts and Conceſſions; That the weakeſt Provinces ſhould not be jealous of the ſtrength of the others, and that they ſhould look upon the Power of theſe as their ſecurity. This Article was one of the moſt neceſſary, becauſe there were already, as I have obſerv'd elſewhere, Seeds of Diviſion in the diverſity of Opinions of the *Reform'd* according to the places where they did inhabit. Thoſe who liv'd in the Provinces where they were the weakeſt, were afraid of offending the Court, and had commonly great complaiſances for it, which they knew very well how to abuſe. They imagin'd that as they were not in a condition to make a defence they would revenge upon them all the Vexations they ſhould receive from the Provinces where the *Reform'd* were moſt formidable. The others on the contrary believed with reaſon, as experience has ſhew'd it ſince, that provided the *Reform'd* were made formidable in thoſe places where they were the ſtrongeſt, their Power would ſerve as a Buckler againſt the weakneſs of the others; and that while they had good Places, and good Garriſons in the Southern Provinces, the Court would be ſure not to moleſt thoſe that were at their diſcretion in the adjacent Provinces. After this proceeding to more particular propoſitions, he was of opinion to deſire the

the Re-eſtabliſhment of the *Edict of Nantes* in all Points, ſuch as it was agreed upon with them, and conſign'd into their hands: as alſo that the Breef of the Places of Surety ſhould be re-eſtabliſh'd in the ſame manner; That the places loſt upon the account of the Governor's changing their Religion, or otherwiſe ſhould be reſtor'd; That the keeping of all the ſaid places ſhould be continued at leaſt for Ten Years longer; That the ſum promis'd to maintain the Garriſons there, one half of which had been retrench'd ſhould be re-eſtabliſh'd; That the Payments ſhould be made quarterly, without Deduction, in the very Places: That Meaſures ſhould be taken to prevent the Abuſes that might be committed in providing for vacant Governments, to the prejudice of the Churches; That they might be allow'd to Fortifie ſuch places as time had decay'd. He added that they ſhould complain, that upon the pretence of thoſe places which the *Reform'd* had in poſſeſſion, they were excluded from all other Imployments, and Dignities, as if they could have deſerv'd nothing by their Services, beyond what they had; That they ſhould deſire that the reſignations of the Governments of thoſe places, ſhould not be receiv'd without the approbation of the Churches; The ſame as to the places of Counſellors and Preſidents of the Chambers; That a free liberty ſhould be allowed for the compoſition, impreſſion, Sale and diſtribution of all the Books that ſhould treat about the *Reform'd* Doctrine. 1611.

He obſerv'd at the end of thoſe Articles, that the Catholicks would have no reaſon to wonder at their making new demands, ſince it was a thing that had been done by every body ſince the Kings Death; That the Catholicks of *Bearn* and the Jeſuits had done the ſame; That the *Reform'd* having loſt their main Security, by the Death of a King who could protect them againſt Violent Councils, were excuſable in taking new precautions; That nevertheleſs, thoſe they deſir'd were for the moſt part relateing to the Conceſſions of that Prince. *Excuſes of the demands that ſeemed to be new.*

1611. *Continuation of the Instructions.*

In the next place, he propos'd to desire, that the Places that had been allowed for the Exercise of their Religion, for certain Towns, in places that were too distant, should be remov'd nearer, to the end that they might be the better secured against the Insolence of the People, by the facility of making their application to the Magistrates; That the Article relating to Church-Yards, which expos'd them to so many Barbarities, should be reform'd; their Corps being often taken out of the Grave again, long after their Interment, That such Preachers and Confessors, as taught that those who hold any Communication with the *Reform'd*, serve and assist them, are Damn'd, might be punish'd as Seditious Persons, and infractors of the Edicts: That two places of Masters of Request might be given to the *Reform'd*, the first time *Gratis*; and a Notary's Place in every Royal Tribunal, or at least in every place of Surety, paying a moderate Fine for the same; That the Jesuits should not be allowed to reside in the places of Surety; That some Towns might be allow'd to them at an easie rate, in such Provinces where they had none, and where there was a great number of *Reform'd*; That they might be allow'd to hold a General Assembly every other Year; That the Deputys General, two in number, nominated by the Assembly, might reside at Court at the King's Charge; That the Provincial Deputies might apply themselves to the General without being oblig'd to make their application to the Governours and Lieutenants General of the Provinces.

Assembly of Saumur and the Quality of the Deputies.

The Provincial Assemblies having partly followed *du Plessis Memoirs* in their Instructions, the Deputies repair'd from all Parts to *Saumur*, where they met to the number of Seventy Persons, among which there were Thirty out of the Body of the Nobility, including those that had been desir'd to assist at the said Assembly without an express Deputation; as the Dukes of *Bouillon*, of *Sully*, and several others. The Dukes of *Rohan* and of *Soubise* were there as Deputies for the Province of *Brittain*; The Count of *Panjas* and *la Force* for the lower *Guyenne*: *Chattillon* Grand-Son to the Admiral, for the lower

Lan-

Languedock: The Marquiſs of *Servieres* for the upper *Guyenne*. *Leſdigueres* had ſent *Bellujon* thither, to manage his Intereſts; and whereas he was not as yet certain whither he could confide in the Court, he was willing to remain in the Union of the reſt of the *Reform'd*. *Rochel* which held the Rank of a Province, had four Deputies there; and the Principality of *Bearn* had as many, but there was ſomething very ſingular in relation to that Princpality, which kept at a diſtance upon the account of their Priviledges. As there had been a neceſſity to make a particular Edict to regulate the *Reform'd* Religion there, they pretended that the Edict of *Nantes* was not made for them. For which reaſon they joyn'd with the other Provinces, rather as a Confederate Province, than as a Member of the ſame Body; leſt in caſe the Union were ſtrickter, that which might happen to thoſe that were regulated by the Edict of *Nantes* would extend to them, and prejudice their particular Priviledges. The Court had carefully manag'd that overture of diviſion even in *Henry* the Fourth's time, and ſince his Death they look'd upon it as an occaſion to begin the ruine of the Party; becauſe they might allege to the reſt of the *Reform'd*, while they oppreſsed their Brethren of *Bearn*, that whereas that Province was not a Member of their Body, and did not live under the ſame Laws, they had no reaſon to complain of the alterations that were deſign'd there. The ſequel will ſhow how the Court made uſe of that Expedient to overwhelm the *Reform'd*, who had been amus'd by the illuſion of a Royal Promiſe. But now it will ſuffice to ſay, that the Council would not allow the Complaints of that Province to be inſerted in the General * *Cahier*, and that they were oblig'd to make a particular Petition

1611.

How thoſe of Bearn aſſiſt at it.

*Petition or Addreſs.

There were alſo 20 Miniſters deputed in the ſaid Aſſembly, and 16 Elders: and whereas this had a reſemblance to the States General, which the *Reform'd* ſeemed to imitate, by theſe three different orders of Deputies, that Conſideration, and ſeveral others as trivial and as vain, were us'd to perſuade the Queen, and particularly the King, a Prince who was

1611. jealous of his Authority, even in his tendereſt Years, tho in his riper years he never had the power to preſerve it, that it was a kind of Republick, and State within the State, which the *Reform'd* deſign'd to erect to maintain themſelves. Moreover it was obſerv'd in that Aſſembly that the Deputies of ſome Provinces had ſign'd their Credentials themſelves, and had ſign'd them alone, whither it were that fear had hindered the Heads of the Provincial Aſſemblys from putting their names to it; or whither Diviſion had already produc'd that effect in the Provinces adjacent to the Court; or finaly, whither not having been able, or not having dar'd to form Particular Aſſemblies, they had been forc'd to an unuſual way of proceeding to make that Deputation. However the Aſſembly having heard their reaſons, laid aſide Forms, and acknowledged them lawful Deputies of their Provinces.

Toleration for defective Deputations.

Inconſtancy of the Marſhal de Bouillon about Preſidentſhip.

But there happen'd a misfortune at the very Overture of the Aſſembly which neither time, nor the urgency of Affairs could ever repair. The Marſhal *de Bouillon* had often declared to divers perſons, and had told *du Pleſſis* by the Dutcheſs *de la Trimouille* his Siſter-in-Law, That in order to avoid Diſcord and Jealouſie, it was neceſſary not to give the Preſidentſhip to a Lord of the greateſt Quality. This ſeem'd to proceed from a very good intention; by reaſon that he being the moſt likely perſon to obtain that honour, upon the account of his Age, of his Experience, and of his Quality, he ſeem'd to renounce to an acquir'd Right for fear of creating jealouſies among thoſe who had not near his Merit, or Quality: He never ſeem'd to alter his ſentiment, untill his firſt advice had been approv'd of by all thoſe who appear'd in the Aſſembly. *Du Pleſſis* had had time enough to communicate it to all the Deputies, becauſe the Marſhal came to *Saumur* a day after all the reſt. They had ſo much conſideration for him, that they deferr'd the Overture of the Aſſembly, till his arrival. Without doubt they did very well to expreſs that reſpect for him, ſince he affected on ſo many occaſions during the whole Seſſion, to take offence

at

at their reſolutions, that it was eaſie to ſee that he had a mind to quarel with them; and that he would certainly have taken a pretence to do it, upon their not doing him the honour to tarry a day for him. He had ſaid nothing till he came within two or three Leagues of *Saumur*, by which any body could judge that he had altered his mind about the Preſidentſhip. But then he began to expreſs that he had another proſpect, and that he was ſo far from deſiring that the great Lords ſhould be excluded from that honour, that he pretended that it could not be given to any body but himſelf, without injuſtice. He expreſs'd himſelf publickly about it at *Saumur*; and carried the thing ſo far, that he deſir'd the Preſidentſhip as a thing that was due to him; intimating that he would look upon a refuſal as a ſencible affront. 1611.

The Aſſembly endeavour'd to divine the reaſon of that alteration; but they could do it no otherwiſe than by uncertain conjectures: ſome look'd upon it as an effect of the Flattery of ſome Deputies, who had perſwaded him that he was in ſome reſpect born Preſident of the General Aſſemblies; and that he ſhould wrong himſelf to ſuffer any other to be nominated in his Preſence. Others imagin'd that the reaſon of his firſt ſentiments proceeded from a deſign to hinder the Aſſembly which was then ſummon'd at *Chatelleraud*, from honouring the Duke of *Sully*, Governour of that Province with the Preſidentſhip; but that the orders being chang'd as to the place, by transferring of the Aſſembly to *Saumur*, where the Duke of *Sully* had no more intereſt than he, he judged that the ſaid precaution was no longer neceſſary. Others thought that this new advice came from the Court, and that he had promiſed the Queen Services which he would be better able to perform being Preſident, than having but one Vote to give, as a Member of the Aſſembly. *Du Pleſſis* us'd his utmoſt endeavour to obtain that ſatisfaction for him, and the Election of a Preſident was defer'd upon that very account, untill the Afternoon, tho it was uſual to name him before the Sermon of the Over- *Of which the reaſons are unknown.*

1621. Overture. But neither the reasons of *du Plessis*, and the example of his Province, nor yet the threatnings of the Marshal who protested that he would retire, incase they refused him the Presidentship, could prevail, nor hinder Ten Provinces out of Sixteen from electing *du Plessis* President. None but six gave their Votes for the Marshal. *Chamier* Minister of *Montelimar* was nominated Associate to *du Plessis*; and *Des Iordes Mercier*, Son to that *Mercier* so famous for his Learning in the *Hebrew* Tongue, was elected Secretary. The Marshal express'd his discontent by so many marks, that *du Plessis* thought himself oblig'd to make excuses nor to accept the honour that was done him; and to go out of the Assembly to let them deliberate about his excuses. But he was unanimously desired to accept the Place that was given him by the Plurality of Voices. Without doubt there enter'd some jealousie in that Nomination: And whereas there were Provinces whose Deputies would not have yielded to the Marshal of *Bouillon*, it is very likely that they chose rather to give the first Rank to a Man, who could not pretend to it, unless it were by his Merit and Probity, than to the Marshal, who thought it due to his Quality. Moreover, *Sully* who look'd upon him as his Enemy, and who had great concerns to propose, undoubtedly prevail'd with his Friends not to do him the affront, to elect a Man President whom he had reason to dread every thing from.

Du Plessis is elected President.

He excuses himself in vain.

Discontent of the Marshal Duke.

The Marshal being highly exasperated at this slight, threatned highly to resent it, and to retire from *Saumur* the very next day. Nevertheless, the Night appeas'd part of his anger; and he was perswaded out of some considerations not to make so much haste. *Du Plessis* gave him the best reasons he could think on; and protested to him, that he had never sought after the honour that was done him, either directly, or indirectly; made sincible remonstrances to him about the liberty that ought to be allow'd to the Churches on those occasions; alleviated the offence by all the Turns he could give to it, and particularly by the deference he express'd for him, during all the Session.

But

But tho the Marſhal ſeem'd ſatisfied with thoſe Civilities, he ſhow'd in the ſequel that he had not forgot his threatnings to be reveng'd. Nevertheleſs, a Reconciliation was made between him and *Sully*; and after they had told one another whatever they had to ſay, they concluded by reciprocal Proteſtations of Friendſhip. After this the Marſhals mind ſeem'd to be moved again by the ſpirit of Concord, and to aim at the Publick good, as well as the reſt of the Aſſembly. His advices were great and bold in divers occaſions: eſpecially in the Caſe of the Baron *de Senevieres*, Governour of *Chatillon* upon *Indre*. That Gentleman had lately embrac'd the *Reform'd* Religion: which had excited the Catholicks of the Town to the utmoſt fury againſt him. They took up Arms againſt him, and reſolved to demoliſh all the fortifications of the Caſtle; and in order to hinder *Senevieres* from living there, to ruin all the Places in which he could have inhabited conveniently. The Marſhal of *Bouillon* made an Ordinance upon that Subject, to appeaſe the Inhabitants. But what he did to ſatisfie them only ſerved to exaſperate them the more: ſo that *Senevieres* was reduced to great extreams, had not the Aſſembly undertaken his defence. 1611.

Who ſeems to be reconcil'd to the Duke of Sully.

And Intereſſes himſelf for Senevieres.

And indeed it behoved them not to neglect an affair of that Conſequence. It was a new place which *Senevieres* did put into the hands of the *Reform'd*: and it was their intereſt to maintain thoſe that imbrac'd their Religion, to the end that ſuch as ſhould be inclined to do it for the future, might not be diſwaded from it out of fear of loſing their Imployments. Moreover, the moſt Important Priviledge of the Edict, was that, which declared the *Reform'd* capable of all ſorts of Imployments: and it was a viſible derogation of that Priviledge, to conſent that a Man who was in poſſeſſion of an imployment while he was a Catholick, ſhould be deprived of the ſame for changing his Religion: Since that being either Catholick or *Reform'd* he was equally qualified for it. But beſides the intereſt of *Senevieres*, and that of the general Cauſe, there was yet another which obliged the Aſſembly

The Aſſembly do's the ſame.

1611. Aſſembly to concern themſelves in that Affair. There was a report of another Governour who was hindered of declaring himſelf, out of fear of being turned out of his Government the next day. All this determined the Aſſembly to take *Senevieres* cauſe in hand: and by the advice of the Marſhal *de Bouillon* himſelf, who ſent one of his attendants, to inquire about the exceſſes committed by the Catholicks, they deputed the Baron of *Senas* to the Court, with poſitive Inſtructions; reſolving not to treat about any thing with the King's Commiſſioners which were expected at *Saumur*, untill they had obtained ſatisfaction for that diſorder.

The Court evades and the Marſhal fulfils of

But this Reſolution produced but little effect. The Court evaded the Petitions of the Aſſembly by an illuſory Commiſſion, which was given to *Frere* a Maſter of Requeſts, a Man often imployed in Affairs in which the ſimple were to be amuſed. This Commiſſioner maintained *Senevieres* in the Government, and in the Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle, but it was upon very hard Conditions, which leaving him the Title of Governor, nevertheleſs deprived him of the Authority of it. Among other Clauſes he oblig'd him to keep the Draw-Bridge ever down; and to keep but five Servants about him: which expoſed him to all the enterprizes of the Catholicks. The Marſhal *de Bouillon* after having ſeen the King's Commiſſioners, refuſed to ſpeak any further for *Senevieres*; neither did he ſuffer himſelf to be moved by the Remonſtrances of the Aſſembly. As for the Governour who ſeemed to be diſpoſed to embrace the *Reformed* Religion, he was exhorted to make his Declaration ſpeedily; and the Aſſembly promiſed to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to protect him.

The Oath of Union.

The Affair of *Senevieres* was treated of on the very firſt day of the Aſſembly. The next day they renewed the Oath of Union, which had been taken on other occaſions of the like nature; and a Draught was made of it, which only contain'd two points: The one was Obedience to the King; and the other Concor'd and no Self-

Inte-

Intereſt among the *Reform'd*, for their Common Preſervation under the Protection of the King, and within the bounds of their Allegiance. And yet this Oath was ſo ill obſerv'd, that even during the Seſſion of the Aſſembly, Diſcord and Intereſt were like to ruin all. Nevertheleſs all the Deputies took it without the leaſt ſcruple; and the Duke of *Sully*, who had formerly oppos'd thoſe Renovations of Union, was not one of the leaſt diligent to enter into it; becauſe he was ſencible that the Common Cauſe would ſecure his. They took another Oath, which oblig'd all the Members not to make Brigues to obtain the Nomination of Deputies General, or to be imploy'd in the Deputations that ſhould be ſent to the Court. This Oath was as ill kept as the firſt; and thoſe Brigues were made almoſt publickly. In the next place Commiſſioners were nam'd to draw the * *Cahiers* of the Complaints and demands they ſhould have occaſion to make; and an order was made that all ſuch as ſhould have any ſecret or important Affairs to propoſe, ſhould declare the ſame to the Moderators, before they mention'd them to the Aſſembly.

1611.

Another Oath againſt underhand dealing both ill kept.

* *Petitions*

The Duke of *Sully*'s Affair was treated of at Large: He made a long Remonſtrance to the Aſſembly: He anſwer'd the Complaints of thoſe who had found fault with his giving his Demiſſion without having firſt conſulted the advice of the Provinces: And he alleg'd for his Reaſons, that he had been preſs'd too much to have time to conſult them; Beſides that the Queen had given notice of it her ſelf, in cauſing the News of his deſtitution to be writen every where. That he did not dare to complain, for fear of offending the Court in ſaying the truth. That he had not conſented to his fall out of choice, but obedience; and that he had been forc'd to do it in ſome meaſure. That nevertheleſs he had done nothing as yet in relation to the recompence he might pretend; not having taken any reſolution about it yet, ſo that it was ſtill time enough to take advice: and he deſir'd it upon four things: *Firſt*,

They examine the Affair of the Duke of Sully, who makes a long diſcourſe to explain it.

1611. Whether he ſhould leave all things as they were? that is never more to mention a reſtabliſhment, or recompence. *Secondly*, Whether ſuppoſing that he ſhould ſpeak about it again, he ſhould deſire only to be re-eſtabliſh'd in his Places? And, *Thirdly*, Whether all hopes of being reſtor'd to them being taken away, he ſhould accept the Recompence that was offer'd to him. From thence he took occaſion to make the fourth Queſtion, *viz.* Whether in caſe he ſhould accept a Recompence, he ſhould receive one of Honour and Safety, or of Profit and Convenience: that is, whether he ſhould deſire a Marſhal's Staff, or a new Government; which he call'd Honour and Safety? or whether he ſhould accept the 300000 Livers; which he call'd Profit and Convenience? After this he deſir'd the Aſſembly above all things to conſider whether his affair was General, and related to the Obſervation of the Edict, or whither it was particular to himſelf. In the next place he endeavour'd to excuſe the Queen, tho ſhe was the real cauſe of his diſgrace. He alſo added a recital of the Services he had done the State; of which he alledg'd for proofs, of one ſide the ſatisfaction the King had expreſs'd to him about it; and on the other the Compariſon of the State of Affairs, when the Adminiſtration of it was committed to his care, and when it was taken from him. His remonſtrance would have been very moving, if to all this he could have join'd ſome marks of his Services to his Religion, and to the Churches of *France*, while it was in his power to do it.

The Aſſembly is of opinion that this Affair concerns their Religion.

The Aſſembly declar'd that the Duke of *Sully*'s Affair concern'd all the Churches; ſince that conſidering his great and known Services, no reaſon could be given for his fall but his Religion. They concluded that he ought to accept no other recompence for his Services but of Honour and ſafety. They promis'd to order the Deputies General to joyn with him in the proſecution of that affair. They deſir'd both him and his Son not to lay down the remainder of their Places: and they promis'd to aſſiſt him by all lawful means, in caſe he ſhould be unlawfully proſecuted;

ted; which they would incert in the Inſtructions of the Deputies General. This Protection was due to the Duke by the Churches, if it be true that his affection for them tranſported him beyond the bounds of Prudence and Reſpect, in the Council where *Villeroy* propos'd to put a Garriſon of *Switzers* into *Lyons*, contrary to his advice, as I have heretofore related it. Things went ſo far between thoſe two Lords, and *Villeroy* ſpoke of *Sully* and of the *Reform'd* in terms which expreſs'd ſo much contempt, and inveterate averſion, that it is ſaid, that *Sully* anſwer'd him that he would find a way to hinder him from ſacrificing them to the Policy of *Spain*: and that he even threatned to ſtrike him, which added a potent Reaſon to thoſe which the Cabal of *Spain* had already to remove that ſurly ſuperintendent out of the Treaſury, and to ruin his Credit. The Remonſtrance he had made to the Aſſembly, being deſign'd for the Publick, as well as for them, the Copys he diſpers'd of it occaſion'd the Anſwer of an unknown Perſon, Intituled *Advertiſement given by an Overſeer of* Charenton *to the Aſſembly of* Saumur. 1611.

Anonymous Anſwer to the Duke's diſcourſe.

It was properly a Satyr againſt the Duke, which under the Notion of remonſtrating what anſwer ought to be made to his four Queſtions, turn'd him into Ridicule in a very ſcornful manner. The Author in the firſt place told them that it was not neceſſary to exhort the Duke to keep the Places he had left, becauſe he was ſufficiently inclin'd to do it of himſelf. That they ſhould adviſe him to ſtick to his firſt propoſition, *viz.* To leave things in the State in which they were, without endeavouring either to be reſtor'd, or to receive a recompence; and to egg on his Generoſity in that point. That they ſhould remonſtrate to him that it would be vain to attempt the ſecond, *viz.* To be reſtor'd; ſince his Place was taken, and in the poſſeſſion of a Man as eaſie of Acceſs, and as Civil, as *Sully* had been difficult and Surly: It was *Schomberg*, who was as laviſh, as *Sully* had been rigorouſly ſparing. That as to the Third, about the recompence that was offer'd him,

1611. they ſhould perſuade him to ſubmit to the King who would have him to accept it. That upon the Fourth, which related to the nature of the Recompence, he ought to declare himſelf about it. That what was befallen him, ought to be look'd upon as one of thoſe Eclipſes of Fortune, which are ſo frequent; and which only relating to himſelf, did no wiſe concern the *Reform'd* Religion in general. That Kings were common Fathers to all their Subjects, and uſe them all alike. That the Aſſembly would be to blame to Inſiſt too much in that affair, and to take the Dukes part: That both the Catholicks and Proteſtants would would find fault with it, as well as with the Oath of Union which they exacted from the Nobility: and he compar'd that Ingagement, *en paſſant*, to the League which had been abhor'd by every body. He reflected upon the Duke, who was one of the firſt that ſign'd the ſaid Union, of which he had formerly condemn'd the Example in the Leaguers. He made a diſtinction between Places that were Hereditary and ſuch as were properly only Commiſſions; and maintain'd that when ever Kings gave Places of that kind, they retain'd the liberty of diſpoſing of them at pleaſure: which was the Duke of *Sully*'s caſe; The ſuperintendence not being an Office, but a Commiſſion. In order to deſtroy the Vanity he drew from his Services, he reflected upon the Riches he had got: and becauſe they knew that he was in dread of his Perſon, he aſſur'd him poſſitively that the Court had no ſecret deſign againſt him: but told him indirectly that they were not ſo much affraid of him, but that they might undertake it openly, when ever they had a mind to it. The whole concluded by a ſmart ſenſure on the Aſſembly for meddling with affairs of that Nature, which were out of their Province; and by an Exhortation to them, to keep within the bounds of Humility and Modeſty, as well as of Duty.

The like Writings in Vogue during the Seſſions of the Aſſembly.

Works of this kind were very much in Vogue during the Seſſion of the Aſſembly. Several Satyrs were publiſh'd againſt the Reform'd Religion, and againſt thoſe that had been imploy'd during

during the Life of the Late King. The Catholicks seem'd inclin'd to be reveng'd on the *Catholicon*, which had discover'd the Ridicule of the Designs and Actions of the League so agreably. Pamphlets came out daily in imitation of it; Harangues, Discourses, Pictures, Tapstry work, *&c.* We may place in that number a Letter publish'd under the name of a *Reform'd*, Printed with the Publishers Name to it, which spoke very ill of the Assembly of *Saumur*. The Author divided the *Reformed* into three orders; of which he call'd one the *Malicious* the other, *Zealous*, and the Third, *Judicious*. The *Malicious* according to his Notion, were either Ambitious, or Self-Interested; and desir'd nothing but War, as the readiest way to rise or grow Rich. He ascrib'd Nine or Ten Reasons to them which they made use of, to persuade the others to be of their Sentiments. *First*, The consideration of the Minority, which emboldned their Enemies to attempt every thing. *Secondly*, The Conspiracy of the Pope, the Jesuits, and the Clergy against the *Reformation*. *Thirdly*, The hatred of several Members of the Council against them. *Fourthly*, The Queen's easie Temper, which might easily be workt upon in order to their Ruin. *Fifthly*, The dread that all these things might easily form a Party to Exterminate them, before their being in a Condition to make a defence. *Sixthly*, Their being refus'd Justice in divers Places, and upon divers Points. *Seventhly*, The Places and Governments that were taken from some of them without the least pretence. *Eightly*, The Practices and Intreagues that were us'd to Corrupt their best Heads. *Ninthly*, The Pensions that were offer'd to some of them to betray the secrets of their Brethren. *Tenthly*, Finally, the divisions, and diffidences that were sown among them to weaken them, which they were persuaded proceeded from the Court. It is apparent by this that the Person who had writen this Pamphlet was very well acquainted with their affairs, since he explain'd so openly the Reasons the *Reform'd* had to be afraid; and perhaps taught them some which they only suspected: as Practices and Pensions. The

1611.

A *Satyical Letter which divides the* Reform'd *into three Orders.*

Malicious.

1611. *Zealous.* The *Zealous*, according to this Author, were naturally Jealous, and their Maxim was, that diffidence is the Mother of Safety. The Writer mixing Railery, with ſerious Reflections in this place, made them ſay that *Huguenot*, and Jealous, were Relatives, and were the Conſequence of each other, as *Monk* and *Shav'd*. This diſpoſition of their minds, continued he, render'd them the ſport of the *Malicious*, who met in them fit Inſtruments ready to ſerve their Ambition and Avarice. *Judicious.* The *Judicious*, according to him, were only thoſe who look'd upon Civil War as the worſt of all Evils, and who in order to avoid it, kept within the bounds of obedience. He endeavour'd after that to refute the Reaſons of Fear, which he had alledg'd: But his Arguments were not ſtrong enough to deſtroy them: And whereas the only remedy he propos'd againſt the Conſpiration of the Jeſuits and of the Clergy, was the ſincerity and promiſes of the Council; the Authority of the Parliaments, and notable Societies, and the good will of the Queen, we may ſay that he confirm'd thoſe Reaſons, inſtead of refuting them; ſince the main reaſon that allarm'd the *Reform'd*, was that they found little Sincerity in the Council, little Juſtice in the Parliaments; and waving her Intentions, little ſolidity in the Mind of the Regent. *Character of the Queen.* She was Turbulent, Revengeful, Ambitious, could not contain her ſelf: and thoſe who did not love her, ſaid, that ſhe had all the ill Qualifications of *Catherin de Medicis*; but none of her great and Royal Inclination. She was like her in being prepoſſeſs'd in favour of Aſtrology; and the advice of the beſt Politicians could not prevail over the Obſervations of *Fabroni*, who drew Figures of the State of Heaven, upon all things of Importance that related to that Princeſs. The Truth is, that whether accidentally, or otherwiſe, he ſucceeded in divers of his Predictions, which the event proved to be as juſt, as could be. That of the King's illneſs, which ſtopt him by the way, going from *Paris*, to give orders about the defence of the Coaſts of his Kingdom, againſt the Deſcent threatned by the Engliſh, prov'd exactly

exactly according to the Prediction of the ſaid Aſtrologer: and that of another fit of Sickneſs which the ſaid Prince had at *Lyons* ſome years after it, prov'd no leſs exact. So that the Queen had as much Faith in his Predictions, as if they had been ſo many Oracles. This Credulity ruin'd all her affairs: and the ſame thing happen'd to her which commonly happens to all thoſe who are Govern'd by the like Maxims; that is, ſhe could neither obtain the advantages that were promis'd to her by the Stars, nor avoid the misfortues ſhe was threatned with. At leaſt we may find by the comparing of the Lives of thoſe two Queens, that the one was much happier than the other. *Catherin* who had ſo often expos'd the State within an Inch or two of Ruin, to retain the pleaſure of Commanding, nevertheleſs maintain'd her Credit almoſt to the laſt moment of her Life: But *Mary* ſoon loſt her Authority, and received a Cruel Puniſhment for her Intreagues towards the latter end of her Days. The firſt found all her Council in her own head, and wanted no body to guide or direct her: The laſt was too much govern'd by her Paſſions and her Confidents. Nevertheleſs the Author I am ſpeaking of, enlarg'd very much upon her praiſe, and repreſented her as a Princeſs that had never had an equal. That was the Stile of thoſe daies; and ſordid flatteries became ſo much in vogue, that even thoſe who baniſh'd her from the Government, rais'd her up to the Skies, by their Elogy's. She had wherewithal to comfort her ſelf even in her Exile, if ſhe took any delight in Panegyricks: the only good her Enemies allow'd her. The Author concluded with upbraiding the *Reform'd*, for the haughtineſs he found in their behaviour. He accus'd them of demanding favours, in the ſame tone as *Spaniards* ask for Alms; That is with a drawn Sword, and haughty Air, as if they had requir'd the payment of a juſt debt: and he would perſuade them that they had no juſt pretence either of fear or jealouſy. 1611.

It

1611. It would have been eaſie to have made a more judicious diſtribution of the *Reform'd*, by dividing them into three; *viz.* The Lords of eminent Quality, who made uſe of the others for their particular ends: The Perſons of Integrity, who were ſencible that no good could be expected from a Council govern'd by the Jeſuits; and who for that reaſon, endeavour'd by all lawful means to ſecure themſelves againſt Perfidious, Implacable Enemies: and the Timerous, who were either naturally weak and indifferent, or ſoftned and made tractable by the Artifices of the Court. The firſt and laſt, occaſion'd all the Evil: Thoſe made uſe of the Zeal of the ſecond, to make themſelves conſiderable at Court; and theſe abandon'd the others as ſoon as the Court offer'd them a ſhaddow of quiet.

The Character of the Reform'd.

From whence the reports proceeded that the Aſſembly deſign'd to make War.

I will obſerve in this place before I proceed any farther, the Cauſe of thoſe Writings againſt the Aſſembly. No means were omitted to create jealouſies in the Catholicks about it, as ſoon as the *Reform'd* had obtain'd leave to hold it. It was reported that they deſign'd to make exceſſive demands; and to take up Arms to compel the Court to grant them. The *Memoirs* ſent into the Provinces, to ſerve as a project for the Inſtructions of the Deputies which the particular Aſſemblies did ſend into the General; of which the Court had an account by their Penſionaries, did not a little contribute towards the confirmation of thoſe common reports. The demands which ſome of the Provincial Aſſemblies added to thoſe of the ſaid Memoirs, likewiſe contributed conſiderably towards it. Thoſe who had ſeen the Aſſembly of *Milhau*, recall'd it to mind upon this. They ſaid that of five things that had been propos'd in it, there only remain'd two unobtain'd, *viz.* Two Places of ſurety in every Province in which the *Reform'd* had none; and that the Tithes of the *Reform'd* might be imploy'd for the payment of their Miniſters. They magnified the Conſequences of the Union the Aſſembly was to ſwear; ſaying that thereby, the *Reform'd* would oblige themſelves to maintain each other in all the Governments; and in all the Offices the

late

late King had given them; even in all the * Places they held, beſides thoſe that were ſet down in the Breef of the Places of Surety. And whereas it was not likely that the Court would comply with all thoſe things, they concluded that the *Reform'd* were going to take meaſures in order to make a War. But that which is moſt to be wonder'd at, is that there were ſome among the *Reform'd* who ſeconded thoſe extravagant reports. The Marſhal of *Bouillon* was one of them; and ſome accus'd him of having told ſome Catholick Citizens and others at his going from *Saumur*, the Aſſembly being broke up that they had a Peace at laſt; but that it had been obtain'd with a great deal of pain and trouble. Nevertheleſs, all the reſt of the Aſſembly proteſted that they had never mention'd the leaſt thing tending to a War, during the whole Seſſion This reproach was made to the ſaid Lord with a great deal of ſharpneſs by the Dukes of *Rohan* and of *Sully*, who fell out publickly with him. It is very likely that he had no other deſign in ſpreading this report, but to perſuade the Queen that he had done her great Services; and that he was of great uſe to her to keep the *Reform'd* within the bounds of their duty. However this made deep Impreſſions upon the People; and notwithſtanding the proteſtation of Sixty Perſons, who affirm'd that the Aſſembly had not had the leaſt thoughts of War, the Court at that very time alledg'd the ſaid pretended deſign of a Civil War as a Crime againſt the *Reform'd*, and did ſince renew the ſaid accuſation againſt them, as if it had been plainly verify'd. 1611.

* *Cities, Towns, or Forts, &c.*

The ancient Enemies of the *Reform'd* who did at that very time take all their meaſures in order to deſtroy them, ſeconded that report as much as in them lay, and they made People take ſuch extraordinary Precautions in divers places againſt this Chimerical War, that they created real ſuſpicions in the *Reform'd*, who could not imagine the reaſon of thoſe panick fears. Whether the Court really enter'd into thoſe fears, or whether they ſeem'd to credit them out of policy, in order to remove Perſons from thence which

Artifices of the ancient Enemies of the Reform'd.

1611. were troubleſome to them, they took that pretence to ſend the Duke *d' Epernon* to his Governments, and the Prince of *Conde* into *Guyenne*. Moreover they cunningly caus'd it to be reported that the Prince would go through St. *John d' Angeli*, in order to bury the Prince his Father, who by reaſon of the Law-Suits in which his Widdow had been involv'd upon the account of his Death, had not as yet receiv'd the laſt Duties. That City was one of the moſt conſiderable of thoſe that were in the hands of the *Reform'd*. The Prince was born and had been bred there by the *Reform'd*, untill the time they reſtor'd him to *Henry* the IV. So that his Name was ſtill held in great veneration in the ſaid City; and there was a great deal of reaſon to fear his Credit, in caſe he ſhould attempt any thing there. The Governour who was the Duke of *Rohan*, and his Lieutenant *La Roche Beaucour*, were both abſent at that time, being Deputed into the Aſſembly: ſo that there was no Perſon of Authority in the City, to oppoſe the Princes deſigns. Therefore the Aſſembly thought fit to ſend *La Roche Beaucour* thither, under pretence to receive the Prince, and to hinder him from burying his Father with the Roman Ceremonies; until he receiv'd new orders from them upon that Subject: but the true motive of it was to prevent the Prince's attempting ſome greater thing by the by. Thus the ſame pretence ſerv'd at once, for the one to lay the ſnare, and for the other to prevent it. If the Prince had any deſign, that diligence prevented it for that time, and ſav'd the Place, but they loſt *La Roche Beaucour*, who had like ſoon after to have deliver'd it into the Queen's Power.

Several Catholick Citys take up Arms.

There alſo appear'd marks of a great dread in other places. Some Catholick Cities in *Poitou* and in *Limouſin* put themſelves in a poſture of defence, as if they had been afraid of a ſurprize: other Towns did the ſame upon the River *Loire*. Even *Chartres* tho at a great diſtance from the Aſſembly, and almoſt at the very Gates of *Paris*, took up Arms, and plac'd *Corps de Guard* at their Gates. Things pro-

proceeded farther yet at *Orleans*: An unknown Perſon, or one at leaſt whom they would not ſuffer to be known, gave ſome advices there which tended to a Maſacre of the *Reform'd*. He frighten'd them with the deſigns of the Aſſembly, and told them that the *Reform'd* had appear'd in Troops about the Walls of the City, with a deſign to make themſelves Maſters of it. Thoſe Inſinuations maliciouſly ſown among the People, excited a violent Sedition. Some of the Citizens prov'd ſo ſimple as to cry out to Arms: They made Baricado's in the avenues: They us'd as many precautions as if *Orleans* had already been block'd up by the Enemy: The Magiſtrates ſearch'd the Houſes of the *Reform'd* for Arms, which they were inform'd had been laid up there. This exactneſs ſav'd them from the fury of the People; by reaſon that they found neither Arms nor Ammunition, nor the leaſt ſigns of any ſuch enterprize among them. After the Sedition was ſtopt in this manner, an enquiry was made after the Authors of it, and one of the Inhabitants who firſt cry'd out to Arms was put in Priſon. But he was transferr'd to *Paris*, where he dy'd in Priſon before his Tryal in a very ſuſpicious manner. It was reported that he dy'd out of fear, thinking that it was impoſſible to avoid the puniſhment he had deſerved. But the *Reform'd* who did penetrate into the ſecret deſign of thoſe movements, and who were ſenſible what their ancient Enemies the Jeſuits were capable of, ſuſpected that he was put to death, in order to remove a Witneſs of their ſecret Intreagues. 1611.

The Duke of *Sully* made a journey from *Saumur* to *Chatelleraud*, at that time which the ill-intention'd alſo laid hold of; and all thoſe things gave them an occaſion to call to mind the year 1562, and 1567. in which the *Reform'd* ſeiz'd ſeveral Places, to hinder the Court, whoſe deſigns they had notice of from ſurprizing them, they not being in a poſture of defence. The Aſſembly being inform'd of theſe Tranſactions, and not thinking themſelves ſafe, order'd *du Pleſſis* to raiſe 150 Men, to reinforce the Garriſon of *Saumur*:

1611. *mur:* and they were so unwilling to offend the King, that they writ to him to beg his leave for their raising of the said Men. All these circumstances being put together, may show that the Assembly had not the least thoughts of making War: by reason that if they had had any such design, those agitations of the Catholicks would have afforded them a plausible pretence to declare it. But had they done so, it would certainly have been said, that the discovery of their design had given the Catholicks cause to take such precautions as they did: whereas it cannot be deny'd, with the least appearance of Equity, that the *Reform'd* remaining quiet notwithstanding all these Seditions and taking up of Arms, the Catholicks were the Aggressors. Their design was to make the *Reform'd* commit some oversight, either to upbraid them with it, or to take an occasion from thence to exert more plausible Injustices against them for the future. But tho their design did not succeed, yet they endeavour'd to represent the false reports which had serv'd as a pretence to their allarms as real truths; and did publickly declare that the divisions which were form'd in the Assembly hinder'd them from making War: a thing which excepting the discourse of such as had a mind to please the Court, never had the least ground, besides the desire the Jesuits or their adherents had that it should prove true.

Du Plessis permits the Garison of Saumur, after having asked the King's leave for it.

Commissioners from the King to the Assembly.

During these transactions, *Boissise* and *Bullion* were deputed by the Court to the Assembly: They arriv'd at *Saumur* some times after the overture; and were at first visited by six Members of the Assembly, by whom they were sent to Compliment them as soon as they had notice of their arrival. Two days after it they came to the Assembly, and deliver'd the Letters from the King and Queen, which excepting some terms of good will, only were Credentials. After the said Letters had been read with the usual marks of Respect; they assur'd the Assembly that his Majesty would perform what ever had been promis'd to them for the time past, and that whatever

ever might ſeem doubtful or ambigious ſhould be inter- 1611.
preted favourably; after which they exhorted them to proceed with ſpeed to the Nomination of ſix Perſons, out of which the King was to chuſe two to reſide near him, and there to perform the general Deputation. *Du Pleſſis* anſwer'd in the Name of the Aſſembly; return'd thanks to the Commiſſioners, and promis'd a perpetual Obedience. After which they paſs'd from Compliments to deliberations: and during 12 or 14 Days they held Conferences with the King's Commiſſioners, who came ſometimes to the Aſſembly, and ſometimes receiv'd the Deputies at their Lodgings, to hear their propoſitions. Several of them were of great conſequence, which I will give an abſtract of elſewhere. But I muſt obſerve in this place, that the Aſſembly having declar'd at firſt, that they would do nothing untill they had obtain'd ſatisfaction about the affair of *Senevieres*, the King's Commiſſioners deliver'd Letters to them upon that Subject; with a Copy of the Decree of the Council, which impower'd *Frere*, Maſter of Requeſts, to take informations of the ſaid buſineſs upon the Place, to try the Guilty, and to give a definitive Sentence, with the neighbouring Preſident, or Court of Judicature.

The Aſſembly expecting a better iſſue of this Commiſſion than it prov'd, were ſatisfied and apply'd themſelves to form the General * *Cahier*, in order to communicate it to the Commiſſioners. They thought they had been fully impower'd to treat and to conclude with them: but they were not ſent for that. Their Orders were to fruſtate, and to diſcover the intentions of the Aſſembly, to improve conjunctures, and particularly to oblige the Deputies to break up as ſoon as poſſible. They perform'd their Commiſſion punctually, and improv'd occaſions like skilful Politicians. As ſoon as *Luſignan*, *Aubigni*, and ſome others had communicated the chief demands of the Aſſembly to them, they anſwer'd that the alterations made to the Edict, were inconſiderable, and that the moſt conſiderable among the *Reform'd* had given their conſent to it; That during

* *Petition, or Addreſs.*

1611. during a Minority the Queen could not reverſe alterations that had been made with ſo much precaution; and that tho ſhe ſhould do it, it would be impoſſible to obtain the verification of it. Their anſwers upon the other Articles were in the ſame ſtile: and they began anew to preſs the nomination of the Deputies General; The preparation of the *Cahier*, which the two Deputies the King ſhould chuſe, were to be intruſted with; and the breaking up of the Aſſembly, which having only been allow'd of for the election of the Deputies General; and now occaſioning Jealouſies and diſidencies every where, ought to break up as ſoon as they had perform'd what they were impower'd to do.

They repeated the ſame things in the Aſſembly. They diſputed upon ſeveral Articles. They offer'd moreover to confer with the Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly upon all the Articles of the *Cahier*, if they thought it fit, as if they had been impower'd to come to any agreement: and in general they did not ſeem to find any thing unjuſt or exceſſive in the demands of the Aſſembly. But however as thoſe Conteſtations were contrary to their main deſign, *viz.* To oblige the Aſſembly to break up as ſoon as could be, they reſolv'd to declare that they were not impower'd to grant their demands. Therefore coming into the Aſſembly the next day, they renew'd the aſſurances they had already given of the King and Queen's good intentions, and remonſtrated that it would be more ſuitable to the Authority and Dignity of their Majeſties; and to the particular advantage of the *Reform'd* to addreſs themſelves to the King to obtain a favourable anſwer; promiſing on their parts to teſtifie their Obedience, and to uſe their endeavours to obtain what they deſir'd, by reaſon that they were ſenſible that the preſervation of the *Reform'd* was neceſſary towards the good of the State. This diſcourſe ended by the uſual concluſion of nominating ſix Perſons to the King, and to break up the Aſſembly.

Their

Their design was to render all the Resolutions of the Assembly ineffectual, and to oblige them to break up without any satisfaction, as it really happen'd: and it would have been done all of a sudden, had the nomination of the Six Deputies and the *Cahier* of the demands been sent at the same time: But the Assembly only followed the advice of the King's Commissioners in part: They sent their * *Cahier* to the Court, but they design'd to deferr the nomination of the six Deputies, until they had receiv'd an answer to their Complaints and demands. The design of the Court was quite different; and they would not give their answer till the nomination had been made, in order to dissolve the Assembly by authority, in case they would not be satisfied with such answers as should be given them. So they made their *Cahier*, and divided it into five Chapters, or different *Cahiers*. The First was the General *Cahier*, which contain'd 57 Articles. The Second was a Collection of particular Demands and Complaints. The Third contain'd the particulars of the private Articles of the Demands made by the Provinces, out of which the matter of the general Articles had been taken, and particularly of that which demanded the re-establishment of the Edict in its first extent. The Fourth was a *Memoir* of the Churches, which did complain that the exercise of their Religion was setled in distant places, and desir'd to have them transferr'd in nearer and more convenient places. The Fifth only related to the Places of Surety, of which the condition was set forth at large.

1611.

The Assembly sends Deputies to the Court.

* *Petition, or Address*

And makes Five Cahiers.

They would fain have joyn'd the Affairs of the Principality of *Bearn* to those of the other Provinces. But the Court prov'd inflexible upon that Subject. They would never suffer the Deputies to meddle with it: and those of *Bearn* was oblig'd to solicit their Affairs separately. The Assembly was desirous to set down one Article in their behalf in their General * *Cahier*; by which they humbly begg'd of the King to cause the Edict of 1599 to be maintain'd in *Bearn*, and to do the Deputies of the Country

The Court will have the Country of Bearn *to Treat separately.*

* *Petition.*

Justice

1611. Juſtice upon their Complaints. This Petition was writen in the Name of the united *Churches of France and Bearn*, to the end that it might appear that tho the Kingdom and that Principality had different Rights, in relation to the Political Government, yet there was ſomething common among them which united their Intereſts, *viz.* the Cauſe of Religion, and Liberty of Conſcience. They added in the ſaid Inſtructions that the Aſſemby would not be ſatisfi'd, unleſs the Deputies of *Bearn* were contented. The reaſon which oblig'd the Aſſembly to ſpeak thus, was that the Deputies of *Bearn* gave clear proofs that the Edict of 1599 was daily violated by the Catholicks; and that the Clergy almoſt openly declar'd their deſign to reaſume their former Power and Authority in the ſaid Province. But they were obligd to comply with the Court in this point; and to divide, though much againſt their will, the Churches of *Bearn* from thoſe of the other Provinces, in the proſecution of their Affairs.

Apparent Union in the Aſſembly.

While they were imploy'd about the *Cahier*, there ſtill appear'd Union in the Aſſembly. The Marſhal *de Bouillon* who together with *Leſdiguieres* and *du Pleſſis* had drawn the Memoirs on which the Provinces had form'd their Inſtructions, to the contents of which the Articles of the *Cahier* were limited, maintain'd and ſeconded them as much as any body; and gave reaſons to ſhow the Juſtice and neceſſity of the moſt Conſiderable, which remov'd all the difficulties others expected to meet in them. The Duke of *Sully* did not loſe that opportunity to ſhow that he preferr'd the Common Cauſe before his own. He made a new Diſcourſe to the Aſſembly, in which he declar'd that he did not deſire that the General Cauſe of the Churches ſhould be ingag'd for his Intereſt, and deſir'd them to alter the Articles that related to him. They return'd him thanks for his good Intentions, and left the Articles as they were. But when the time came to elect the Deputies to carry the * *Cahiers* and Letters of the Aſſembly to the King, they all broke out of a ſudden into Brigues and Factions. So that they had Conteſtations

* *Petitions or Addreſſes.*

teſtations even upon the manner of naming them; every one being deſirous to promote that which ſeem'd moſt favourable to his deſigns. Some propos'd to refer the Election to Chance, in which Intereſt cannot prevail: But finally, they reſolv'd to make the ſaid nomination by Provinces, and to ſubmit to the Plurality of Voices. Thus the Deputation fell to the Barons *de la Caſe* and *de Courtomer*, To *Ferrier* Miniſter of *Nimes*, and to *Mirande* and *Armet* of the * third Eſtate. Their Inſtructions differ'd but little from the *Cahiers* that were deliver'd to them: They were only allow'd to ſubmit to a ſmall number of Offices of Sergeants and Notaries, which the Aſſembly deſir'd for the *Reform'd* in every Baillywicke. The King's Commiſſioners had made a great buſineſs of that Article; as if the multiplication of Places and Offices had been very prejudicial to the State: but thoſe reaſons were never found very weighty, when the Court wanted Money: and the number of Offices has perhaps been increas'd one half ſince that time. The difficulty therefore did not proceed from the fear of overburthening the People: The Court has but little regard to that conſideration; but they had no mind to oblige the *Reform'd*, and publick good was alledg'd to them as a plauſible reaſon for a refuſal.

1611. *In which diſcord breaks out at laſt.*

* *The Commons.*

But the Chief Article of the Inſtructions was that which limitted the Power of the Deputies. The Aſſembly only allow'd them to Confer upon the Articles of the *Cahier*, in order to explain them, and to ſhow the Juſtice and Neceſſity of them: But they did not allow them to conclude any thing; and they refer'd the taking of their laſt Reſolution, till they had receiv'd an account of the intentions of the Court. The Reaſons they urg'd for putting ſuch Limitations to the power of their Deputies, was that the King's Commiſſioners not having had a fuller power, and not having been Authoris'd by the Court to proceed to the leaſt concluſion, it was not reaſonable for the Aſſembly to give their Deputies a greater Power. But the principal reaſon of ſeveral Members

The Power of the Deputies that carry the Cahier *is limited.*

1611. of the Aſſembly was, that they ſaw Perſons in that Deputation who had it by the Intereſt of the Marſhal *de Bouillon*: for which reaſon they ſuppos'd that they would be govern'd by him. His behaviour had confirm'd the ſuſpitions that were conceiv'd at the Overture of the Aſſembly, of his having Ingagements and Correſpondencies with the Queen: and conſequently that by putting the Power of Concluding into the hands of Perſons that were his Creatures, they would be expos'd to the Mercy of that Princeſs and of her Council. The Marſhal *de Bouillon* oppos'd thoſe reſtrictions as much as in him lay: and the thing being reſolv'd upon contrary to his Sentiment, he expreſt great diſſatisfaction at it. The Deputies alſo murmur'd at the ſmall Confidence that was repos'd in them: and they declar'd at their return, that had not their Power been limited ſo much, they would have brought more ſatisfaction to the Aſſembly: as if the Stubborneſs of the Court had only proceeded from their being offended at that defect. Thoſe Reflections after the Evil are very common in the World. People fancy always that other means would have prov'd more effectual, becauſe thoſe that have been us'd have not ſucceeded: and to cry *had ſuch or ſuch a thing been done*, is the Univerſal Remedy the Vulgar applys to Affairs which can no longer admit of any.

The Deputies are well received at Court, where they are flatter'd:

The Deputies were kindly received at Court: Commiſſioners were appointed to treat with them, and they were promis'd a quick diſpatch; and that their *Cahier* would be return'd to them with favourable Anſwers. They did not fail to flatter the Aſſembly with thoſe good hopes; but they vaniſh'd in a few Days. As ſoon as the Court was ſatisfied that there were ſeeds of Diviſion in the Aſſembly, which they might eaſily improve to their advantage, they chang'd their behaviour; and after ſeveral Conferences, the Deputies were told by the Chancellor that the * *Cahier* was anſwer'd; that the Places of Surety were allow'd them for five years longer: That 15000 Crowns more was granted

* *Petition, Addreſs, Demand,* &c.

ed them for the Sallery of their Miniſters, and ſome other Articles which might paſs for ſomething. But the Chancellor gave them to underſtand that all the reſt was favourably anſwer'd; yet that the *Cahier* ſhould not be return'd to them, no not ſo much as Communicated to them, nor the Breefs deliver'd into their hands, before the Nomination of the Deputies General. This anſwer neither ſatisfying them nor the Aſſembly, they were order'd to make earneſt ſolicitations, that the ſaid anſwers which were repreſented to them to be ſo favourable might be Communicated to them; and to promiſe that the Aſſembly would Nominate the Deputies General as ſoon as they had ſeen thoſe Anſwers, which they might rely upon in caſe the ſaid Anſwers were as advantagious as they reported. But they were yet leſs hearkned unto in thoſe Remonſtrances than they had been in the preceeding. Particularly when they expreſs'd that the Aſſembly was not ſatisfied with the ſubſtance of the Breef for the keeping of the Places, or Cities of Surety, becauſe it prejudic'd that which they had obtain'd in 1605, which confirm'd to them the keeping of all the Places they were poſſeſs'd of: whereas the new Breef was writen in terms which made them loſe part of them. But they were very much ſurpris'd when a Conteſtation was form'd upon the Breef of 1605, as if the Court had not believ'd it true: or that by ſome new Interpretation they had found the ſecret to pervert the ſence of it. That affront fell upon the Duke of *Sully*, who had been the Negociator of that Affair, and the bearer of the Breefs to the Aſſembly of *Chatelleraud*: as if what ever ſide the thing were taken, it had been certain that he had abus'd the King's Name, or had deceiv'd his Brethren. 1611. *And afterwards deceiv'd.*

But however this diſavowal of a Piece to which the late King's Name was prefix'd, appear'd ſo bold, that all Perſons of Sence judg'd thereby that the Court had evil Intentions; and that they were ſo well acquainted with the Foible of the *Reform'd*, that they were not affraid to

1611. offend them. A poſitive threatning was added to that anſwer, to ſend them an Order to retire in a very ſhort time, unleſs they obey'd willingly. Nevertheleſs they tarried ſtill until they had receiv'd new orders from the Aſſembly about that, and about the affairs of *Bearn*, which the Court would not allow them to meddle with. But they endeavour'd in vain to make new ſollicitations in the Council. Letters were deliver'd to them on the laſt of *July* for the Aſſembly, and they were commanded to retire. The truth is, that in order to ſoften that Order, they were told that *Bullion* who was come back from *Saumur* with his Collegue, about the ſame time the Deputies of the Aſſembly came away from thence, would go back thither with the *Cahier* and anſwer. The Deputies being arriv'd, gave the Aſſembly an account of their Journey; and deliver'd the Letters they had receiv'd. The ſubſtance of them anſwer'd the Verbal anſwer the Deputies had receiv'd. They mention'd the King's having receiv'd the *Cahier* as a great Inſtance of kindneſs, conſidering the reaſons he had not to receive it. Thoſe Reaſons were that the Cuſtom was to receive them from the Deputies General after the diſſolution of the Aſſembly; whereas the King had been pleas'd to receive this from particular Deputies, while the Aſſembly was in being and even before their having nominated their Deputies General. The ſame Letters preſs'd the Aſſembly, ſince they had nothing more to do, to proceed to the Nomination of ſix Perſons, and to break up immediately.

And proceeds to Threats.

The Court gives them Letters and Commands them to retire.

Ferrier, whom his Collegues pitch'd upon to be their Speaker, making his report of their Negociation to the Aſſembly, did it in ſuch a way as gave great ſuſpicions of Treachery; and they were ſufficiently confirm'd ſince by the ſequel of his Life. In the mean time the Aſſembly was unwilling to Nominate the ſix Perſons out of which the Court was to chuſe two, before they had heard what *Bullion* had to ſay. They were in hopes of waving that Nomination, as being contrary to the firſt Liberty of General

The Aſſembly tarrys for the return of the King's Commiſſioners.

And gives Reaſons not to chuſe ſix Deputies.

al Aſſemblies; as being introduc'd into the Aſſembly of *Chatelleraud*, for private Reaſons relating to the Marſhal of *Bouillon*, who was out of favour at Court at that time; whoſe Confidents and Creatures the King would not admit to reſide near him; as being afterwards made at *Gergeau* out of complaiſance to the King who would have it ſo. But they were of opinion that thoſe two ſingular Examples ought not to ſerve as Preſidents: Moreover all the Provinces had Inſtructions which requir'd the reſtoring of the Election of the Deputies General upon the former Foot; and that the Aſſembly ſhould only Nominate two, which the King ſhould be intreated to approve of. 1611.

Bullion being come, inſiſted upon the ſame things that were contain'd in the King's Letters, which the Deputies had remonſtrated. He alledg'd the Examples of *Chatelleraud* and *Gergeau*: He added that he had the * *Cahier* with the anſwers; that they ought to content themſelves with what they ſhould find upon the ſaid * *Cahier*; and that the Court having done whatever they could do, would grant nothing more. The Aſſembly being ſencible that this proceeding was not barely upon the account of formality as *Bullion* endeavour'd to perſuade them, refus'd to acquieſs without deliberation. And after having taken the Votes by Provinces, they remain'd in the reſolution to follow the Inſtructions which the Deputies had receiv'd: not to name above two Deputies General; and not to break up without having firſt receiv'd ſatisfaction; and to make moſt humble remonſtrancies to the Queen upon the whole. They acquainted *Bullion* with this Reſolution by expreſs Deputies; and ſoon after they deliver'd their Remonſtrances into his hands, and deſir'd him to ſend them to the Queen. He promis'd to do it; and did: but this ſhow of good will, was only a Cloak to cover other deſigns.

In which they perſiſt after having heard Bullion.

* *Petition written in one Column and the Anſwer in the other.*

When he was ſent back to *Saumur* he was order'd to take the Marſhal *de Bouillon*'s advice in all things, and to ſubmit

Artifices to undermine the ſteadineſs of the Aſſembly.

1611. mit to it; either because they were already sure of him: or because they design'd to bring him quite over to them by this shaddow of Confidence, *Bullion*'s chief endeavours were to persuade that the *Cahier* was answered in such a manner as would satisfie the most difficult: and he swore it in terms little suitable to his Age and Quality. He sometimes declar'd, that if what he said was not true, he would *be Damn'd Eternally*. The Reason which oblig'd him to make those horrible Oaths, was that the secret of the Answers made to the *Cahier*, had been ill kept. Several Persons were inform'd by very good hands that they were limited to a very inconsiderable matter. But whereas those extraordinary expressions did not blind every body, they set another Machine at work which prov'd more effectual. *La Varenne*, who had made his Fortune under the late King, by his Capacity in the Intreagues of Debauches, had been sent to *Saumur* without a Character, but with a secret Commission to Corrupt as many Persons as he could, in order to incline them to follow the Sentiments of the Court. This Man who knew how to promise and how to give, and who had learn'd among Women not to give over at the first Denial; and to overcome the first shame that hinder'd them from yielding to his promises, imploy'd his Time and his Pains effectually here. He barter'd for Votes almost publickly, and went from Door to Door to display the means of Corruption he was intrusted with.

Of which some Members suffer themselves to be Corrupted.

He prevail'd with some; he shook others, and the Oaths of *Bullion* coming to the assistance of the Presents and Promises of *La Varenne*, a small number of Deputies devoted themselves to the Court. Men must sometimes have a fit Reason to tell, when People wonder at their behaviour; altho it be not the Reason which moves them. They must have a plausible Motive, to conceal the real Motive they are asham'd of. People would blush to confess that they do Act for Money; but those never fear reproaches, who only fail through an excess of Credulity. The execrable Oaths

Oaths of a Conſiderable Man are a fair pretence to ſuffer 1611.
ones ſelf to be deceiv'd, in order to deceive others. There
alſo were others who tho incencible to bribes, ſuffer'd them-
ſelves to be deluded into the Snares of thoſe powerful
Affirmations, and condemn'd the Conſtancy of the Majori-
ty, who would ſee the Anſwers, before they would proceed
to any thing elſe. Nevertheleſs, all this could not amount
ſo high as to make ſo ſtrong a party as the Court deſir'd.
The Number of the Obſtinate ſurpaſs'd that of the Com-
plaiſant above one half. Inſomuch that all things being
decided in thoſe Aſſemblies by the Plurality of Votes, the
Court was certain to loſe her Cauſe.

The Marſhal *de Bouillon* found an Expedient for it: at *Dangerous Councel imputed to the Marſhal of Bouillon.*
leaſt it is imputed to him; and the effects ſhow'd it clear-
ly enough. It was to ſend for another Letter from the
Court more poſitive than the preceeding; to order the
Aſſembly expreſsly to Nominate ſix Perſons to the King;
to accept the Anſwers given to the *Cahier*, and to break
up; which declaring ſuch to be Rebels who ſhould re-
fuſe to obey without reply, ſhould Authoriſe the inferiour
Number to remain at *Saumur*, to make the ſaid Nomination,
and to accept the Articles. The ſubſtance of that Let-
ter was drawn at the Marſhal *de Bouillon*'s Houſe; who
had made his boaſt for ſome days that 30 of the De-
puties would obey the Order of the Court: and who, in
caſe the others ſhould retire, being unwilling to have a
ſhare in that Complaiſance, were reſolv'd to remain, to o-
bey the Queen in all things. The ſaid Letter was ſent
to the Court by *Bellujon*, who tarry'd two days after the
Courier to whom *Bullion* had given the Remonſtrances
of the Aſſembly. They thought thereby to conceal the
Mitery: but it was eaſily unridled. *Bellujon* took a falſe
pretence to go into *Berry*, to ſee ſome Relations of his
Wife, in order to obtain leave from the Aſſembly to ab-
ſent himſelf for ſome days. Within half a days Journey
from *Saumur*, he took Poſt for *Paris*. He was Convicted
of that deceit at his return; and caught in a Lye in two
Reaſons

1611. Reaſons he endeavour'd to give for his Journey: and finally he was ſo hard put to it, that he had no way to clear himſelf, but by confeſſing that he had done it by the Marſhal *de Bouillon*'s order. It was eaſie to judge that the Sentiments of *Leſdiguieres* were known to the Marſhal and to *Vullion*, ſince they ſo freely made uſe of *Bellujon* who belong'd to him, for ſuch enterpriſes. The Aſſembly cenſur'd *Bellujon* ſeverely for this Conduct; and enter'd the ſaid Cenſure among their other Reſolutions. They declar'd that his Deportment had render'd him unworthy to aſſiſt for the future in ſuch Aſſemblies; that nevertheleſs as he had a procuration from *Leſdiguieres*, they remitted the Judgment of it to him. Beſides the Journey I have mention'd, he had given the Aſſembly other Cauſes to treat him with Rigor. He had ſome differences with the Church of *Villemur*, a Place of which *Leſdiguieres* had given him the Government: and the ſaid Church having made grave and conſiderable Complaints againſt him, he had ſpoken of the Aſſembly with a ſcorn which amounted to Inſolence. But the Marſhal *de Bouillon*, being exaſperated to find all his deſigns fruſtrated by the Prudence or Courage of the Aſſembly, took *Bellujon*'s part; and after having been refus'd twice or thrice, he prevail'd ſo far by Reaſons, by Prayers, and by Threatnings, that the ſaid Affair was once more put to the Vote of Nine Provinces, and that the Cenſure was revers'd by a Tumultuous Deliberation.

Bellujon is cenſur'd by the Aſſembly.

In the mean time the Letter being brought by the Courier who follow'd *Bellujon* cloſe, it was thought fit to ſee what effect it would produce upon Peoples minds; and to communicate it to ſome of the chief Members before they deliver'd it to the Aſſembly. They were ſencible that it might chance to ſucceed quite differently from what the Court deſir'd. The Aſſemblies of the *Reform'd* had preſerv'd ſuch marks of greatneſs in them till then, that even thoſe to whom they were odious, were oblig'd to have regards for them. It was dangerous to hazard a thing which might as well exaſperate them as oblige them to

A Letter from the Court Authoriſing the inferior number againſt the greater.

o break up. When Acts of Note are practis'd againſt 1611.
Perſons that have juſt Jealouſies, they often drive them
o deſpair, inſtead of ſurpriſing them; and the ſight of
Rods to ſcourge them, often gives them a cauſe to take
up Arms for their defence. The Marſhal *de Bouillon* took
upon him to deliver the ſaid Letter, and ſhow'd it to *La*
Force, and to *Du Pleſſis*. He declar'd before it was read
hat he thought it very reaſonable, and the arguments ve-
y good. After which they were greatly ſurpriz'd to find
hat Terrible Clauſe in it which Authoriz'd the Inferior
Number againſt the Greater. *La Force* and *Du Pleſſis*
ſpoke vigorouſly to the Duke upon that Subject, and
how'd him that the ſaid Letter was an Inlet for
Diviſion, of which it would be impoſſible to cure the
Evil; which would occaſion the ruin of the Churches;
which neither Perſecution nor Civil Wars had been a-
ble to deſtroy. But they only gain'd the Liberty by it
o Communicate to whom they pleas'd, what they could
emember of the ſubſtance of the ſaid Letter. Abun-
dance of People repaird immediately to *Du Pleſſis*, to
hear from him thoſe ſtrange particulars, and to take pro-
per meaſures to prevent that misfortune.

Bullion in order either to diſſipate the heat of thoſe Bullion *ſeems to accept of a Temper.*
firſt movements; or to ſeem averſe to Actions which
might offend ſo many Perſons; or to have time to play the
Machine that was ſet at work more ſecurely, declar'd that
he was ſenſible of the Inconveniencies that would attend the
ſaid Letter; and in order to avoid them propos'd a Con-
ference with *Du Pleſſis*, about the means he ſhould judge
moſt proper in order thereunto. There was ſome likely-
hood that the Conference would produce ſome effect,
by reaſon that *Bullion* and *Du Pleſſis* agreed about ſome
things, *viz.* That the Aſſembly ſhould Nominate ſix Per-
ſons to the King; That the Deputies General which ſhould
be Elected ſhould be ſatisfied about the *Cahier*; That in-
caſe they were not ſatisfied with the Anſwers already
given, he ſhould obtain ſatisfaction for the Aſſembly up-

1611. on five or six Articles, before their Dissolution; and this he ingag'd to do, tho he had no orders about it: That he would not press the Deputies to break up so soon after the aforesaid Nomination; and that he would receive all their Protestations about the Number of Six, to the end that what they should do at that time, might not serve as a President for the future. But while *Du Plessis* was preparing to give the Assembly an account of the said Conference, *Bullion* sent to him to acquaint him that he revok'd his Word; That he would perform his Office; go into the Assembly and cause the Queen's Letter to be read.

But he retracts all of a sudden by a strange advice of the Marshal Duke.

Whereas he alledg'd no other Reason for that alteration, but an Idle Rumour of their designing to take the advantage of his promises, every body concluded that this was Inspir'd to him by the Marshal *de Bouillon*: and they were fully convinc'd of it, when they were inform'd that he had assembled all his Creatures that very evening at his House, and had prevail'd with them all to rise, at the first Overture that should be given them by the opposite Party, upon the proposition *Bullion* was to make, and to make a Scisme against the Assembly. This News fill'd the minds of all those that lov'd Union, with despair and grief; and their first thoughts were to retire, to avoid being Witnesses of that Scandal, which neither their Courage or Prudence could prevent. But after having heard *Du Plessis*, they follow'd his advice, which was to obey the Orders which *Bullion* would signifie to them, whatever prejudice they might sustain by it: To the end that by this means the fire of Division which had been kindled in their Bosome, might be smother'd there; and that those who had had the malice to prepare the Scisme, might not have the satisfaction to see it break out scandalously. This Resolution was held secret, by reason that they were unwilling to allow the Marshal *de Bouillon*'s party time to prevent the effect of it. There were 55 Persons of this mind. Among which were the Dukes *de Rohan*, *and Sully*,

Wise Counsel of Du Plessis.

Sully, *Soubiſe*, *La Force*, and many Gentlemen, But particularly all the Miniſters, excepting *Ferrier*, who had taken of his Mask. 1611.

Who wards the blow.

The event ſhow'd that they were in the right to recommend Secreſie. *Bullion* preſented the Queens Letter to the Aſſembly the next day; and after the Reading of it, deſir'd them earneſtly to obey it. *Du Pleſſis* being prepar'd for that propoſition, did not take the Votes to put the thing in deliberation, as the Marſhal *de Bouillon*'s Friends did expect: but anſwered in few words; and obſerving to *Bullion* how prejudicial it was to the State, to ſow Diviſions among the *Reform'd*, he aſſur'd him nevertheleſs that the Aſſembly would obey. This unexpected anſwer, keeping every body within the bounds of Duty and Silence, *Bullion* who was unwilling to loſe the Fruit of his Project, and who thought that the prevention of the ſaid diſorder which had been prepared with ſo much art would reflect upon him, reiterated without neceſſity that they muſt obey. Three or four of the Conſpirators, and among the reſt *Berticheres* and *Villemade* offer'd to ſpeak, and declar'd that they were of the ſmall number mention'd in the Letter. But *Du Pleſſis* ſtopt them by his Authority; and in few words made them ſuch powerful Remonſtrances, and ſo much to the purpoſe, that many of the ſame Party, who thought that the Queen only deſir'd that they ſhould obey, and who found every body inclin'd to do it, cry'd out to thoſe hot heads to refrain. After having thus prevented the Tumult, *Du Pleſſis* who had only ſpoken in his own Name, being confident that he ſhould not be contradicted, reſolv'd to take the Votes of the Aſſembly as was uſual: but leſt they ſhould think that he was affraid of having been too forward in his promiſe, he declar'd he only took the Votes for form ſake; being very well ſatisfied that what he had ſaid would be approved of by every body. In effect Obedience was concluded upon; only two or three Creatures of the Court cavil'd about ſome Circumſtances. The Duke of *Sully*

1611. tho' naturally as wavering in his opinion, as his Fortune was uncertain, and moreover a little unresolv'd in his own affairs, prov'd notwithstanding steady in this, and seconded the Presidents advice with good Reasons; which he did the more willingly, by reason that he thought he did serve the King and the Assembly by it.

The Assembly Nominates Commissioners.

Thus they resolv'd to proceed by Commissioners in what *Bullion* had propos'd. The Assembly nam'd eight, of which the Marshal *de Bouillon* was the first. But this project came to nothing, by reason that he refus'd that Comission under pretence of being Ill. This was look'd upon to be an evasion, by reason that while he excus'd himself upon that account, from meddling with the affairs of the Assembly, he had Conferences with *Bulloin La Varenne* and others, which after having lasted part of the day, sometimes took up part of the night. It is certain at least that he was so much inrag'd at the success of this enterprise, that he utter'd very hard words against some of his adherents, for having suffer'd themselves so easily to be silenc'd: he upbraided them with it as a want of Courage. Nevertheless the evil, if there was any, did not proceed from them. The Marshal had no reason to accuse any body but himself, and *Bullion*. They had only taken measures to make a Scisme, in case the Assembly should resolve to continue their Session to provide for the safety of the Churches, or should break up without doing any thing: but they had taken none in case they should obey; because they did not expect it.

Vexation of the Marshal at the success of his enterprise.

Nomination of the Deputies General.

On the 5*th* of *December* they proceeded to the Nomination of Six Persons, whose Names were to be presented to the King: which was done with more ease than was expected, by reason of the Brigues and other difficulties they were surrounded with. It had been propos'd to exclude from the said Nomination all such as had any Relation, or Dependencies on the Court, either upon the account of Pensions, Places in the Magistracy, or Governments, which oblig'd them to keep measures there. They

They had unanimouſly Voted the excluſion of the Penſioners, but they had not been able to agree upon the reſt, by reaſon that among thoſe who had ſuch imployments, there were ſeveral Perſons qualified for the Deputation, both by their being acquainted with affairs, and by their Zeal for the Common Cauſe. Therefore the ſaid difficulty was not as yet remov'd; and moreover the Marſhal *de Bouillon* ſpar'd nothing to make the Deputation fall upon ſome Perſons he might confide in. He had no mind the Deputation ſhould be made on the appointed day; and he fell out into a great paſſion againſt ſome of his Party, who had not perſiſted in that ſentiment as firmly as they ſhould have done. Yet notwithſtanding all this, *Mombrun*, *Rouvray*, and *Berteville*, were Nominated for the Nobility: and *Maniald*, *Boiſſeuil* and *La Milletiere* for the Third Eſtate. This Nomination diſpleas'd the Marſhal and *Bullion* to that degree, that they us'd their utmoſt efforts to alter it. They offer'd *Maniald* and *Boiſſeuil* 2000 Piſtols, or a Place of Councellor in a Parliament, provided they would refuſe the Nomination; by reaſon that *Armet* who was at the Duke's devotion, and who had moſt Voices next to them, muſt have had the Place of him that would have refus'd it. But they could not prevail: and the Nomination remain'd as it had been made by the Majority of the Aſſembly, and approv'd of by the *Reform'd* as the beſt and moſt faithful. The Court choſe *Rouvray* and *La Milletiere* out of thoſe Six: and the Aſſembly was ſoon acquainted therewith. 1611.

The End of the Firſt Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE Edict of Nantes.

VOL. II.

BOOK II.

A Summary of the Contents of the Second Book

The Anſwers to the Cahiers *ſatisfie no body. Neverthele they reſolve to break up: altho nothing conſiderable ha been done in the Aſſembly. Artifices to diſguſt* Chamie Ferrier *retires. Why the Court will not ſeem to have o caſion'd thoſe Diviſions. Regulations drawn by the A ſembly. Provincial Councils: Their Functions. Regulat*

on of Union. The Marſhal de Bouillon *will not allow the Miniſters to make a ſeperate Body in thoſe Councils. Subſtance of the General* Cahier, *and of the Anſwers that were made to it. Articles in favour of* Bearn. *Mutual reproaches of the Members of the Aſſembly. Books that make a noiſe. Niceneſs of the Doctrine concerning the Authority of Kings.* Du Pleſſis *Book. Number of* 666 *Juſtneſs of the Application. Sedition at* Paris. *Return of the Deputies in their Provinces. Commiſſioners in divers places where they are recus'd. Synod at* Blois: *which the Commiſſioners are allarm'd at. They write to Court about it. Aſſembly at* Caſtel Jealoux, *which occaſions a kind of League of the Catholicks. Mortifications receiv'd by the Jeſuits. Commiſſioners in the Country of Gex. The* Reform'd *ſide with the Houſe of* Guiſe *in a quarrel. Death of the Lord* de Vatan. *A Miniſter is granted him, to aſſiſt at his Death: but they will not allow Pſalms to be ſung by him. Deputys of the Provinces at* Paris *ſent back outragiouſly. Declaration of the* 24 *of* April. *The Deputies General form an Oppoſition to the Inrollment of it: which is notwithſtanding perform'd. National Synod at* Privas. *Cenſure of the Diviſions of* Saumur. *Union ſign'd and ſworn. Particular Diviſions. Deportments of* Ferrier. *Grave accuſations againſt him in the Synod; which Cenſures him ſeverely.* Nimes *ſends Deputies to preſerve him, but in vain: and the Synod aggravates. Complaints of the Synod of* Blois. *A formal diſavowal of the Declaration of the* 24 *of* April. *Applications of the Synod for the Reconciliation of the Grandees. Breefs of Augmentation of the Money granted for the Sallery of Miniſters. Alteration made in the State of the* Reform'd *in the Country of* Gex. *The Synod endeavours to hinder the abuſe that is made of that augmentation: and renews the Demands of the Aſſembly of* Saumur. *Reaſons of the Repugnancy ſo often expreſs'd about the Denomination of* Pretended Reform'd *Religion. Complaints concerning the Commiſſioners. Reſolution no longer to ſend particular Deputies to Court.*

Force

Force of the Reform'd *in the County of* Avignon. *Gratifications. New declaration upon the preceeding one, which is not ſatisfactory.* Cahiers *anſwer'd Incroachments of the Parliaments upon the Juriſdiction of the Chambers. Severity of the Chamber of the Edict. Removal of the Corps of a Gentleman of the Reform'd Religion out of the Ground, by the Order of a Commiſſioner. Favour granted to the* Reform'd *of* Tierache. *Diviſion of the Duke* de Rohan, *and the Marſhal* de Bouillon; *and the Iſſue of it. Abuſe of the Duty which inclines to Obedience. The Court improves the Doctrine of* Patience. *Miniſters Penſioners. Enterpriſe upon* St. John d' Angely. *The Duke of* Rohan *prevents it: and perſiſts notwithſtanding it was done by order from the Court. The Queen is offended; and all things ſeem to incline to a War.*

1611.

The Anſwers to the Cahier *ſatifies no body.*

BUllion being no longer able to delay the delivery of the Anſwer'd *Cahier* to the Aſſembly, ſince he had ſo often promis'd to do it, as ſoon as the Queen ſhould be ſatisfied about the Nomination of the Deputies General, kept his Word, and allow'd the Deputies to continue their Seſſion for ſome days longer, in order to examine it. None of them ſeem'd favourable; and they were conceiv'd in Equivocal and Captious Terms, which allow'd the Court a great deal of liberty to wave that by way of Interpretation, which ſeem'd moſt plauſible in thoſe promiſes. Even thoſe who had been ſo earneſt in forming the Sciſme, which the prudence of the others had prevented from breaking out, were as much ſurpris'd as the reſt, and expreſs'd a great deal of diſcontent. Some of them exclaim'd highly againſt that deceit, and upbraided *Bullion* ſeverely for the Oaths he had ſworn to amuſe them. But there was no remedy; and *Bullion* had what he deſir'd, and therefore did not care for their reproaches. Nothing comforts people ſo eaſily of an accuſation of Perjury, as the happy ſucceſs of the Artifice which deſerves it. One of the Reaſons urg'd to give a pretence

etence to the Sciſme that was preparing, was, that the on- 1611.
thing in debate was a piece of formality; that it was in-
erent whether the Aſſembly receiv'd ſatisfaction before
after the Nomination of the Deputies General, provided
was given them effectually; that the Court looking upon
ſaid Nomination before the dilivery of the Anſwer as a
int of Honour, it was reaſonable to comply with the
ng's deſire; that is was a reſpect due by Subjects to their
veraign, not to diſpute with him upon a point of Deco-
m about his Authority, eſpecially when it was no wiſe
their prejudice. But the illuſion of that reaſon was ſoon
cover'd, when they found the ſcope of the favour they
d flatter'd themſelves with. It was viſible that the Court
ng unwilling to do any thing beyond the little they did
nt, had only inſiſted upon that pretended formality, to
id being oblig'd, at the earneſt ſollicitation of the Aſ-
bly, to give them any real teſtimonies of good will.

They would fain have us'd ſome endeavours to obtain *Neverthe-*
nething more: but when they thought on the means to *leſs they*
ct it, they found none of which they durſt promiſe *reſolve to*
mſelves a happy ſucceſs. The Brief which did Autho- *break up.*
the Aſſembly, allowing it only in order to Nominate
Deputies General, it might have been ſtil'd unlawful
r the ſaid Nomination, if they had refus'd to break up.
eral of thoſe that had the beſt intentions were weary
contending as they had been oblig'd to do, in order
revent Brigues contrary to the common good. Others
e afraid of drawing the indignation of the Court up-
them, incaſe they ſhould reſiſt their Orders with a Vi-
r, which would be ſtil'd Rebellion. They were all
dent of thoſe that had been ſo ready to divide from
reſt of the Aſſembly, and notwithſtanding ſome of them
m'd diſcontented at *Bullion*'s deceit, there was no reaſon
expect that they would unite themſelves to the good
ty again, incaſe any reſolutions ſhould be taken. They
d as well promis'd to make a Sciſme upon the ſubject of
anſwers, incaſe the Aſſembly were diſatisfied with them,

1611. as upon the time, and manner of deliberating about it. So that they agreed unanimously to break up; To leave the prosecution of a more favourable Answer to the Deputies General; and to see whether the Queen, being satisfied with their submission to her Will, would not be more easily inclin'd to allow the *Reform'd* greater favours.

Tho' nothing had been done worthy of the Assembly.

Thus an Assembly compos'd of the most eminent Persons among the *Reform'd* both for Quality, and Capacity, which in so proper a Conjuncture ought to have taken such measures for the safety of the Churches, as could never have been violated by their Enemies, broke up without doing any thing. The Nomination of Deputies General was all that was done during a Session of four Months: and the publick affairs remain'd in the same condition after such long deliberations as they were before the meeting of the Assembly. Moreover it did more harm than good, by reason that the facility of sowing Divisions among the *Reform'd* discover'd their weakness; and taught the Court the way to destroy them. The Authors of the said Division were so much asham'd of it, that they us'd their utmost endeavours to avoid that reproach. The very Court had no mind it should be imputed to their Artifices: Therefore endeavours were us'd to lay the blame of it upon private Interest, which had occasion'd great heats. And indeed, as there were many Persons who had demands to make either immediately to the Assembly, or by the Assembly to the Court, it is very probable that *Bullion* and those that serv'd him on that occasion, took the advantage of those personal affairs, in order to succeed in their principal design. So that this prov'd one of the means which corrupted those who thereby expected to find more favour at Court. As many endeavours were us'd to break the measures of those that were firm and inflexible, as to gain those whose Souls were sencible to promises and to hopes. *Chamier* was one of those steady Pillars, which nothing was capable to shake. He had the first Voice in the Assembly,

Artifices to disgust Chamier.

ſſembly, as being Aſſiſtance to the Preſident; and where- 1611.
he was skill'd in Affairs, the Concluſion depen-
d partly on the turn he gave them. A particular grie-
nce was put upon him, in order to diſguſt him of Aſſem-
es, in which he had too much Authority. The Conſi-
ory of *Montelimar*, where he was Miniſter, took the ad-
ntage of his abſence, and of his Deputation to give his
ce to another. This was done without conſulting him,
d without hearing him; by ſome Intrigue or other, in
ich it is very likely that *Leſdigueres* had a hand, ſince
was done in his Province, before his eyes, and in a place
ere he had the power to do what he pleaſed. And to ag-
vate the Injury, the Conſiſtory ſent to ſearch his Houſe, and
mbled all his Library with a great deal of Violence, un-
r pretence of taking ſome Papers which did belong to
Church. The behaviour of the Conſiſtory had ſome-
ng ſo offenſive in it, and there appear'd ſo much con-
pt in it againſt *Chamier*, that he was extreamly offended
it, and the more becauſe his intereſt was concern'd in
s well as his honour. His Family, his Eſtate, and his
quaintance were at *Montelimar*, and he could not remove
n thence without diſadvantage: He was not a of humour
oſe patiently: but at the ſame time he would not have
e any thing for his own Intereſt, to the prejudice of
common Cauſe; and he preferred Religion to Intereſt.
thought it a great piece of injuſtice that his own Church
ld endeavour to ruin him; that in order thereunto
took the advantage of his abſcence, to prevent the
n of his Brethren. He complain'd of it to the Aſſem-
as of an affront in which they were concern'd; and
lv'd to remove from *Saumur* to mind his own Affairs.
s was directly what the Court aim'd at, in order to
ken the Party they were afraid of, by removing ſo
d a head. *Ferrier* had already ſhown the good exam- Ferrier *re-*
of preferring private affairs to the General. He had *tires.*
the Aſſembly under pretence of his Son and Mother-
aw's being Ill. Had *Chamier* done the ſame, every body

1611. would have found reasons to imitate them; and the Assembly would have been dissipated insencibly. But they stop *Chamier* by doing him Justice. The Assembly maintain him in the Ministry of *Montelimar*; and in order to remove the pretence the Consistory had taken, they order the Ministers of the adjacent places to Preach for him Alternately in his absence. The Synods confirm'd the said Regulation afterwards; and *Chamier* serv'd the Church of *Montelimar*, untill he was Transferr'd to *Montauban*, there to serve the Church and the Academy.

Why the Court was unwilling to appear the Cause of those Divisions.

But those particular affairs were not the real cause of the Evil: they only serv'd as an occasion to corrupt some of the Deputies, and to disgust others. It may perhaps seem strange that the Court should be unwilling to appear the Cause of a Division, they had procured with so much care and which was so useful to them; but two reasons may be given for it. The one that giving so many assurances of their good Will to the *Reform'd*, they were unwilling to bely them by seeming to endeavour to disunite them. The other that the Catholicks did not approve the ruining of the *Reform'd* some because they look'd upon their union as the best defence of the State against forcign Intrigues: others because they were of opinion that the Publick Liberty was joyned to the preservation of the *Reform'd*, whose Union was a powerful Fence against Arbitrary Power, of which they perceiv'd that the Policy of the Jesuits was laying the Foundation. The main design of the Court of *Spain* was either to engage *France* to ruin the *Reform'd*, or to oppress the People, which had never known what slavery was but then. In all probability the Court of *France* was like to engage it self into irreconcileable difficulties, if they entred once into Wars of Religion with the *Reform'd*, or engag'd themselves by the Usurpation of an unbounded Power against People that were fond of their Priviledges and accustom'd to reverence their King's like Fathers, because they us'd them like their Children. For that reason there were many Catholicks, who would have been very sorry

ſorry to ſee the *Reform'd* driven out of the Kingdom. Even in the Council, thoſe who had had a ſhare in the late King's deſigns, and had reliſh'd his Maxims had the ſame ſentiſentiments: and expected no good from the diſunion of the *Reform'd*. Some of the Members of the preſent King's Council have likewiſe had the ſame ſentiments, particularly thoſe who obſerv'd the courſe of Affairs, during the Reign of *Lewis* the XIII. This opinion has induc'd a zealous Catholick Hiſtorian, who has writen the Hiſtory of thoſe Tranſactions in a ſtile full of Gall and Violence, to Confeſs that the fall of the *Reform'd* would occaſion that of the State, and that the ruin of their Sect, would deſtroy thoſe very Catholicks that had occaſion'd it. This ſhows that the very deſigns of the Court not being approv'd by all the *French*, they had no reaſon to own themſelves the Authors of a Diviſion which was look'd upon by ſo many to be contrary to the good of the Kingdom. This is the reaſon for which in ſome relations about what paſs'd in the Aſſembly of *Saumur*, all the miſunderſtandings which render'd it uſeleſs to the *Reform'd*, are imputed to the particular affairs of the Members of it, as if the Intrigues of the Court had had no ſhare in it. 1611

All theſe troubles did not hinder the Aſſembly from drawing very fine Regulations, which would have been ſufficient to render the *Reform'd* Invincible, had it been as eaſie to put them ſincerely in execution, as to reſolve upon them. Such were thoſe which related to the preſervation of the Places of Suerty; but particularly thoſe that were reſolv'd upon for the eſtabliſhing of Councils in every Province. The firſt Project of it was form'd in the Aſſembly of *Ste. Foy*: and that of *Chatellerand* reſum'd the ſaid deſign ſome years after it. But the continuation of the War, and afterwards the long Negociation of the Edict, from which the *Reform'd* expected more ſurety than from their own regulations, hindred them from purſuing the Project of *Sainte Foy*. and the Intrigues of *Roni* at *Chatellerand* alſo hinder'd them from taking any reſolutions upon that Subject. But the *Regulations drawn by the Aſſembly.*

King's

1611. King's Death having alter'd the ſtate of Affairs, the Aſſembly of *Saumur* thought themſelves oblig'd to renew their antient precautions, which the power of the Jeſuits, and the Artifices of thoſe that were ill inclin'd made more neceſſary than ever. Therefore they voted a Council in every Province compos'd of Gentlemen, Miniſters, * and Members of the third Eſtate, who ſhould be choſen by the Provincial Aſſembly, and ſhould be continued, or chang'd once in two years, in the whole or in part, according as the Aſſembly ſhould think fit. The number of the Perſons of which it was to be compos'd was not limited. They allow'd the ſaid Council a power to nominate the Perſons and Places, where the advices that ſhould be given them ſhould be directed; and to advertiſe the Churches when it ſhould be fit to convene a Provincial Aſſembly. In order thereunto they ſettled the form of deputing to thoſe particular Aſſemblies, and of receiving the Votes there; they excluded from it all ſuch as had no expreſs Deputations: They allow'd the King's Officers and Magiſtrates to aſſiſt at the ſame, provided they were deputed according to the form preſcrib'd; on condition that thy ſhould make no diſtinct Body in the Aſſembly; and that they ſhould ſide either with the Nobility, or with the Third Eſtate, according to their quality: The Preſidentſhip of thoſe Aſſemblies was alloted to the Gentry: and finally they fix'd to five at moſt, and to three at leaſt, the number of the Deputies every particular Aſſembly ſhould ſend to the General.

Provincial Councils.
* *Commons.*

Their Functions.

Proceeding in the next place to the Functions of the Provincial Councils, they charg'd them to ſend whatever advice they ſhould receive to thoſe to whom it ſhould be neceſſary to Communicate them, either within, or out of the Province: and in order to facilitate the ſaid Communication, they ordain'd a Fund for the Charges; and that the Contiguous Provinces ſhould take meaſures together before their breaking up, to adviſe each other with more ſpeed. They authoriſ'd the Council that ſhould receive the advice, incaſe

incaſe they were not able to perform it, to call ſuch perſons 1611.
o their aſſiſtance as ſhould be able to aſſiſt them, accor-
ding to the nature of the thing propos'd. In ſome Impor-
ant Caſes they allow'd the Council to require at leaſt three
djacent Provinces, ſuch as they ſhould think fit, to aſſiſt them
with their advice; and they order'd the Provinces ſo re-
quir'd to ſend one, or many Deputies in the place appoin-
ed to them, to deliberate about the means to proſecute
uch affairs as ſhould intervene in ſuch a Province, as if it
were their own. And ſuppoſing they could obtain no ſa-
isfaction, it was left to their Prudence to give the Pro-
vinces notice of it, and to invite them to joyn in order to
make the ſaid proſecution more effectually. They groun-
ded that order upon the duty of the General Union, of the
Churches, which were oblig'd to intereſt themſelves in their
mutual affairs; to the end that thoſe that were abus'd, and
conſequently more inclin'd to violent reſolutions ſhould be
hinder'd by the Prudence of the others from proceeding to
extremities, or ſeconded by them, in order to obtain
uſtice the ſooner.

They order'd the ſaid Councils moreover to mind the con-
ition of the Places of Suerty; to depute perſons of capacity to
iſit the ſaid places, and to take a review of the Garriſons; to be
ertain of the Religion of the Souldiers; who, by reaſon that
t was neceſſary to reinforce the ſaid Cities with men, could
ot be Inhabitants either of the ſaid Cities or Suburbs. They
horted the Governours to approve it; and in order to
edreſs the abuſes committed in time paſt, as to the number and
ayment of the Soldiers, to be pleaſed to allow the regula-
ions added by them: *viz.* That the Governour ſhould receive
he third part of the ſum appointed for the Garriſon, free
rom all Charges; and that he ſhould give an Acquittance
or the remaining two, to the perſon that ſhould be nomi-
nated by the Council of the Province, who ſhould pay the
oldiers with it, and all other Charges relating to the Place
nd Garriſon; which were afterwards ſpecifi'd: That an
ſtimate ſhould be made of the real ſum to which the extar-

or-

1611. ordinary Charges might mount, to reſerve a Fund for it; which ſhould not exceed the third or forth part of the two thirds retain'd upon the whole ſum; That the Perſon imploy'd in order thereunto ſhould give an account of his adminiſtration in the Council, in preſence of the Governour; That incaſe the King ſhould grant any ſums for the Reparations and Fortifications of the ſaid places, the Governours ſhould order how they ſhould be imploy'd, but that the Council ſhould inſpect the ſame, and ſhould have the direction of the diſpoſal thereof, making of Proclamations, Adjudications, *&c.* and that incaſe a Fund were neceſſary for the ſaid Reparation, the direction thereof ſhould be given to a perſon which ſhould be nominated by the Council, who ſhould give an account of it, in the Governours preſence; That without prejudice to the Officers appointed by the King, the Governours ſhould inſpect the Magazines, in order to keep the Corn, Wines, Proviſions, Powder, and Matches, and other Amunition liable to corruption in a good Condition.

Regulations of Union.

They impower'd the ſame Councils to determin all Quarels, Lawſuits, and Animoſities that might ariſe among the *Reform'd*, of what quality ſoever; To cauſe the ſettlements granted by the King, to be obſerv'd, incaſe any of the Governours of the ſaid places ſhould dye: To maintain a good Correſpondence with the Neighbouring Provinces, by ſending Deputies into their mutual Aſſemblies; and as to a General Correſpondence, they were charg'd to maintain it with the General Aſſembly, when in being, and to apply themſelves to the Deputys General after their Diſſolution. Moreover in order to preſerve Union among all the Churches, it was agreed upon, that once a year at a certain time and place, there ſhould repair a Deputy of every Council, as privately as poſſible could be, and in ſuch a conjuncture of affairs as it ſhould be thought of moſt uſe: and the chief reaſon of that enterview, which was only to laſt for a few days, was to give each other a mutual account of the ſtate of their Provinces, and to renew the Sentiment of the

heir Common Intereſts. The General Aſſembly at their break- 1611.
g up was to nominate the Council which ſhould appoint
e time and place for the firſt Enterview.

The Marſhal Duke *de Bouillon* approv'd the ſaid Regu- *The Marſhal de Bouillon will not allow the Miniſters to make a ſeparate order or Body in theſe Councils.*
tion as well as the reſt, and ſign'd it: but he proteſted
gainſt the Miniſters, whom he would not allow to make a
ody a part: and he writ the ſaid Proteſtation when ſign'd it. *La Motte Grimout*, Counſellor in the Parliament of *Rouen*, was
he only perſon who imitated him. His motive for it was, a particular grudge, for having receiv'd a Cenſure from the Aſſembly, to which he did not doubt but the Miniſters, a ort of people a little inclin'd to cenſure, had contributed onſiderably. But the Marſhal's Motive was his being a-andon'd by the Miniſters, who formerly us'd to follow is advice almoſt Implicitly. Some of them had ſaid ſome ings in their Sermons which he took to be deſign'd a-inſt him: and notwithſtanding *du Pleſſis* remonſtrated to im, even after the Diſſolution of the Aſſembly, That the id Proteſtation was not only uſeleſs, but of ill conſequence, ſtill perſiſted in it, and threatened that the thing ſhould ot remain ſo. The truth is that he excepted ſome Mini-ers, who by reaſon of their mildneſs and capacity, ſeem'd him to deſerve a Rank in the Aſſemblys. This perhaps as an effect of Reſentment; but that Reſentment was ſo ell ſuited to the Maxims of the Court, where the * Con- toriats had been ſo long reputed the perſons who were to be ar'd in Aſſemblies, That it look'd as if he had a mind to angry on purpoſe to pleaſe them. Neverthleſs, he ept his word; and whereas he always appear'd zealous other things for his Religion, this did not forfeit his Credit the leaſt in the Provinces; of which ſome afterwards rbad the Miniſters to aſſiſt at Political Aſſemblies, and to reach againſt the Sentiments of private perſons.

* *Miniſters and Elders &c.*

† *Petitions and Addreſſes.*

Before I make an end of what relates to the ſaid Aſſembly, is neceſſary to give ſome account of the ſubſtance of heir * *Cahiers*, and of the anſwers that were made to them; nce they occaſion'd thoſe fatal diviſions. I will only give

Subſtance of the General Cahier and of the anſwers made to it.

1611. an abstract of them, by reason that they are set forth at large at the end of this Volume. They contain'd 57 Articles, of which the three first demanded the re-establishment of the Edict, and of its particular Articles, in their first form; and the verification of them in the Soveraign Courts. The King refus'd these three Articles directly, being willing, *as he said*, to conform to the resolutions of the King his Father, which he call'd *Good and Holy*, and who had explain'd himself upon that Subject, in the year 1602 The fourth demanded Commissioners, of which one should be of the *Reform'd* Religion, and nominated by the *Reform'd* of the Province to which he was to be sent, and the other a Catholick: unless the *Reform'd* had rather leave the execution of the Edict, to the Baylifs or Seneschals of the places, which should be oblig'd to take a *Reform'd* Associate. The King granted it for such places in which the Edict was not put in execution, according as the Parliaments had verifi'd it. The fifth demanded for the *Reform'd* Communities, which did possess some Fief, or some Judicature of the quality mention'd by the seventh Article of the Edict, the right of performing the exercise of the *Reform'd* Religion there: and the King referr'd them to the observation of the Article of the Edict without any Alteration. The sixth demanded that the exercise of their said Religion perform'd in 1577, and 1597, however it had been establish'd, even *by Power*, *of Fief*, altho' the Fief were since possess'd by a Catholick, even by an Ecclesiastick, should notwithstanding be continu'd there. The King without deciding whether the Articles 9 and 10 of the Edict were favourable, or contrary to the said pretention referr'd them, to the observation and maintenance of the same. The seventh remonstrating that the exercise of the said Religion ought to be re-establish'd in certain places, by Vertue of the 10*th* Article of the Edict of *Nantes*, where it could not be perform'd without exposing the *Reform'd* to the danger of a Tumlt, by reason of the long discontinuation thereof, demanded that the right of it might be transferr'd to other places of the Province which the Synod

should

ould appoint. The King answer'd that the Commissioners 1611.
hould inquire, both as to the right of performing the said
xercise in those places, and the reasons of the interruption
ereof; after which it should be regulated: which made
he *Reform'd* sencible that it would go against them, by
eason that the Possession of the same having been inter-
upted for reasons which the Court would approve of,
ey would not think it fit to restore them.

The 8*th* renew'd the Petition, that the *Reform'd* might not *Cahiers answer'd.*
e oblig'd to qualifie their Religion themselves in Publick
cts, with the Title of *Pretended Reform'd*. The King
efus'd it; and referr'd them to the Answer made to the
ahiers of the *Reform'd* in 1609, by the late King. The
th requir'd that the Ministers might have the same
xemption as the Ecclesiasticks. The King referr'd them to
e Exemption granted by the late King in 1604, by Let-
rs Patent, which only freed them from the * *Taille* in * *A Land Tax*, &c.
hat related to their Goods and Pensions. The 10*th*, grounded
pon the 16 Article of the Edict, demanded the restitution of
e places that did formerly belong to the *Reform'd*, with-
ut obliging them to justifie their Possession by Titles.
he King referr'd it to his Commissioners, who should
ause a restitution to be made of those usurp'd Places,
rovided the *Reform'd* could prove that they had lost
eir Titles or Writings. In the 11*th* they desir'd an ex-
mplary punishment of such Preachers, Confessors, and
ther Ecclesiasticks as did forbid the Catholicks to hold any
ommunication with the *Reform'd*; as to serve them, to
ourish their Children, to undertake their Affairs: and
ho declar'd that all those who frequented them would be
amn'd. In case they could not be seiz'd, the Article re-
uir'd their Superiors should be responsible for the same,
nd that the Attorneys General and their Substitutes should
e injoyn'd to see it perform'd, The answer instead of the
unishment requir'd, forbad only, according to the 17*th*
rticle of the Edict, Seditious Sermons and Discourses, and
ade a very mild Exhortation to Preachers, to aim only

1611. in their Sermons to preſerve publick Peace, and Tranquility. The 12*th* complain'd of the multiplicity of Feſtivals; and deſir'd that the Commiſſioners might retrench ſome of them, in ſuch places where it ſhould be deſir'd; That neither they nor the Curates might be allow'd to become Parties in the examinations of the Contraventions of the ſame; nor the Provoſts, Warders, or other Officers to proſecute the ſame, nor even Serjeants without a poſitive order from the Judge of the place. The anſwer ſpoke nothing as to the reſtriction of the number; and confirm'd the 20*th* Article of the Edict. The 13*th* related properly to the Affair of the Duke *de Sully*, and of the Catholicks that embrac'd the *Reform'd* Religion, demanding the obſervation of the 27*th* Article of the Edict concerning Imployments; and the re-eſtabliſhment of ſuch from whom any had been taken without obſerving the uſual forms: That is without having convicted them of any fault by which they could forfeit the ſame. The ancient *Juriſprudence* of the Kingdom allow'd no other reaſon to take away a place from a Man, unleſs he deſir'd to be diſcharg'd himſelf for ſome known reaſon. The anſwer ſaid in a word that the Article of the Edict ſhould be obſerv'd: leaving a juſt cauſe to believe by that briefneſs, that the King would allow no re-eſtabliſhment of that Nature. The four following related to Church-yards and Burials, and demanded the confirmation of the Poſſeſſion of the places which they had injoy'd ſince the verification of the Edict; the delivery of ſome convenient places in thoſe parts where they had none; leave to perform their Burials in the day time, even in ſuch places where they were oblig'd by the Treaty to perform them at inconvenient hours; and good regulations to prevent Seditions and Tumults, in ſuch places where the Gentry and other *Reformed* had right of Burial in the Chappels of their Predeceſſors. The anſwers preſerv'd to the *Reform'd* the poſſeſſion of the Church-yards, which had been deliver'd to them by the Commiſſioners; order'd others to be deliver'd to them, according to the anſwer to the *Cahier* of 1602, referr'd to the Commiſſioners to conſider in what places

places their Burials might be allow'd in the day time, without fear of a Sedition; and refuſing to allow the *Reform'd* to be Buried in the Churches, by reaſon that it was contrary to the Canons, prejudicial to the Catholick Religion, and capable to give a Scandal and Diſcontent to thoſe that profeſs'd it, it only allow'd that the Commiſſioners being upon the place, ſhould ſeek expedients to preſerve to the Succeſſors of the *Reform'd*, the Rights which belong'd to them as Patrons. 1611.

The 18*th* which demanded leave to eſtabliſh little Schools in all Cities and Towns of the Kingdom, receiv'd only leave, by the anſwer, to have one School-Maſter in the Towns, in the Suburbs of which the exerciſe of the *Reform'd* Religion was allow'd; there to teach reading and Writing only; forbidding them to teach new Doctrines; That is, as it has been explained ſince, even to make Children repeat their Catechiſms; and to receive above twelve of the Neighbourhood in any Place. The 19*th* requir'd the ſame Privileges for the Accademies of *Saumur* and of *Montauban*, as were injoy'd by the other Accademies of the Kingdom: and the Anſwer putting the Change upon them, allow'd them to eſtabliſh Colleges in ſuch Places where the Exerciſe of their Religion was allow'd, and gave thoſe Colleges the ſame Privileges of the other Colleges, receiv'd and approv'd of in the Kingdom. This ſignifi'd nothing, by reaſon that the Immunities of ſimple Colleges erected by the Wills of private Perſons are nothing. The 20*th* tended to obtain that the Catholick Counſellors, who were to ſerve in the Chambers of the Edict, might be choſen with the Deputies of the Churches, to the end that none might enter there but perſons of Equity and Moderation; and that the ſame might remain there at leaſt three years without being chang'd: but by the Anſwer the King look'd upon that choice as a right which only belong'd to him, and which he would keep. The 21*ſt* which deſir'd two places of Counſellors, to equal the Chamber of *Neraci* to that of *Caſtres*, was waved by the Anſwer; under pretence that there were too many Officers, or places in the Kingdom already: and in order to anſwer *Cahirs anſwered.*

the

1611. the inconvenience of recuſations, which ſometimes reduc'd the number of the Judges below that which was requir'd by the Ordinances, the King allow'd the ſaid Chamber to judge to the number of Eight, as it was practis'd in ſome Parliaments. The 22*th* complain'd that in moſt Cauſes the Catholick Judges were divided in the Chambers of *Guyenne* and of *Languedock*; which they imputed to the Paſſion of the Parliaments, who having the liberty to nominate to the King the Counſellors of their Courts which were to ſerve in the ſaid Chambers, always nam'd the moſt paſſionate: Wherefore they deſir'd that the number of thoſe Counſellors might be fill'd up in part with ſome Counſellors of the Grand Council, and part of thoſe of the ſaid Parliaments, which the King ſhould chuſe himſelf upon the Liſt. The King refus'd to alter the method of forming thoſe Chambers; and promis'd to take care as to the choice of thoſe that ſhould ſerve in them, to the ſatisfaction of the *Reform'd*. The three following petition'd the Creation of ſome Offices, eſpecially in *Dauphiny*: and by the Anſwers the King ſaid that Patents had been given for ſome, and that he could not grant the others; for which he gave a remarkable reaſon, *viz.* That he had promis'd to make no new Creation in that Province.

Cahiers anſwered. The 26*th* contain'd complaints for that the Parliaments from which the Cauſes of the *Reform'd* were remov'd to the Chambers of the Edict or Party-Chambers, gave Decrees againſt the Serjeants who within their Precincts did Execute the Decrees of the Chambers, into which thoſe cauſes were remov'd; and deſir'd that ſince the Serjeants being frighted by the ſaid Decrees, refus'd to put the ſaid Sentences in Execution, his Majeſty would be pleas'd to Create two Royal Offices of Serjeants in every Bayliwick, to be given to the *Reform'd*; and the following petition'd the ſame thing for two Offices of Notaries. The King refus'd thoſe new Creations; and pretended to remedy the ſaid Grievances by commanding thoſe who had ſuch Offices, to make, or receive all the Acts as ſhould be demanded or of-

fer'd to them by the *Reform'd*. Three other Articles related to the Validity of the Certificates given by the Miniſters; The regulations of the Judges; and the time of Preſcriptions, of which the Chamber of the Edict of *Normandy* refus'd to deduct a certain number of years, of which the Edicts allow'd the deduction in favour of the *Reform'd*: and upon thoſe Articles the King granted nothing new, or at leaſt of any moment. The 31*ſt* demanded the revocation of a Clauſe which took away the right of tranſferring Cauſes into the Chambers of the Edict, from thoſe who had not made an open profeſſion of the *Reform'd Religion* ſix Months before their requiring the ſaid removal; and this demand related particularly to Eccleſiaſticks, who after having chang'd their Religion, remain'd expos'd to the hatred of the Parliaments, who were very ſevere againſt men of that Character. The anſwer was very ſubtile; and in refuſing to alter any thing about the Clauſe of ſix Months, the King promis'd that he would take care of the Cauſes of the Eccleſiaſticks, if they made their applications to him. The *Reform'd* were very ſencible that the meaning of this was, that after having chang'd their Religion the Eccleſiaſticks would be us'd worſe in the Counſels than in the Parliaments. The 32*d* deſir'd a right of tranſferration for the *Reform'd*, Heirs to thoſe that had already proceeded before the Parliaments; and for thoſe who ſhould have their right by * Ceſſion, or otherwiſe. The King refus'd it to the Ceſſionaries, by reaſon that it might be done fraudulently: but he granted it to Heirs, obſerving at the ſame time that the ſaid Conceſſion was a favour. It is true: but it was ſo ſlight a one, that it was hardly worth obſerving; the occaſion of uſing it, not occurring perhaps once in 50 years. The 33*d* demanded for Foreign Inhabitants, or Traders in the Kingdom, the ſame Priviliges as were injoy'd by the other *Reform'd*, and particularly that of transferring of Cauſes. The King by his anſwer reſerv'd to himſelf to do them Juſtice, incaſe they appeal'd to him. The 34*th* deſir'd that the Priviledge

1611.

* *Yielding up a Title or Right to a Creditor, &c.*

to

1611. to take a *Reform'd* Aſſiſtant or Aſſociate in all criminal Cauſes, in which the *Reform'd* were concern'd might be extended to all the Provinces; and not only obſerv'd for ſome which were ſpecifi'd in the *66th* Article of the Edict. The King granted it for the inſtruction only; but he would not allow the Aſſociate a deliberative Vote in the Judgment of the Proceſs. The *35th* deſir'd that the Judgment of the * Competence in † Provotal Caſes, which by the *67th* Article of the Edict was referr'd to the neareſt * Preſidial Seats, within the juriſdiction of ſome Parliaments, might be transferr'd to the Chambers of the Edict, as in the others. The reaſon of this demand was evident. The juriſdiction of the Provoſt being quick and without appeal, the *Reform'd* were ever in danger of periſhing by the ſentences of thoſe Judges, when a Preſidial in which the Catholicks were the ſtrongeſt was Maſter of the ſaid *Competence*. Nevertheleſs, the King refus'd to alter any thing about it.

* *By whom the Cauſe ought to be tryed.*
† *Criminal Caſes.*
* *Courts of Juſtice.*

Cahiers anſwer'd.

The *36th* related to the Education of Children, whoſe Fathers had not nam'd Guardians at their Death; and deſired that they might be put under the tuition of perſons that ſhould breed them up in the Religion of their Fathers. The Anſwer referr'd it to the General Law of the Kingdom; That is at the Election of Tutors or Guardians choſen by the Relations, and thus expos'd the Children of the *Reform'd* to the danger of falling into the hands of Catholick Guardians, whenever the neareſt, or moſt conſiderable Relations, which are commonly pitch'd upon by the reſt, ſhould be Catholicks. The *37th* deſired that the reſignations of Preſidents or Counſellors which had been promoted at the nomination of the Church, might not be receiv'd unleſs by the ſame nomination. The King reſerv'd to himſelf the choice and nomination of the perſons. The *38th* tended to prevent the injuſtices that were done to the *Reform'd*, who had Eſtates in the County of *Avignon*, and deſir'd that leave might be given to the Officers there reſiding to give Repriſals, after the Solemnities that were requir'd.

requir'd, to the *Reform'd* to whom Juſtice had been deny'd : Notwithſtanding what was ordain'd upon that Subject by the 51*ſt* of the particular Articles. The King would have them to apply themſelves to him to obtain Letters of Repriſals ; only allowing the Officers to draw Verbal Proceſſes of the State of the Caſe. This ingag'd the poor *Reform'd* into infinite expence and delays. The 39*th* requir'd the Confirmation and Execution of the Briefs granted to the Churches in 1598, and ſince : upon which the King ordain'd that they ſhould be repreſented ; as if his Council had been ignorant of the Contents. The 40*th* renew'd the demand of two Places of Maſters of Requeſts, promiſed to the *Reform'd* : and the King wav'd it by the uſual evaſion, that care ſhould be taken about it, when any Vacancies ſhould happen by death. The two following demanded the augmentation of the ſum promis'd for the Sallary of the Miniſters ; and of new aſſignments for the payment of the Arrears. The King promis'd to conſider of what might be proper to gratifie them ; but he refus'd them new aſſignations for the old Arrears, under pretence that it was a general diſeaſe, and that all thoſe that had been aſſign'd at the ſame time had ſuffer'd the ſame loſs, without receiving any Re-inplacement. 1611.

The 14 following Articles related to the Places of Surety. The 43*d* demanded that the Guard of all thoſe which the *Reform'd* held, might be left them for ten whole Years, to begin from the Day the laſt Brief would expire ; and that in the New Brief, the Court ſhould ſpecifie thoſe that were contain'd in the Settlements drawn in 1598 : Thoſe that were comprehended with the others under the Denomination of * Marriage, and thoſe that belong'd to private perſons, in which Garriſons had been kept. The Anſwers was cruel upon that Article. It reduc'd the places of Surety to thoſe that were expreſs'd in the Brief of the 14*th* of *May* 1598, and declar'd that thoſe that were call'd of Marriage, were not comprehended amongſt the places of Surety. It only allow'd as a Favour, that no innovations ſhould be made : but *Cahiers anſwer'd.*

* *Cities or Towns annex'd to others.*

1611. it refus'd them the keeping of all the other * Places; and only left them such as were really places of Surety but for Five Years. Thus two thirds of the Places in which they held Garrisons were taken from them by one dash of a Pen. The 44*th* desir'd that no Innovations might be made in the Places they held, in which there was no Garrison establisht by the settlments; and that incase any had been made, they should be redress'd. The King granted that Article; and order'd his Commissioners to redress the said Innovations, according to the instructions they should receive. The 45*th* desir'd the restitution of several Places, among which they nam'd *Caumont*, *Tartas*, *le Mont de Marsan* and *Montandre*. The King absolutely refus'd the first and last, and promis'd to put *Reform'd* Garrisons in the other Two. The 46. 47, and 48, desir'd good Assignments upon the cleerest part of the Receipts, for the full sum of 540000 Livers, which had been promis'd to them by the Brief of the last of *April* 1598; That the Sums which had been deducted out of it, for the settlement of the Pensions that were given to private persons, might be return'd to the Mass again; That the Arrears might be paid, and such Sums as were not paid in re-implac'd. The King refus'd it all, excepting only the Assignment upon the cleerest part of the Receipts, which in such cases is always granted, and never perform'd: But he paid the *Reform'd* with Reasons instead of better Money; and told them that the retrenchment they complain'd of, had been made under the Reign of the Late King, at a time when retrenching the Garrisons of the Catholick Citys, he had been oblig'd to do the like to the *Reform'd*, lest the Catholicks should complain. But in order to excuse himself from re-implacing of the Arrears and Sums unpaid, he added a reason which savour'd more of a Test than a serious Answer. He said that there was no reason to desire it, since the Places for the preservation of which the said Sums were design'd, had been as well kept as if the said Sums had been paid. According to this No-

tion,

* Towns, Castles. &c.

tion, a Debter might very well excuſe himſelf from paying the Arrears of his Debts, by reaſon that his delaying to pay them had not reduc'd his Creditors to Starve. 1611.

The 49*th* deſir'd the King would be pleas'd to uſe his Intereſt with the Prince of *Orange* to put a *Reform'd* Governour into the Caſtle of *Orange*, according to the late King's promiſe to the Aſſembly of *Chatelleraud*. The King who did not pretend to the Right which his Succeſſor has uſurp'd over the ſaid Principality, declar'd that he had reſtor'd the ſaid Principality to the Prince of *Orange* to whom it did belong; and that he had oblig'd him to make a Declaration, in favour of the *Reform'd* of the ſaid City, which they were ſatisfi'd with. Upon which pretence he tacitly refus'd the Mediation promis'd by the late King. As to the 50*th* which ſpoke of the Reſignation of Governments, which could not be done without the approbation of the Churches of the Province: and of the Nomination of of a new Governour by the Deputies General, in ſuch Places where the Government ſhould become vacant by Death, the King referr'd them to the Brief of 1598, and to the Articles of the Edict, both General and Secret, which he ſaid had always been obſerv'd. Upon the 51*ſt*, which deſir'd that the Captains and Lieutenants of the Garriſons might not be choſen without the approbation of the Governours: the King anſwer'd that he would do what he thought beſt for the advantage of his Service. The 52*d*, deſired the Liberty to perform the Exerciſe of the Reform'd Religion in all thoſe Places, and that no body might be allow'd to diſpute that right. Upon which the King order'd the obſervation of the Edict of *Nantes* in General Terms. The 53*d*, deſir'd that the Jeſuits might not be allow'd to have Colleges, Seminaries, or Houſes in the places of Surety; nor to Preach, Teach, Confeſs, or Reſide in the ſame: and that throughout the Kingdom they ſhould be reduc'd to the terms preſcrib'd by the Edict of their re-eſtabliſhment. The King's anſwer engag'd him to nothing, he ſaid that the Jeſuits not being allow'd to ſettle a College with-

Cahiers Anſwer'd.

1611. out his leave, he would take care, that the *Reform'd* should have no reason to complain. The Jesuits had too much power at Court to suffer the King to make a more positive answer upon that Article. The 54*th* desir'd the prevention of accidents that might be occasion'd by the Processions, which the Catholicks affected to make in the Churches and Chapels of the Castles in which the *Reform'd* had but weak Garrisons; and did propose some expedients in order thereunto. The King referr'd them to what should be ordain'd by his Commissioners, after having taken the advice of the Governours of the Provinces, or Lieutenants General. The 55*th* spoke of the necessary means to maintain or repair the Garrisons, and to secure them; desiring to that end the execution of the Answer made to the *Cahiers* of the Assembly of *Gergeau*. The King allowed the reparations of the said places at the Charge of the Inhabitants; and that they should apply themselves to the Council to obtain leave to impose such sums as should be necessary: promising only some assistance in case of an urgent necessity. The 56*th* desir'd that the Artilery, Arms and other Ammunitions of War which were in the said places, might be left there, and not transported elsewhere; that what had been already remov'd might be returned to them; and that they might have their share of the Distribution of Arms and Amunitions, which was made yearly to the other Towns of the Kingdom. The Answer on the contrary, order'd an account to be brought in of the Artillery and Amunitions that were in the said places, in order to dispose of them, promising only to leave so much as was necessary for the Defence of the said places. The 57*th* desir'd that the General Assemblies might be held every other year; that the Deputies General might officiate but two years; and that the Assemblies might only be oblig'd to Nominate two, that should be approv'd of by the King. The answer was that he would allow such Assemblies when he thought fit: and that they should Nominate six Persons.

There

1611.

There were ſome other Articles at the end of all thoſe relating to the Churches of *Bearn*, as I have ſaid heretofore: but the King's anſwer to them was, That the Late King never having approv'd the Union of the Churches of that Principality with thoſe of *France*, he could not allow it neither: but he promis'd to receive the particular petitions of that Province. Finaly, the Aſſembly broke off, tho diſatisfi'd with thoſe Anſwers; and the Deputies repair'd to their reſpective homes laying the blame of the ill ſucceſs of their good intentions upon one another. Thoſe who did ſide with the Marſhal *de Bouillon* blam'd the obſtinacy of the contrary Party, imputing all the fault to that; and the others upbraided theſe with having taught their enemies how to ruin the Churches, by breaking the Union deſignedly, and by a manifeſt Conſpiracy. Moſt of the *Reform'd* were very much diſatisfied with the anſwers made to their * *Cahiers*: and ſeeing that inſtead of granting them any new favours upon their Complaints, at a time when they had juſt reaſons of diffidence, their Privileges and Sureties were incroach'd upon more than ever, they apply'd the Fable of the Camel to themſelves, who complaining that Nature had been unkind to him, in not giving him Defenſive Arms, as to the Lyon, Elephant, and Bull; obtain'd no other fruit of his Complaints but to have his Ears ſhorten'd. So the Aſſembly having expected from the King's Good Will ſome favour ſuitable to the time, had only obtain'd illuſive anſwers; in which Injuſtice was joyn'd to Contempt.

Articles in favour of Bearn.

Mutual reproaches of the Members of the Aſſembly.

* *Petitions or Addreſſes.*

During the Seſſion of the Aſſembly there appear'd divers Books which made a Noiſe. *Mayerne* publiſh'd one which was not proper to gain the Queens heart. He maintain'd in it that neither Women nor Children ought ever to be admitted to the Government. This was conformable to the Antient Right of the Monarchy, which attributed the Regency to the neareſt Princes of the Blood during Minorities. But an expample or two to the contrary had remov'd the Princes from that Imployment: and they were too poor or too weak

Books which make a noiſe.

1611. weak at that time, to resume their Rank. The said Book was condem'd; and the Author Fled. *Gourmandier* had also printed a Treatise about the Right of Kings: But it was prohibited as well as the other, and all the Copies that could be met with seiz'd. The pretence us'd for the said Prohibition, was that the Author had mix'd divers Maxims of his Religion in the said Book, which the Court did not approve. But in general the true reason of it was, that the Authority of Kings is a very nice Point, which cannot be treated of without offending them; in so much that Kings had rather that nothing should be said about it, than ever to speak advantageously of it. Moreover the Doctrine of the *Reform'd* is commonly divided into two Parts upon this Subject, which offend two sorts of People. The one allows King's a perfect Independency in relation to the Pope; and the same authority over the Clergy, as over the rest of their Subjects. The other makes King's lyable to observe Equity and Justice; The Fundamental Laws of the State, their Oaths and Edicts; and proposes the preservation of their Subjects to them as the Universal Rule of their Soveraign Power. So that it is impossible for their Doctrine to be well receiv'd among Catholick Princes. The first part every animates all the Roman Cabal against them: and the second all the Slaves of the Court. The Clergy never scruples to Sacrifice publick Liberty to their own Grandeur: and Princes little value the Popes Enterprises, provided they exercise an Arbitrary Power over their People. Moreover there was a particular reason for the Condemnation of the said Book. The Doctrine of the Jesuits upon that Subject was detested by all the Kingdom; and the condemnation of *Bellarmin*'s Book was actually prosecuted in the Parliament of *Paris*. It was sufficient for those subtile Politicians to see themselves dishonour'd by Decrees from the Soveraign Courts: they did not seem to be very sensible to those affronts, because they had been us'd to them, and were hardened in them, from the very beginning of their Society. But they could not have endur'd that while they were treated

Niceness of the Doctrine concerning the Authority of Kings.

Enemies to Soveraign Power, the *Reform'd* ſhould be al- 1611.
ved to be the Defenders of it. Therefore they obtain'd
Condemnation of the ſaid Book, to involve it in the
he Cenſure with thoſe of their Doctors.

But the Book which made moſt noiſe upon that Subject, *Books of Du Pleſſis.*
s that which du *Pleſſis* publiſh'd during the Seſſion of the
ſembly in which he did preſide, and which he had intitul'd
Miſtery of Iniquity. It was not ſo much the dignity of
Subject, and the reputation of the Author which made the
k to be take notice of, as a Cut which was fix'd at the head
the Work, which did revenge *du Pleſſis* highly for the af-
nt he had receiv'd at *Fontainbleau.* The Pride of *Paul*
5*th*, who fill'd the Holy See of *Rome* at that time, and
Flatteries of his Creatures did afford him a large Field
ſtile him *Antichriſt.* The firſt Leaf of the Book repre-
ted a Tower of *Babel*, of a prodigious Architecture,
ich appear'd to the Spectators a ſubject of Admiration,
it was only ſuſtain'd by ſome pieces of Timber, which
re ſet on fire. Two Latin Verſes adviſ'd the Spectators
to admire that vaſt Building which would tumble
wn, as ſoon as ever the fire had conſum'd thoſe feeble
porters. In the next place you ſaw the Effigies of *Paul*
5*th* accompani'd with Inſcriptions ſo haughty and
Impious, That it would have been impoſ-
le to give the *Reform'd* a better hold, tho it had been
he diſignedly. Whatever Flateries can be attributed to
Temporal Prince; whatever Holy Writ has ſpoken with
oſt Emphaſis of *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf, was apply'd to that
pe; and underneath the Figure there was a Motto,
ich gave him the Title of *Vice-God.* This was copy'd
m a Picture made in *Italy*, to adorn a Triumphal Arch
s'd in honour of that new Pope. But that which was
oſt remarkable was that the name of *Paul* the 5*th*, joyn'd
that of *Vice-God* in *Latin*, in the caſe which belongs to
e Inſcriptions, fill'd up very juſtly the famous number
666, which all the Chriſtians according to the teſtimo-
of St. *John* in the *Apocalipſe*, look upon to be the number

Number of 666. *Paulo 5 Vice-deo.*

V.	5.
L.	50
V.	5.
V.	5.
I.	1.
C.	100.
D.	500.
	666

Juſtneſs of the Calculation.

of

1611. of Antichriſt. Joyning the value of the Numeral Letters of that name, according to the uſe of the Latins made in that miſtical number.

Du Pleſſis triumph'd upon that important diſcovery. It is ſaid that he had been inform'd that the Queen deſign'd to recall him to Court, and to imploy him again; and that his Friends had adviſ'd him, either to defer or to ſuppreſs the Edition of this Book, which would not fail to involve him into new Troubles. But he preferr'd the advantage of his Religion to that of his Fortune at Court. The *Reformed* who were great admirers of thoſe kind of obſervations did not fail to draw certain preſages from thence of the decay of the Roman See, which manifeſted its Antichriſtianity by ſuch evident Characters. To ſay the truth that number was made out there ſo naturally, that it neither required learning, nor ſtretching to find it out. There was no need to invent a new Ortography, or barbarous Names, nor ambiguous Words: and the Title of Vicar of God, which made the greateſt part of that number, was ſo well adapted to the Authority which Antechriſt was to pretend, according to the predictions of Scripture, That ſeem'd to require no other information upon that Subject. Thoſe who had treated about it before, had never imagined any thing ſo juſt: and thoſe who have ſpoken of it ſince have invented nothing farther. There was no neceſſity to look for that fatal number either in the *Greek* or *Hebrew*; nor to make uſe of a Calculation unknown to the Vulgar, and not in uſe in the Language in which the application of it was made. All this was found in the Language and in the manner of Calculating of the *Latins* which the Catholicks call that of the Church: which ſeems to be neceſſary in this Queſtion, which relates, according to the Catholicks themſelves, to a man who is to poſſeſs the *Roman See.* So that it is no wonder that *du Pleſſis* ſhould value himſelf upon that happy Diſcovery; and that the *Reform'd* look'd upon it as a real Triumph of their Doctrine. The Catholicks was ſtrangly mov'd at the ſaid Book; the Pope ma-

made great complaints about it; The *Sorbonne* cenſur'd it; and ſome private perſons undertook to refute it. Among the reſt one *de Brai St. Germain* endeavour'd to excuſe the Pope, and lay'd the blame of the exceſs of the Elogys and the Impiety of the Applications upon the ſordid flatteries of the Courtiers. But he made himſelf ridiculous by endeavouring to apply the ſame number to *du Pleſſis*: which he did by turning his name as many ways as he could imagin. The Catholicks have followed that method untill our Days, from the time of the *Reformation*, as if that Number were the leſs applicable to their Church, when by a thouſand violent efforts they find the way to apply it to another Subject. Antichriſt himſelf, according to the very notion of their own Doctors, might make uſe of that ſecret, to prove that he is not the perſon meant by the *Apocalypſe*, becauſe that name has been applyed for example, to *Paul* the 5*th*, with juſtneſs enough. That method has nevertheleſs prov'd uſeful to them: In turning by thoſe forc'd applications the miſtery of that Number into a raillery, they have evaded the ſerious applications that might be made of it to the See of *Rome*. 1611.

Before I reſume the ſequel of what the return of the Deputies in the Provinces did produce, it will not be amiſs to ſpeak a word or two of a Sedition which the Catholicks excited at *Paris* againſt the *Reform'd*. Part of the Church-yard call'd *Trinity* was allow'd them. A perſon of the *Reform'd* Religion caus'd his Childs Corps to be carri'd thither in open day. Two Marſhals men accompany'd it to ſecure it. But their preſence did not hinder an Apprentice from abuſing and flinging of Stones at the *Reform'd* who follow'd the Corps: and his Maſter in imitation of it did the ſame. The Marſhals men endeavouring to ſuppreſs the ſaid Violence, encreas'd the evil inſtead of appeaſing it. The Mob fell upon them as well as upon the *Reform'd*. Several of them were wounded, and among the reſt one of the Officers. As the Court was yet uncertain of the ſucceſs of the Affairs of *Saumur*, they thought fit not to leave the ſaid *Sedition at* Paris.

1614. Sedition unpuniſh'd. Thoſe who had begun it were ſeiz'd. The Apprentice was condemn'd to the Whipping Poſt, and his Maſter to ſtand by. They appeal'd to the Parliament, which confirm'd the ſaid Sentence, and it was executed.

Return of the Deputies into their Provinces.

The Deputies of the Provinces being come home, Provincial Aſſemblies were call'd to hear their Proceedings. This report of new Aſſemblies made the Court fear that the diſcontents given to that of *Saumur* might be attended with worſe conſequences than was expected. New expedients were ſought after; and they follow'd the advice of the Marſhal *de Bouillon*, which was to ſend away the Commiſſioners the King had promis'd with all ſpeed; who under pretence of performing the anſwers to the *Cahier*, might eaſily diſſipate the ſaid Aſſemblies. Leſt the *Reform'd* Commiſſioners ſhould croſs that deſign, the Marſhal nam'd all thoſe that were at his Devotion in every Province. This was done with ſo little ſecrecy, that ſeveral Provinces refus'd to receive them. The Lower *Guyenne* gave the example of that refuſal; and ſeveral others follow'd it; tho the Wiſeſt were of opinion that it would be the beſt way to let them perform their Office without any hindrance. It will be eaſie to judge of what the Commiſſioners were to do in every Province, by the manner of proceeding of thoſe that were deputed for *Berry*. They arriv'd at *Blois* at the time the Synod was aſſembling there; and whereas they were not acquainted with the nature of thoſe Aſſemblies, they were ſurpriz'd to ſee it compos'd of 50 perſons; and cited them to appear before them. Twelve Deputies were ſent to them, having the Moderator and his Aſſociate at the Head of them. The Commiſſioners endeavoured to perſwade them that their Aſſembly favour'd of a Cabal; and in order to remove all ill thoughts from them, they made a large Diſcourſe to them about the Queens good intentions. The anſwer of the *Reform'd* was a little cold at firſt. They ſaid that they had been told the ſame at *Saumur*; That the Deputies General writ the ſame thing to them; and that there was no neceſſity to Cite the Aſſembly, only

Commiſſioners ſent to divers places who refuſe to receive them.

Synod at Blois which the Commiſſioners are alarm'd at.

to

to tell them that, They refus'd to acknowledge the Commiſſioners very civily, covering the ſaid refuſal with an intreaty that they would be pleas'd not to meddle with their Affairs, nor with the complaints that had already been preſented to them: and whereas the Commiſſioners did not diſiſt notwithſtanding their civility, the Aſſembly ſent them notice ſoon after it, That they appeal'd from their proceedings. The Commiſſioners on the other hand, acquainted the Court with their opinion of the ſaid Aſſembly. They ſaid that they had refus'd to acknowledge them in the quality of Commiſſioners; and that the Number of the Nobles was not ſo great as it us'd to be; That their Deputies went to and fro towards *Saumur*; That ſmall nocturnal Aſſemblies were form'd there under pretence of Treats; That they continu'd their Seſſion, notwithſtanding they had forbidden it; That they hinder'd them, with ſcorn from executing their Commiſſion; That *Vignier*, Moderator, had declar'd that the *Reform'd* would not accept the anſwer made to the *Cahiers* of the General Aſſembly; That they had new demands to make ſtill; That they would reſume in the National Synod which was to be held the following year at *Privas*, or at *Rochel*, what had been interrupted at *Saumur*; and that upon the order the Commiſſioners had given him to Diſolve the Aſſembly, he had anſwer'd that he would complain about it throughout the Kingdom. The Truth is that he explain'd himſelf the next day; and declar'd that he only meant the cuſtom of acquainting the Churches with all that paſs'd. Nevertheleſs, the Commiſſioners allow'd them to continue the ſaid Aſſembly, provided they meddled with nothing but the affairs of their Diſcipline: but they would not allow the report of what had been done at *Saumur* to be made otherwiſe than in their preſence. The manner in which they wrote at Court was a little envenom'd, but yet they own'd that the Deputies had expreſs'd a great deal of willingneſs and quickneſs in taking the Oath of Allegiance to the King and Queen. By allowing the continuation of the

1161.

They write to Court about it.

1611. Assembly, with the restriction I have mention'd, they hinder'd them from making a Provincial Council, according to the resolution of the General Assembly: and they were seconded in that by the Consistory of *Orleans*, whose Deputy *Memin* and *Hervet* Doctor in Phisick oppos'd the said Establishment with great heat, threatning even to acquaint the Magistrates with it. Moreover, the said *Hervet* writ a Libel against that design, which was not reliſh'd by the Court. These were the effects of the Divisions of *Saumur*, which were followed with the like discord in divers parts of the Kingdom.

Assembly at Castel-Jaloux which causes a kind of League of the Catholicks.

As Assemblies of this kind were made in all Parts, in which they renew'd the Oath of Union, one of the same kind was held at *Castel-Jaloux*, which gave an occasion to the Catholicks of *Guyenne* also to form a kind of Union among them, which savour'd very much of a League. The Commissioners I have been speaking of mention'd the said Union of the Catholicks in their Letters to the Queen; and in order to aleviate the reproach which that novelty deserved, they compar'd the Union of the *Reform'd* to the League it self. Nevertheless, there was this difference between them, That there was no Conspiracy against the Catholicks, which could oblige them to make a Confederacy to defend themselves: whereas the *Reform'd* saw one throughout *Europe*, of which they felt dismal effects in divers parts. That was sufficient to oblige them to stand upon their guard in *France*. The Protestants in *Germany* were abus'd in all places by the Catholicks. For which reason the Princes were assembled at *Rotenburg*, in order to apply themselves to their mutual preservation. Even in *France* they saw themselves expos'd to bear the burthen of every thing. The Jesuits had a violent desire to settle themselves at *Troyes* a rich City of *Champagne*, very Populous, and of a great Trade; and omitted nothing that Impudence, Deceit, and Malice are capable to invent in order to succeed in it. Nevertheless, they met so much opposition in their design, that they were constrain'd to give it over:

But

t the *Reform'd* ſuffer'd for it. The Jeſuits feign'd that 1611.
ir only deſign in endeavouring to ſettle in the ſaid City
s to hinder *Hereſie* from introducing it ſelf there. The
y in order to remove that pretence oblig'd it ſelf never
ſuffer the *Reform'd* to ſettle there: which reſolution
v have obſerv'd ſcrupulouſly.

This was not the only Mortification that Society receiv'd at *Mortifications receiv'd by the Jeſuits.*
t time. The *Sorbonne* divided their Cenſures between the
form'd and the Catholicks. As they had condemn'd the
ok of *du Pleſſis*, they alſo cenſur'd ſome propoſitions which
Jeſuits had advanced concerning *Ignatius* their Founder,
declar'd them Impious. One of their Robe cenſur'd
Cenſure; and having no better reaſon to alledge, he
intain'd that it was good for nothing but to rejoyce *Cha-*
ton and the Huguenots. They had a great Proceſs with
Univerſity, for the overture of their College. *Mar-*
ere a famous Advocate ſtun'd them by a thundring Plea:
whereas the Parliament was not oppreſs'd by a Superior
hority at that time, they gave a Decree in favour of the
iverſity. But the Jeſuits had the cunning to publiſh a
ter without a Name, which they feign'd to be written
hem, which comforted them for their Diſgrace, putting
m in hopes of a time that would prove more favoura-
to them.

Among the Commiſſioners that were ſent into the Pro- *Commiſſioners in the Country of Gex.*
ces, *le Maſuier* and *Villarnoul* had the diſtrict of *Burgundy*,
which the Country of *Gex* is a dependency. They did
meet with the ſame oppoſition in that Country, as had
n made elſe where to thoſe that had the ſame Commiſ-
n. Therefore we find ſeveral ordinances of theirs of the
of that year, and the beginning of the following, con-
ning the exerciſe of the *Reform'd* Religion in that little
liwick: and the Rule of their Judgments was the Edict
Nantes, which they look'd upon as a Common Law to
thoſe who liv'd under the King's Obedience. Moreover,
e of the ſaid Ordinances were given at the requeſt of
Biſhop of *Geneva*, and of the Catholicks of that *Canton*,
who

who desir'd that the said Law might be observ'd in favour of them. It was much for them at that time, to injoy the privileges of the Edict: but time has given them more boldness; and they have finally oppress'd in that Country those by whom their Fathers had formerly thought themselves very happy to be Tollerated. An Essay of it appear'd the following year.

The Reformed in a quarrel take the part of the House of Guise.

Perhaps the Reader will not be displeas'd to be informi'd by a small affair of the Court, how much the *Reform'd* were dispos'd to forget the hatred and violences paid incase they had been any wise incourag'd to do it by better Treatment. The Count *de Soissons*, Son to a younger Brother of the Princes of *Conde*, who had been the Head of the *Reform'd*, had a quarrel with the Duke of *Guise*. The Court sided with them as it is usual: but the Count was abandon'd almost by all the *Reform'd*: and the Dukes *de Bouillon*, *de Rohan*, *de Sully*, *la Noue*, *Gouvernet*, even the Grand-Sons of the Admiral *Chatillon*, and several others offer'd their service to the Duke of *Guise*. This was a very publick Proof that they would not call him to an account for the Blood and Pains, which his Father and 1612. Grand-Father had cost them.

The following year was spent in little Disputes, which without proceeding to an open War show'd nevertheless that there were great Animosities; and that one side had ill designs, and the others jealousies and diffidences. At

Death of the Lord de Vatan.

the very beginning there happen'd an affair which past without noise, tho it might have prov'd of ill consequence at another time. The Lord of *Vatan*, a little Town in *Berry* which was of some defence, and in which he held a Garrison, was accus'd of favouring the Sale of Prohibited Salt in that Province, and to make Money of it himself. The Court order'd Informations to be brought in against him: and that Gentleman thinking to terrifie those that did it, committed some Violences, which oblig'd the Court to put their orders in execution. The Rebellion of that Lord not being suppress'd by the first endeavours that

t were us'd to reduce him to his Duty, Forces were sent 1612.
inst him; he was besieg'd in his own House, and forc'd
surrender upon Discretion; and being sent Prisoner to
Conciergerie, he was condemn'd to Dye by the Parlia-
nt of *Paris*. He had flatter'd himself that the *Reform'd*
uld Interests themselves for the preservation of his
wn: but no body stir'd for him; and the Town was
en within sight of the *Reform'd*, who did not offer in
least to defend it. Not but that there were People who
aded the consequence of it; and who were of opinion
t they ought never to suffer the loss of any place of that
d, whatever pretences were us'd to attack it; by rea-
that if plausible pretences were sufficient, the Court
s too Ingenious not to find new ones daily, and to at-
k them one after another. But the Gentleman's case was
orreign to those in which Religion was concern'd, That
y did not think it reasonable to make a general affair
it; nor to give their Enemies a reason to reproach them
t they made use of the Cities that were committed to
r Guard, for the security of their Conscience and
es to protect those that were Violators of the Laws of
State. The Judges allow'd the Baron *de Vatan*, after
had receiv'd his Sentence to send for a Minister in Pri-
to prepare him to Dye. The *Reform'd* either Prisoners,
such as repaird thither to accompany him had a mind to
some Verses of Psalms. But the Catholick Prisoners
others who came there out of Curiosity oppos'd it di-
ectly: and *Fuzil* Curate of the Parish of St. *Bartholomew*,
o came there in hopes of an occasion to perform some
on worthy of his Zeal, was one of the most earnest,
boldest. Their pretence was that the Edict allow'd to
nfort the Prisoners, but not to perform the exercise of
Reform'd Religion in Prisons upon that account: much
in that place which was the Chapel of the *Conciergerie*.
e *Reform'd* obey'd; and the Tumult ceas'd.

They allow him a Minister to prepare him to Dye, but they hinder him from singing Psalms.

But

1612. But at the begining of the same year, there were Depu
of Eight Provinces at Court, which did meet together in o
der to send thither, to resume the Affairs in the same conditio
in which the General Assembly had left them; and to Solic
His Majesty to add something more favourable, and more e
press to the answers he had made to their *Cahier*. The Depu
General receiv'd them as if they had spoken in the Nam
of all the Churches, because they were Deputed by
many Provinces, which were those in which the *Reform*
were the strongest. The Court did not use them so. Th
were resolv'd to Condemn the Provincial Assemblys that h
Deputed them, as Unlawful Assemblys: and therefore th
were oblig'd to send them back again without seeing,
hearing them. But the fear of exasperating the said Pr
vinces by that Affront, made them finally resolve to he
them, after some difficulties. Moreover they enter'd in
some Negociation with them; and the Queen being desiro
to have *Du Plessis* advice upon their Demands by an Expre
she sent to him it inclined People to believe that that affa
would have a happy Issue. The Marshal *de Bouillon* hinder'd i
and took it as an Affront to him and his that more should
granted at the Solicitation of the Deputies of those Unlawf
Assemblys, than the Assembly of *Saumur* had been able to o
tain. The Court which had no Inclination to favour the *R*
form'd easily comply'd with the Marshal Duke; and taking fo
pretence that those Deputys of divers Assemblys not allow
of, could not be look'd upon otherwise than as private Pe
sons who assum'd the name of the General, they were sent ba
without an Answer. Moreover the Court added Contume
to Severity; discharging them in Writing in very offensi
Terms, which reflected at once on their Commission a
their Persons.

Deputies of the Provinces at Paris.

Sent back Outragiously.

In the mean time they endeavour'd to prevent the ev
which they foresaw that rigour might occasion; but th
way they took for it prov'd more Injurous than the Evil i
self; and incuring one Wound made another more consid
rable, and more dangerous. Among all the Resolutions

e Aſſembly of *Saumur*, there was none troubled the 1612.
ourt more than that of Eſtabliſhing Provincial Councils.
he Truth is that difficultys were met with in divers pla-
s for the Execution of that Regulation, and the ſame diſ-
or'd which had troubled the General Aſſembly, imbroyl'd
e particular ones: ſo that it made the Enterpriſe miſcarry
ſome Provinces. But that Eſtabliſhment was made in o-
ers; and neither Brigues, nor Craft could hinder it, The
ourt had no mind to proceed openly to the ſuppreſſing of
e ſaid Aſſemblys for fear of expoſing their Authority, by a
eſolution they might not be able to perform: But on the
her hand this new form of Aſſemblys, which faſtned the
nion of the Churches with new Links, which the Coun-
l deſign'd to break at any rate, was the more Odious to the
ouncil, by reaſon that it was advantageous to the Party they
d a mind to Ruin. For that reaſon they bethought them-
lves of a Wile, which without prohibiting them directly
ade them paſs Indirectly for Unlawful: and that deſign was
ver'd with the pretence of ſecuring thoſe againſt the procee-
ngs of Juſtice as had aſſiſted in the Aſſemblies of which the
eputies had been ſent back by the Court with contumely. The
ng gave a Declaration on the 24*th* of *April*, which beginning *Decleration of the* 24th *of* April.
ith the deſign he had had to purſue for the preſervation
f the State the means which the Late King had us'd, to
ake it paſs from an extream deſolation to a perfect Splen-
or, by degrees took notice of the anſwers given to the
hiers of the Aſſembly of *Saumur*, and of the ſending of
ommiſſioners into the Provinces. Thoſe two things were
ropos'd in it as great proofs of the good Intentions of the
ourt, and as proper Expedients to remove all the Jealouſies
d Fears, which had given the *Reform'd* a pretence to hold
me Aſſemblys without leave, and which had created jealou-
es in others. Thoſe Aſſemblies were only ſpoken of by the by:
ey were only ſtil'd *Extraordinary*; and they were only imput-
d to *ſome* of the *Reform'd*; They ſaid that they were only con-
en'd in ſome Provinces; The King declar'd that he was very
ell ſatisfy'd with the good Will, Zeal and Loyalty of the

1611. Generality: Nevertheless he alter'd his tone all of a sudden; and calling that a Crime, which he had just before expressed in such mild Terms, he granted the Remission and Forgiveness of the fault Committed by those who had occasion'd the said Assemblys and had been concern'd in the same, forbiding his Attorneys General and their Substitutes to make any Inquiry after, or prosecution for the same. So far there only appear'd a prelude, of which the Mistery was conceal'd: but finally the last Article of the Declaration reveal'd it, prohibiting all Assemblys of that nature for the future, declaring them to be Interdicted by the 28 Article of the Edict, by the Ordinance of the *16th.* of *March* 1606, and by the Answer given to the *Calvists* in the Month of *August* of the said Year. Nevertheless the King allow'd the *Reformed* still a full Liberty to hold Consistorys, Conferences, Provincial and National Synods, on condition that none but Ministers and Elders should be admitted in the same, and that they should only treat of their Doctrine and Ecclesiastical Discipline, on pain of forfeiting the Right of holding such Assemblies. The Moderators were to be responsable for it: and the Cognisance of the infractions was referr'd to the first Master of Requests being upon the place.

The Deputies General oppose the Involement.

The Deputies General being inform'd that the said Declaration was sent to the Parliament, in order to be Registred, form'd an opposition against it by a Petition, which contain'd an express disavowal of having requir'd it; protesting that they look'd upon it as injurious and prejudicial to the *Reform'd*, and that in the name of the General they refused to make use of it. This opposition, and the proceedings of the said Deputies at Court, in order to put a stop to the said Declaration, stopt the Parliament for some days. But whereas the Court had only given that Pardon, to the end, that supposing the said Assembly to be Criminal, they might have a pretence to suppress them for the future, proceeded on: and the said Declaration was verifi'd on the 25 of *May* in the Parliament of *Paris*, and in other places sooner, or later, according to the force of their Intrigues.

Moreover

Moreover the Court found out some *Reform'd* who desir'd the Inrolment of it, under pretence that having been ingag'd imprudently in the said Assemblys, without knowing whether they were lawful or no, they stood in need of a Pardon for their Security. They were Creatures of Marshal *de Bouillon*, who had only assisted in them, in order to cross the Resolutions of the rest, or to give informations of what pass'd there. But yet the refusal of it was look'd upon as general, since it was made by the Deputies General, who did represent all the Churches. So that the Inrolment of the said Declaration had something very singular in it. It granted a Pardon to persons who desir'd none; and to whom it was only granted, in order to make them declare themselves guilty by accepting of it. It was a very new sort of kindness to pardon people against their Wills, who desir'd no Pardon; and notwithstanding their opposition to make a Law of a Remission against which the persons concern'd did protest, before the publication of it. 1612. *Which is notwithstanding perform'd.*

The Inrolment was made the very next day after the Overture of the National Synod, which was begun that year at *Privas* on the 24*th* of *May*: as if the Court expecting that the Synod would make some new Protestation against the Declaration, had design'd to put it past retracting, when they should make remonstrances about it. It is certain at least that this Synod resented it highly; as I will relate it after having mention'd some other important Acts which preceded it. This is one of the Synods that enter'd farthest into Political Affairs. They examin'd the Conduct of those that had created a Scisme at *Saumur*, and that united themselves to prefer the smaller number to the Plurality of Voices, according to the Queens Letter. They pronounc'd a general Censure against those that were concern'd in that Conspiracy. They declar'd that the concord so often Sworn, had been violated by that Artifice; and that the Divisions of the Assembly had given the King's Council an occasion to wave their just demands. Therefore they renew'd the Union, which was sign'd and Sworn by all the De- *National Synod of* Privas. *Censures about the Divisions of* Saumur.

1612. Deputies; who promis'd to get it sign'd and sworn by all the Churches of their Provinces. The Instrument that was drawn of it contain'd a promise to Live and Dye in the profession of their Confession of Faith and Discipline, *under the Authority and for the Service* of the King and Queen Regent, *the Empire of God remaining whole.* It was in order to contribute to that Union that a last and definitive division of the Kingdom was made into 16 Provinces, in which *Bearn* was Comprehended. Till then the number had not always been the same: which had sometimes occasion'd disputes in the Deputations to the National Synods, and General Assemblies.

Union Signed and Sworn.

Private Divisions.

In the next place the Synod took Cognisance of some divisions which occasion'd mischief and scandal in several places. There were places where the Governor and Minister did not agree: The one being of the number of the *Complaisant*, and the other of the *Zealous*. In other places the Ministers could not agree among themselves; which created Parties in their Churches, which the Court knew very well how to improve. Even at *Montauban*, *Benoit* and *Beraud* had continual disputes. *Beraud* was the most passionate of the two: he had more Vigor and Impatience, and was capable in case of necessity to quit the Pen to draw a Sword: which in time drew mortifying affairs upon him. *Benoit* had more weakness: but his Cause was the best; and the Synod of the Province had adjuged it more than once in his favour. Nevertheless, the National Synod oblig'd him to yield to his Competitor; and sent him to serve in the Neighbourhood: but in order to comfort him for that disgrace, they gave him very honourable Testimonials. The Synod thought themselves oblig'd to perform this Act of Authority, for the preservation of *Montauban*, which might have been in danger'd by the continuation of a dispute which had already lasted many years.

Ferrier was not forgotten in that Synod. It was upon his account they made an Act which excluded the Professors of Theology out of the Political Assemblies. But they proceeded farther yet against him, and tryed him in a very mortifying

g manner. He had of late thrown of his Mask with ſo 1612.
ttle prudence, that he ſeem'd to have loſt his Sences. The
arty he had taken at *Saumur* had render'd him odious in his
rovince, and to one part of his Church. He was ſenſible that
ey would proſecute him in the National Synod: and that
f the Lower *Languedock* was ſo prejudiced againſt him, that
e was affraid of a ſhameful Cenſure. But the means he
s'd to prevent it, only ſerv'd to render it inevitable. He
ade ſeveral ſuſpicious journeys to Court, without the par-
cipation of his Church. The Miniſters of *Paris* who
ook'd upon him as a dangerous man, us'd their utmoſt en-
eavours to reclaim him. They thought to flatter his am-
ition by offering him a place in their Church, which wan-
ed a Miniſter: and there was a great deal of reaſon to be-
eve that having by his ill Conduct reduc'd himſelf to the ne-
eſſity of quiting the Church of *Nimes*, his vocation in the ſer-
ice of the Church of *Paris* would make him amends for
at diſgrace, and would be a fair pretence for him to quit
is Province with honour. Beſides they were leſs afraid of
im at *Paris* than at *Nimes*. He would have had learned, vigo-
ous Collegues there, to have an eye over his actions, who would
erhaps have prevented his total ruin. He accepted the offers
at were made to him at firſt; and even receiv'd the reproach-
s that were made to him for his paſt faults with great marks
f Repentance. He confeſs'd all; he condemn'd himſelf; he wept; but after having promis'd never to abandon his Profeſſion, and to exert it at *Paris*; he retracted it unhandſomely: and whether it were that he had promis'd to do things for the ſervice of the Court, which this new vocation would diſable him from performing; or whether he thought he had credit enough by his friends means, to maintain himſelf at *Nimes* in ſpite of his Province; or whether he were abſolutely poſſeſs'd by the Jeſuits, and only acted by their inſpirations, he left *Paris* without a pretence; and without taking his leave of the Miniſters there, from whom he had receiv'd ſo civil and honourable a Treatment.

All

1612. All this was taken into consideration at *Privas*; and *du Moulin* who gave an account there of what had pa at *Paris*, where *Ferrier* had discover'd a mind equally haughty, fickle and without Faith, represented his co duct to be very irregular. Divers accusations were added to relating to his life past, which was examined rigorously They upbraided him for having neglected his profession of Theology; for having Preach'd Doctrines that were not Orthodox; for having taken upon him the manage ment of Money, and apply'd a very considerable Sum of it to his own use unlawfully; for having himself forg'd or consented to the forging of certain Letters which ha ingag'd him into shameful affairs, and dishonourable di guises. They censur'd him severely upon all these Ar ticles; but besides the Verbal Censure, the Synod Injoyn'd him to write to the Church of *Paris* to make them satisfaction; forbad him to appear in Political Assemblies for the space of six years; and order'd him to exer his Ministry out of the Province of *Languedoc*.

Grave accusations against him in the Synod.

Which censures him grievously.

Ferrier was too haughty to obey; and tho he did no expect so ill a treatment, he was not disheartned. He ha Friends at *Nimes*, and his Faction was increas'd by all those who were at the devotion of the Court. By thos means he prevail'd with the Church and City of *Nime* to send Deputies to the Synod on his behalf. They chos them among the Councelors of the Presidial, the Body o the City and the Ministers. The Synod gave them a hearing; and they omitted nothing to prevail upon them and to obtain the Revocation of their Judgment: but all in vain. Moreover the Synod express'd their displeasure at so considerable a Deputation, to favour a Man who betray'd the Common Cause. The Ministers who were joyn'd in it, were censur'd for their complaisance; and the *Memoirs* they had brought in order to his justificati on were call'd calumnious. But whereas they were sen sible that *Ferrier* would not stop there; and that the Ma gistracy being of his side he would keep his Ministry, o which

Nimes *deputes to preserve him.*

hich they had not ſuſpended the Functions, they declar'd him aggravating the matter, that he was actually ſuſnded from that moment, unleſs he obey'd. Nevertheſs as they had no mind to exaſperate him, the Synod ving thought fit to ſend *Chamier* to the Academy of *ntauban*, which deſir'd him for their Profeſſor in Divini- they ſent *Ferrier* to *Montelimar* in his room. But is Indulgence of the Synod did not ſucceed according their expectation. 1612. *And the Synod aggravates.*

The ſaid Synod alſo receiv'd the Complaints of that *Blois*, againſt thoſe who had hinder'd them by their poſitions from forming a Provincial Council, according the reſolution taken at *Saumur*: and in order to ap- proper remedies to an affair of ſo ill an example, ey deputed three Miniſters and two Elders, whom they rg'd to examine that affair to the bottom, and to ceed to ſuſpention, and even to depoſe the Guil- *Complaints of the Synod of* Blois.

But the greateſt affair that was treated there, was that the Declaration of the 24*th* of *April* which the Synod own'd ſolemly by an Act that was Sign'd by the Mo- ator, his Aſſociate and the Secretaries, which was ſent all the Churches, and even Printed in order to ſend pies of it throughout *Europe*. The Synod pretended t there was a flaw in the Pardon granted by that claration; ſince there had been no crime committed to der it neceſſary, that the Aſſemblies that had been d ſince that of *Saumur* were lawful; that the like d often been held during the Reign of *Henry* the 4*th*. hout his ever complaining againſt them; That when- r a permiſſion was given to hold a General Aſſem- , it included leave to hold particular ones either be- e the General, to Nominate the Deputies that were to ſt at it; or after it to give them an account of their nſactions there. This was particularly grounded on the y form of the fatal Letter, the Queen had written the Aſſembly of *Saumur*, which commanding the Depu-

1612. Deputies to break up, order'd them at the ſame time to carry aſſurances of the King's good Intentions into their Provinces: which had induc'd the general Aſſembly to ſummon particular ones, to acquaint them with thoſe good diſpoſitions. They added that the Council was not ignorant of the reſolution of holding thoſe particular Aſſemblies ſince the Commiſſioners that were ſent into divers places, had receiv'd Orders to repair thither, if poſſible before the Overture: That the King had ſent ſome Perſons of Quality to aſſiſt at them in his Name, in ſome Provinces: That the King's Lieutenants, Magiſtrates, Councellors and Preſidents, had ſent for ſome of the Deputies of thoſe Aſſemblies to ſpeak to them, and to know their Intentions: That the very Commiſſioners nominated by the King had aſſiſted at ſome of them: That their *Cahiers* had been receiv'd in the Council, and that they had treated about the Anſwers that were to be made to them; from whence the Synod inferr'd that the ſaid Aſſemblies were neither Criminal nor Clandeſtine. They complain'd that the *Reform'd* were blacken'd by that Tacit reproach: That it reviv'd former hatreds, making them odious both at home and abroad by thoſe oblique accuſations: which were contrary to the peace of the State. Therefore they ſeconded the intreaties which the Deputies General had made, and the Petition they had preſented to the Parliament of *Paris*; and did proteſt that the *Reform'd* had neither required nor ſought after thoſe Letters, not deeming themſelves guilty in any reſpect, and being ready to expoſe themſelves to all manner of torments rather than to ſuffer their Loyalty to be tainted by that ſpot. They proteſted that they would make no manner of uſe of the pretended Pardon; and that they diſown'd all the proceedings, avowals, and approbations the ſaid Declaration might take the advantage of, as being contrary to their approv'd fidelity, in which they promis'd to perſevere, and to maintain it with their Fortunes, Lives and Honours. This Act was dated the 2*d.* of *June*: and the Synod charg-

harg'd the Churches of thoſe places where there were Chambers of the Edict, to make Remonſtrances to the Counſellors who had ſuffer'd the Inrollment of the ſaid Declaration to be made without a vigorous oppoſition: nd the Churches of Cities in which there were Parliaents, were alſo order'd to preſent the proteſtations of he Synod to them. 1612.

They alſo writ to the Marſhals *de Bouillon* and *de Leſiguieres*, to deſire them to aſſiſt the Deputies General, in rder to obtain the revocation of that injurious Pardon nd moreover becauſe the Synod dreaded the conſequens of the Diviſion that had broke out at *Saumur*; hey imployed their utmoſt cares to reconcile Peoples inds. They charg'd the Deputies General to imploy emſelves about it, and gave them for Aſſociates *Du Moulin*, *Durant* and *de Liſle Grolot*, a man of great mer and credit. They wrote to all thoſe who were any iſe concern'd in thoſe diſorders, and made very lively nd very preſſing exhortations to them; and declaring themlves poſitively for thoſe who had inſiſted for moſt ſure, they intreated the Marſhal *de Bouillon* and *de Leſdiieres* to joyn themſelves again to the Dukes of *Rohan* nd *de Sully*, to *La Force*, *Soubiſe* and *Du Pleſſis*, and the eſt of thoſe that were Zealous; to forget all that was aſt, and all the diverſity of ſentiments and of opinins; to lay aſide all animoſities fomented by their comon enemies; to unite themſelves to the Churches in heir Remonſtrances, in order to obtain favourable anwers, at leaſt upon their moſt important demands. They rit at the ſame time to *Chatillon*, to the Duke *de Rohan*, o *Parabere*, and to others upon the ſame ſubject, to exort them to a Reconciliation, and to make a Sacrifice f their Reſentments to the good of the Churches. The utches *de La Trimouille* was not forgotten. She had egun to apply her ſelf to that Work: The Synod writ o her to continue; and to breed her Children in good entiments of the *Reform'd* Religion. The ſaid Letters were

Cares of the Synods for the reconciliation of the Grandees.

1612. carried by divers Persons, who were able to second them but by reason that the Division had pass'd from the great ones to the inferiour sort, the Synod also made strong exhortations to private Persons to reunite themselves; and conjur'd them in a very moving manner not to abandon the Common Cause. Neither did they forget to threaten the obstinate with Ecclesiastical Censures, or to denote the Vengeances and Judgments of God against them: and they charg'd all the Ministers to endeavour to restore concord in their Flocks.

Brief of augmentation of the Sums allow'd to the Reform'd.

The Deputies General had brought the Synod a Brief of 15000 Crowns which the King granted for an augmention to the Sallaries of the Ministers. It was dated on the first of *October* last past; and contain'd only what related to the augmentation. Another had been granted before, to confirm that of 45000 Crowns of which the King promis'd to continue the payment; declaring that he knew what considerations had oblig'd the King his Father to give that Sum to the *Reform'd*, to be imployd about their secret affairs. Therefore the King allow'd the *Reform'd* the same Liberty to dispose of that Sum, which had been granted to them by the Briefs of the late King. But the King did not design to do the same thing in relation to the Brief of augmentation, which the Court undertook to distribute themselves. Insomuch that the said grant which look'd like a favour, was in reality a dangerous Snare. All those who were self-interested were fir'd with the hopes of obtaining more from the Court out of that Sum than they expected to get from the Synod, in which the Distributions were made with more Husbandry and Equity. So that it was easy for the Court to make that serve to corrupt the *Reform'd*, which seem'd to be given to oblige them. Some private Persons had already made their Addresses to the King, in the short time that was past since the Date of the Brief in order to obtain some gratification out of that new Sum. Even some Communities had been taken by that Charm, and the City of

Ber-

Bergerac had obtain'd 15000 Livers that way, under pretence of erecting a College. 1612.

Alterations made to the ſtate of the Reform'd *in the County of* Gex.

Moreover it occaſion'd a great Alteration that year in the State of Religion in the Bayliwick of *Gex*, I have related in another place the condition of the *Reform'd* there, when that Country was ſurrender'd to the King by the Duke of *Savoy*. It is the Natural Obligation of Princes to leave all things in the condition in which they find them, when they fall into their hands; at leaſt as to what relates to thoſe Rights which ſubjection cannot deprive Men of; ſuch as are thoſe of Conſcience, and of Priviledges acquir'd by a long Poſſeſſion in favour of Liberty. For which reaſon *Henry* the IV. had made no alterations there; contenting himſelf with reſtoring the free exerciſe of the Catholick Religion there, until means could be found to reconcile the two Parties about the poſſeſſion of Eſtates and Buildings. But *Lewis* the XIII. his Succeſſor would no longer keep the ſame meaſures. The Commiſſioners which he had ſent into *Burgundy*, of which that Bayliwick was a dependency, took at once from the *Reform'd* both the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, and the Houſes, which had formerly been imploy'd for the *Roman* Church. In order to make them ſome amends for that loſs, the King allow'd them 1200 Crowns for the Salery of their Miniſters; and took the ſaid Sum out of the 15000 which he allow'd the *Reform'd* more than the late King had granted them, in recompence of their Tithes. To this he added leave to build Temples: but he gave no fund towards it. He only order'd two very illuſive things; the one was that they ſhould take materials from the demoliſh'd Convents to imploy them towards theſe new Buildings: the other, that the Catholicks ſhould pay the reparations and amendments of their Churches; and that the ſaid Money ſhould be apply'd towards the Conſtructions of the ſaid Temples: This was the way to Involve the *Reform'd* into continual Law Suits, to recompence them for the Eſtates that were taken from them: beſides it re-

1612. duc'd the Salary of the Miniſters to a very inconſiderable thing, ſince they were only allow'd 1200 Crowns, tho there were 12 Miniſters at that time in the ſaid Bayliwick. Inſomuch that taking out of the ſaid grant the indiſpenſible Charges which every Church was oblig'd to be at yearly, there did not remain enough to allow each Miniſter a Penſion of a 100 Crowns. But that which was moſt remarkable was that the King indemniſied the Churches of *Gex* at the coſt of the other Churches of his Kingdom; taking out of what he had promiſed to ſome, wherewith to make the others ſubſiſt.

The Synod endeavours to prevent the abuſe that is made of the ſaid augmentation.

The National Synod having part of theſe things before their eyes, and foreſeeing the reſt, endeavour'd to remedy the ſame. Therefore they charg'd the Deputies General on the one hand humbly to beſeech his Majeſty to leave the receit and diſtribution of the ſaid Sum to the *Reform'd*, as the King his Father had allow'd them the Care and Management of that which he had granted them; and on the other they order'd them to oppoſe the endeavours of thoſe who ſhould make their applications to the Court, in order to obtain ſome Penſion out of the ſaid Sum, to the prejudice of the right of the Synods and of the common good. The Town of *Bergerac* was highly cenſur'd for having taken that way to obtain the Sum that was granted them; and the Synod injoyn'd them to deſiſt from that pretention, and not to pretend any thing out of that Sum, unleſs by the approbation and Will of the Aſſembly. It proved ſomewhat difficult at firſt to make them obey; but finally, the Synod having ſent expreſs Deputies thither, to remonſtrate the conſequences of the thing to them, they ſubmitted to the diſcretion of the Synod; and 1200 Livers were granted them ſoon after it for their College.

And renews the demands of the Aſſembly of Saumur.

The ſame Synod renewed all the demands the Aſſembly of *Saumur* had already made; and declaring that they were not ſatisfied with the Anſwers to the *Cahiers* of the ſaid Aſſembly, they form'd others juſt like them, and charg'd the Deputies General to endeavour to obtain more favourable

e answers than the preceeding. But no Article was so 1612.
rnestly recommended to them, as that which desir'd that
e *Reform'd* might not be oblig'd to call their Religion them-
ves *Pretended Reform'd*. The Synod charged them to de-
are in the name of all the *Reform'd*, that they would soon-
undergo a thousand Racks than to give their Religion that
ious Title. As many Persons may be surpris'd without
ubt to see the same Article press'd so often with so much
rnestness, and perhaps may not at first perceive the con-
quence of it, I will give you a short account of the Rea-
ns which oblig'd the *Reform'd* to insist so much upon that
atter. Therefore I will observe once for all, that the word
etended is equivocal. It often signifies the undecided and
ubtful state of a thing in contestation, upon which nothing
s been determin'd as yet to bind the Parties: The Judges
ake use of it as of an indifferent term, when before the de-
ion they speak of the things which are pretended by one of
e Parties, and disputed by the other: and sometimes also
the Instruments that are common to both, the parties
ake use of it in speaking of their Rights, without being a-
id of doing themselves any prejudice. In a word, *Pre-
ded* is relative to *Pretention*, and in that sence implys
thing suspicious, or offensive. But it is yet more usually
ken in a signification almost equivalent to the Terms of
se and Unlawful: and whereas the first sence is in some
asure reserv'd for the Barr, the second is of a common use
ery where else. So that there are words to which the
ord *pretended* cannot be joyn'd without giving it an in-
ious sence. You cannot apply a *pretended* Merit, or
tended Vertue to any body without offence: and in that
e a *pretended* Schollar, signifies an ignorant Person.
is use of it draws another after it, *viz.* That the word
etended becomes Ironical in several occasions, and gives
offensive air of reproach and railery to discourse. There-
e the *Reform'd* being sencible what was meant, when
ey were call'd *Pretended Reform'd*, took it for an affront.
be oblig'd to give themselves that equivocal Name; as

Reasons of the Repugnancy so often express'd against the Names of Pretended Reform'd Religion.

if

1612. if they had approv'd the opinion which the Catholicks ha of their Religion and of their Doctrine.

Complaints concerning the Commissioners.

The Deputies General were also minded to complain of th Illusive Journey of the Commissioners. It was apparent tha the Court had not sent them to better the condition of th *Reform'd*. Their main Function had only been to dissolve th particular Assemblies, and to hinder the establishment of th Provincial Councils. Besides which, they had hardly give any decisive Ordinances; and they had left all the a fairs undecided either by divisions or removals to the Counc Their chief expeditions were only to give some Church-yard and far from doing the *Reform'd* Justice upon their Complaint they had made their condition worse in some places than was before. They gave the Deputies General Instruction and Memoirs to second those Remonstrances. The affair o the Churches of the Bayliwick of *Gex* were compr hended in them; and the Deputies General were charg to desire that the Sum which the King allow'd them out o the 15000 Crowns of augmentation might be assign'd to them upon other Funds, and that something more might be a low'd to them to build their Temples.

Resolution no longer to send particular Deputations to the Court

The success of the Solicitations which the Deputies o the particular Assemblies had made at Court, had been s unfortunate, that in order no longer to offend the Court which took no delight in being troubled with Deputies the Synod resolv'd for the future to imploy the Deputies General to the end that their representations being deli ver'd to the King by Persons that were agreable to him they might obtain more favourable answers. Therefore they charg'd them with a large *Cahier*, and with the Solicitat on of such things as they should have demanded at anot ther time by a particular Deputation.

Force of the Reform'd in the County of Avignon.

It is observable that the number of the *Reform'd* was so considerable at that time in the County of *Avignon*, that they esteem'd themselves strong enough to form a Pro vince a part. They desir'd three things of the Synod: To be receiv'd in the communion of the Churches of *France*:

To

make a particular Province, without being mixt with ſe that were adjacent; and to be aſſiſted with ſome Sums Money to make the ſaid Eſtabliſhment. The Synod nted them the firſt Article; referr'd the ſecond to a lirical Aſſembly; and excuſed themſelves upon the third. t but that the Synod had ſome Money good out of the ceeding years: but they deſign'd it for other uſes. They k ſeveral Sums out of it to gratifie private perſons. A- ng the reſt, *Thomſon* Miniſter of *La Chataigneraye*, had a compence given him of three hundred Livers for the Book which he had given the Title of *The Chace of the Roman* : and *Vignier* had a gratification of two thouſand Li- s for the *Theatre of Antichriſt*, which he had writen by mmand of the National Synod of *Rochel*. This may ve to ſhow that the Synod had not alter'd their Sentiments ut the matter of Antichriſt. *Gratification.*

Soon after the breaking up of the Synod, the Court being s'd on ſeveral ſides to revoke the Declaration which made ſo much noiſe; and being moreover diſturb'd a- t the troubles that were forming in *Saintonge* and at *Ro-* , which might be attended with ill conſequences, put a new Declaration, which under pretence of removing Scandal which the preceding had occaſion'd, did not- hſtanding confirm it. It ſuppo'd that the preceding had y been granted at the requeſt of ſome particular Per- s, who were afraid of being proſecuted for having aſſiſted Aſſemblies which had been held without leave, and for ha- g been guilty of ſome ſuſpicious actions, as Liſting of n: which had given them ſome diſquiet, by reaſon that e of them had been inform'd againſt in the Chambers he Edict: But whereas ſome People look'd upon that don not ſo much as a remedy for the fears of thoſe who wiſely think they ſtood in need of it; as a deſire to lay a miſh upon the general, the King was willing to remove all nner of pretence from the diſaffected, and to ſatisfie the d Subjects, who joyn'd the Zeal of their Religion to ir obedience, and only deſir'd to enjoy the benifit of *New Declarations upon the preceeding.*

the

1612. the Edicts in Peace. He said that the number of those was much the greatest; and comprehended those in it who had most power to help to maintain publick Tranquility. Therefore he declar'd by way of Eſclairciſſement upon the Declaration of the 24*th* of *April*, That he was very well ſatisfi'd with the *Reform'd* in general, and that for that reaſon he did forget the faults of particular perſons, which ſhould no wiſe reflect upon them for the future, provided that they kept within the bounds of their Allegiance, and of the obſervation of the Edicts.

Which gives no ſatisfaction.

This new Declaration was dated *July* the 11*th*. It was drawn in Terms which at the bottom ſignifi'd nothing; and which ſhowing that the firſt had been publiſh'd upon certain informations made on purpoſe, to ſerve for a pretence to the Act of Grace they had a mind to give, reduc'd it to a particular Pardon; in which the generality ſeem'd not to be concern'd. But at the bottom the King not naming thoſe he was ſatisfi'd with, nor thoſe of whom he complain'd, it remain'd ſtill uncertain and undecided to whom the ſaid Pardon did belong; which many, and even the greater number of thoſe that had aſſiſted in the Aſſemblies would not accept of: and conſequently they had as much reaſon to complain of the ſecond Declaration as of the firſt. Moreover the Aſſemblies remain'd ſtill under condemnation as unlawful; and conſequently prohibited for the future. Therefore that expedient prov'd inefectual; and leſt the Evil might go farther, they were forc'd once more to take it in hand again.

Cahiers anſwer'd.

I have obſerv'd that the Synod had indeavour'd to ground the right of Particular Aſſemblies, upon the Courts having receiv'd their *Cahiers*, and given favourable anſwers to the ſame. The truth is nevertheleſs, as I have ſaid it elſewhere, that the Deputies were diſmiſs'd in a kind of inſulting manner; and that they had not the ſatisfaction to bring back thoſe anſwers. They were made to the *Cahiers* as preſented by the Deputies General, without looking upon them

coming from particular Provinces. Three * *Cahiers* were 1612.
us answer'd on the 17*th* of *April*. The first contain'd se- * *Petitions or Addresses.*
eral Articles extracted out of the *Cahier* of *Saumur*. There
as one among the rest relating to little Schools, whereby
e King was desir'd to remove the restriction of the num-
er mention'd in the Answer to the 18*th* Article of the *Cahier*
f *Saumur*; and that the said Article should no wise preju-
ce the concession of the Edict, which allow'd *Reform'd*
hollars to be receiv'd without distinction into the pub-
k Colleges. There was another which desir'd that the
eform'd Associates, which were deprived of a deliberative
oice by the Answer to the 34*th*, might have it in Judgments;
in those places where the *Reform'd* were the strongest, they
ow'd it without contestation to the Catholick Associates.
he King did grant the last: and as to the preceeding he rever-
d the restriction in relation to such places in which the Exer-
e of the Reform'd Religion was allow'd in the Subburbs; pro-
ded they were Children belonging to the Town or Subburbs:
d he allow'ed the said Schools in the Town it self: but he only
ow'd the Children of the places adjacent to be sent to School
the Suburbs: and he also confirm'd the privilege of sending
ildren to publick Colleges, as it was allowed by the Edict.

The second relating to the Administration of Justice was
swer'd the same day; and among other things the King
nfirm'd the preceding Settlements, which render'd the
ambers of the Edict Judges of their own Jurisdiction and
wer: but he added a word to it, which opened a way to
ve the said Concession, reducing it to the Settlements
de and *observ'd*. So that under colour of granting all, he
anted nothing, since the *Reform'd* had no need of a new
w for such places in which the old ones were observ'd:
t only to put them in force again in those where they
re not observ'd. The King also granted that the *Reform'd*
ould not be lyable to be Sequestrators of the Ecclesiasti-
l Estates seiz'd upon for the Tithes; but it was his plea-
re that incase they should accept it voluntarily, they
ould be subject to the ordinary jurisdiction, and should
t pretend a removal to the Chambers.

1612. The third which related to the Affairs of *Dauphine*, which were commonly treated of apart, was also answer'd the same day; and among several other Articles, the King particularly granted these; That the Grounds given to serve for Church-yards should be freed from paying of *Tailles*, and Rents due to the King; or that incase they should Lay in the Royalty of any other Lord they should have the same discharge, the said Lords being indemnifi'd at the charge of the Communities, injoyning the exemption: That the number of the Judges allow'd of requir'd to judge according to the Ordinances, not being found in the Chamber of *Grenoble*, the Parties might of Right, and without having recourse to the King, or to the great Council, apply themselves to the next Chamber; as it was already allow'd in Case the Judges were divided in their Opinions: That the *Reform'd* Associate who should be taken by the Catholick Judge, to assist at the Information of Criminal Causes, should also be taken for Assessor with a deliberative Voice in the Judgment, That the Parliament should not be allow'd to give a * *Pareatis*, nor to give a Decree in Causes depending in the Chamber, against persons who publickly profess'd the Reform'd Religion. That the King should create a *Reform'd* Secretary and a Messenger, to be officiated by such persons as should be nominated by the Churches of the Province, with the same Sallarys and Prerogatives as others who had the same Offices: That the Parties who had reason to complain of the Ordinances made by the Commissioners, which the late King had deputed for the Verification of the Country Debts, might appeal from their Judgment in three Months time to the Party-Chamber.

* *Injunction.*

Enterprises of the Parliaments upon the Jurisdiction of the Chambers.

It appears by those *Cahiers* that the Chambers had daily new disputes with the Parliaments, concerning their Jurisdiction and Power: So that those Judges allow'd to the *Reform'd*, to exempt them from putting their Affairs and Lives into the hands of other suspected or partial Judges, for the most part only serv'd to engage them into disputes of Jurisdiction, which almost distracted them. The Parliaments could not accustom themselves to that dismembring of their own

wn Juriſdiction, which depriv'd them of the major part of Af- 1612.
irs. Therefore upon the leaſt ground they retain'd the
auſes of the *Reform'd*, and refus'd their appeals. At *Paris*
man pretending to have a right of ſight upon a certain
ace, the Poſſeſſors oppoſ'd it; and after the appeal of
e Sentence of the firſt Judge, the Defendants reſolv'd
t to ſubmit the Cauſe to the Chamber of the Edict. The
auſe was Civil, if ever any was ſo; ſince the thing
debate was only a little Right pretended upon the
ound of a Community: but whereas the owners of the
d Ground were Monks, the Parliament retain'd the Cauſe,
etending that it was an Eccleſiaſtical Cauſe. Another
an being condemn'd for ſome pretended Irreverence, by
e Inferior Judge, to keep and be at the charge of a burn-
g Lamp in a Church, was likewiſe refus'd the removal he
ſir'd, under pretence that it was a Cauſe that was excep-
d: So that it was ſufficient in order to deprive a *Reform'd*
f the Privilege of a removal granted by the Edict, for
e Subaltern Judge to condemn'd him to any thing in
hich the Church of *Rome* was concern'd: by this Wile
ey gave the Parliaments a pretence to retain the Cauſes
f Appeal. In other places the Parliaments oblig'd the
eſſengers, who were to execute any Decrees made by the
hamber eſtabliſh'd within their Precinct, to take Letters of
njunction; as not acknowledging that the ſaid Chambers
ad an Authority to cauſe their Judgments to be obſerv'd
ndependantly from the Parliaments. This was the reaſon
or which the Chamber of *Grenoble* deſir'd the aforeſaid
ettlement.

Nevertheleſs, the Chambers of the Edict ſtill retain'd *Severity of the Chambers of the Edict.*
ome notwithſtanding theſe pretences; and then they were
s ſevere in their Judgments as the Parliaments. The
Chamber of *Paris* gave one that year in the Month of
April, upon a very ſingular Caſe. A Curate, in reſigning
is Cure, had retain'd a Penſion upon his Revenue; and in
rder not to be liable to the Conſequences of ſuch Agree-
ments, when ſufficient precautions have not been taken to

1612. Authorise them, he had caus'd his contract to be approv'd of at the Court of *Rome*. His said Pension was constantly paid him while he was a Catholick: but as soon as he had embrac'd the Reform'd Religion, the Assignee would no longer pay it. The said Cause was brought before the Chamber of the Edict, I know not why, since it was at least as much Ecclesiastical, as the others I have mention'd. And they declar'd the Pensionary incapable of injoying the said Revenue, by reason of his change of Religion. The Proselite really acted contrary to the Discipline of the *Reform'd*, which oblig'd all those of his Character, when they embrac'd the *Reform'd* Religion, to renounce their Benefices, & to preserve none of the Revenues of the same, directly, or indirectly. But the Chamber of the Edict did not judge according to the said Discipline: they only consider'd the Religion of the Parties.

—The Corps of a Reform'd Gentleman taken out of the ground again, by the order of a Commissioner.

As I have heretofore observ'd that the *Reform'd* complain'd, that the Commissioners sent into the Provinces had made their condition worse than it was in some places, it will not be amiss to give another proof of it. The Commissioners who had the District of *Burgundy*, and who made the alterations, I have already mention'd in the Country of *Gex*, did a thing in the Parish of *Chalemant*, a dependency of the Dioceses of *Nevers*, which the *Reform'd* were very much concern'd at, by reason of the Consequence of it. A *Reform'd* Gentleman whose Family pretended to have a right of Burial in the Parochial Church, had been bury'd there. The Bishop complain'd to the Commissioners about it, as of a great attempt; and desir'd the Corps to be remov'd, in order to reconcile the Church which was profan'd by the Burial of an *Heretick*. *Genicourt Master* of Requests, the Catholick Commissioner, caus'd the said Corps to be taken out of the Ground, and to be transported to the place which was allow'd to the *Reform'd* for their Burials. The *Reform'd* Commissioner was absent at that time, whither it were that he had no mind to have a hand in that extraordinary proceeding, or whither being one

e of thoſe complaiſant perſons nominated by the Duke 1612.
Bouillon, he abſented himſelf on purpoſe, not to be ob-
d to do an Act of Courage, by oppoſing that novelty.
l this was done with a great deal of Ceremony, and great
rmality : which only ſerv'd to make the more noiſe, and
give a greater luſture to the Biſhop's triumph. But the
orſe part of it was the example. It was no novelty to
a Corps taken out of the Ground, either by the violence
the Clergy, or by the ordinance of ſome Country Judge :
t the thing was done here by a man who had the
ality of Commiſſioner for the Execution of the Edict;
that his Example had the force of a Law, and might
uthoriſe all the other Judges to do the like. Moreover
was apparent that the Inſtructions of thoſe new Com-
ſſioners were very different from thoſe which *Henry* the
had given to the Commiſſioners in 1600. Thoſe had
ders to explain the difficulties which might Intervene in
e execution of the Edict, in favour of the *Reform'd* :
t theſe new Commiſſioners , by a different method were
ly rigorous Judges againſt the *Reform'd*, and all their fa-
our was beſtowed on the Catholicks.

The *Reform'd* Inhabitants of *la Tierache*, in the Bayliwick *Favours granted to the Reformed of la Tierache.*
Soiſſons, were treated a little more favourably. They
mplain'd that they were oblig'd to repair to very diſtant
aces, in order to perform the publick exerciſe of their
eligion, in ſo much that they were in danger of falling
to the hands of the *Spaniſh* Garriſons, who treated them
Hereticks. This oblig'd them to preſent a Petition to the
ng, to obtain leave to Aſſemble in a nearer and ſafer
ace. They propos'd *Gerci*, where the Fief did not allow
em to meet above thirty at a time; by reaſon that the Lord
ereof had only mean and low Juſtice there, the high Juſtice
longing to the King. They obtain'd as a ſpecial favour,
ithout conſequence or example, the Power of Aſſembling
ere, as they might have done at a Lord high Juſticer: on con-
tion that incaſe the Houſe of *Greci* ſhould fall into the hands
a Catholick, the ſaid exerciſe ſhould ceaſe there: or
that

1612. that a *Reform'd* Gentleman coming to poſſeſs a Houſe
the Quality requir'd by the Edict in the Neighbourhoo
thereof, it ſhould be transferr'd there; and the Br
granted in favour of *Gerci* ſhould remain void. It w
dated *April* the 28*th*, and was Regiſtr'd, at *Laon*. It a
pears by this Brief that the Court had not as yet bethoug
it ſelf of the Cavils they have rais'd of late years agai
the Lords Juſticers; That there was no doubt of their h
ving the privilege to receive at the exerciſes of Religi
that were perform'd at their houſes all thoſe who repai
thither, whether Vaſſals, Inhabitants or others; That t
ſaid exerciſe might be eſtabliſh'd in Fiefs or Juſtices new
acquir'd, which the Lords were not in Poſſeſſion of at t
time of the Edict of *Nantes*; and it might alſo be conclud
that it was not thought certain, that in caſe a Fief in which t
ſaid exerciſe of the *Reform'd* Religion was eſtabliſh'd ſhou
fall into the hands of a Catholick, the ſaid exerciſe was to ce
by Right: ſince that in order to hinder its being continu'd
Gerci in ſuch a Caſe, it was thought neceſſary to expreſs p
ſitively that it ſhould not be allow'd.

But after all theſe Particulars, it is neceſſary to relate
more general Affair, which having laſted untill the follow
ing year, without any bodys being able to put a ſtop
it, had like to have reduc'd the whole Kingdom to Conf
fuſion. The Diviſion which broke out at *Saumur*, havi
made a particular breach between the Dukes *de Roh*
and *de Bouillon*, the laſt not being able to conceal his je
louſie at the growing Credit of the other, and the Du
de Rohan imputing the ill ſucceſs of the Affairs of the Aſſe
bly to the Duke *de Bouillon*. The Duke de *Rohan* had t
greateſt number of the *Reform'd* on his ſide; but th
quality of thoſe who adher'd to the Marſhal *de Bouill*
render'd his Party conſiderable, the more by reaſon th
he was favour'd by the Court, which made uſe of him
keep up a Diviſion among the *Reform'd*. Many had ſided wi
him for ſordid ſelf-intereſted reaſons, which the poſſeſſio
or hope of a Penſion inclin'd to great complaiſances. B
the

Diviſion of the Duke de Rohan and the Marſhal de Bouillon, and the ſequel.

e were others whose simplicity and credulity ingag'd them 1612.
ocently to take the same Party, by reason that they look'd
n it as the most lawful and safest for their Conscience.
grand reason the others made use of to dazle them,
the specious name of Peace, and the incumbent duty of
ying the higher powers, *not only upon the account of anger, also for Conscience sake.* The Court kept men in pay to
ach that Gospel; and while they made barefac'd enter-
es, and did secretly prepare machines which were ne-
ary in order to oppress the *Reform'd*, they endeavour'd
persuade them by those they had corrupted, that they
re oblig'd not to oppose them.

Abuse the Deputies which injoyn obedience.

t is almost incredible how many people were caught
hose Snares; imagining that that Apostolick Doctrine
y allow'd honest people Sighs and Patience: and that they
late it who take measures to prevent the Injustices, Vio-
ces, and Treacheries of those who are in Authority.
this is the way by which the freest Natives suffer them-
es to be made Slaves; and that Soveraigns, improving
r credulity, easily impose upon them. It is an Illusion
ich reigns among men, in all the relations they have to-
her: that notwithstanding they are grounded upon
tain mutual duties, which maintain or destroy each o-
r reciprocally, the one imagin that tho they violate that
t of the duty which they are oblig'd to, the others are ne-
theless oblig'd to observe that part which relates to them
ligiously. It is particulary the opinion of those who
d the Rank of Superiors; who when they take the least
e to afford their Inferiors either the Protection, or Justice
t is due to them, pretend that they are nevertheless
ig'd to pay them Submission and Obedience; and how
n soever that pretention may be, yet there are always
ople who rack their Wit; to find out specious reasons
maintain it; and Tender Consciences that are persuaded
those reasons: particularly when those who design
make an ill use of those maxims, joyn some appearance
advantage to those reasons, it is difficult to believe
what

1611. what an Empire they get over ſimple Souls. They fanſy that the Cauſe of their Benefactors becomes the Cauſe of God; That all the meaſures taken for ſelf preſervation become ſo many Crimes; That oppreſs'd Subjects can have no redreſs but the hopes of a better time. And that God will reward their ſimplicity, when they ſuffer themſelves to be deſtroy'd by vertue of Paſſive-Obedience.

The Court makes uſe of the Doctrine of Patience.

Therefore the Court took great care to perſuade all thoſe they found inclin'd that way that it is an Evangelical Doctrine: and to give a demonſtrative force by ſmall gratifications to thoſe reaſons wherewith they did ſecond it. Whereupon I can not forbear admiring the confidence which Polititians often repoſe in the ſimplicity of other men, to whom they endeavour to perſwade, that Religion and Conſcience oblige them to ſubmit to thoſe that oppreſs them, and to the Fetters which they deſign to give them, by preaching Patience to them: partly as if Thieves, in order to diſpoſe Travellors to ſuffer themſelves to be ſtript without reſiſtance, ſhould alledge the leſſon of the Goſpel to them, which exhorts thoſe who are ſtript of their Coat, to deliver their Cloak alſo. However this Doctrine being cry'd up in all parts, and innocently receiv'd by the Simple, and others making uſe of it to cover their deſigns; ſerv'd powerfully to foment Diviſion among the *Reform'd*; the one condemning the foreſight of the others, and theſe reciprocally complaining of their ignorance and weakneſs which ingag'd them to betray the Common Cauſe unawars. Such Miniſters as they could draw into thoſe ſubmitſive peaceable ſentiments were very kindly us'd: but they met but few of them; and the Court found more advantage to treat with the Nobility, with Governours of Places, and other Officers: by reaſon that the ſervices they could do them, in betraying their Party, were of far more conſequence. Nevertheleſs, I will add in this place, ſince I am upon that Subject, in order not to reſume it, that when the *Reform'd* were depriv'd of their Garriſons and Soldiers, the Court ſtill kept, particularly in the Meridional Provinces,

vinces, ſome Miniſters in Pay, who preach'd up Paſſive- 1612.
edience in Conſiſtorys, Aſſemblies and Synods, and
n in familiar converſations; and who always gave a
gloſs to the Actions of the Court. Thoſe Miniſters
ſioners prov'd for the moſt part Rogues, which was
ner or later diſcover'd, either by their revolt, or by
candalous life. But that which is moſt to be wondered
is that there were ſometimes very honeſtmen, who lov'd
ir Religion, and look'd upon it as true Goſpel, who
ertheleſs, receiv'd penſions without ſcruple; becauſe they
k'd upon them rather as recompences of their affection
the Publick Peace, than as ingagements to act againſt
Intereſt of the Churches. To ſay the truth, in thoſe
es where the raſh and boyling temper of the People
ht eaſily incline them to Raſh and Seditious enterpriſes,
as neceſſary that their Miniſters ſhould be Wiſe, Pru-
t, and Moderate, in order to inſpire the ſame ſenti-
nts to their Flocks by their Diſcourſe and example:
it would have been much better to have done it upon
account of the Juſtice of the thing, without receiving
leaſt gratifications from the Court, than to take thoſe
icious recompences, which might call their Innocence
Integrity in queſtion. *Du Moulin* had often been
pted by perſons ſent to him from the Court, who
r'd him great Penſions without exacting any thing from
, but barely to incline people to Peace and Obedience.
always anſwer'd that it was a Duty he would ever per-
m: but that he would have the honour to do it of
own accord out of Conſcience; and not as being
o'd to it. So that he never accepted any thing that
offer'd him. It were to be wiſh'd that all thoſe who
e expos'd to the ſame Temptations, had withſtood them
n the ſame Courage.

Miniſters Pentioners.

While the Court caus'd Peace and Patience to be preach'd *Wiles and Injuſtices of the Court.*
ong the *Reform'd*, they did not fail at the ſame time to
ke them put thoſe Leſſons in Practice. They almoſt
olickly violated the Faith of the Briefs, and promiſes

1621. they had amus'd them with. They remov'd some Gover nours of Places, corrupted others; and barter'd with some to get them out of their hands. Besides those places which the Assembly had desir'd the restitution by their C *hiers*, *Rambures* had suffer'd *Aiguemortes* to be taken: *Bou sur Mer* had been sold for ready Money; and as soo as ever the Court got it into their hands they cau it to be Demolish'd: They did treat with *Candelay*, buy the Government of *Rosay* of him. They us'd all so of means to sow Divisions in *Rochel*, and to obta the Election of a Mayor, Devoted to the Court. T Catholicks of *Saintes* were order'd to Arm themselv upon some pretence or other; which occasion'd gre Alarms among the *Reform'd*. Finally, the use the Co made of the 45000 Livers of augmentation they h granted for the Sallary of the Ministers, show'd pla ly that they design'd to ruin the *Reform'd*, Since th only granted them favours to divide them; and t favours which were to be employed for their advanta became by the cunning of their Enemies snares to suppr them.

Enterprise upon St. John d' Angely.

Among the other places which the Court had a mi to get out of their hands, they had an eye upon St. J *d'Angely*, and they endeavour'd to under mine the Duke *Rohan*'s Party there. *La Rochebeaucour* his Lieutenant, whet he expected to become Governour in Chief of that i portant City, or whither he thought himself stro enough there no longer to have any dependence on t Governour, suffer'd himself to be mannag'd by the Co He had caus'd a Mayor to be Elected the preceding ye who was at his Devotion; and in order to strengthe his Authority, he undertook to maintain him in that Po tho he was sensible that the Duke of *Rohan* would b offended at it. The said Duke was come to *Paris*, where was very well receiv'd by the Queen; and that Princ in order to slip the time of the Election of a new Mayor, e press'd a great deal of kindness to him during the four mg

t as he tarry'd there. But the Duke being acquainted 1612.
the design that was on foot to continue the ancient
or, and the great Brigues *la Rochebeaucour* made in order
reunto; he concluded that the Marshal *de Bouillon* had
d him that trick, to dispossess him of one of the most
siderable Cities of Surety. Whereupon he left
is at a time when it was least expected; and the
er to conceal the motive of his sudden departure,
gave out that he had receiv'd Letters that his Brother
Soubize lay a Dying. He went to his Brother in-
d, but it was only to consult with him about the
ns to secure St. *John d'Angely*, and to get such a Mayor
he could confide in. That City was one of those that
a Right at that time to create their own Mayor, who
rwards receiv'd the Kings approbation: and it be-
ved the Person who was to Command there to have
disputes with the said Magistrate, who had a very
t authority. As he was the Master of the Polity
the Inhabitants were at his Command; and when
was belov'd by the people, it was in his power to
ke them take Arms or to lay them down; which
ght put a Governour at a great loss, who had only a
ll Garrison at his Command, which was not capa-
to hold out against the Inhabitations of a great
y.

Therefore the Duke having taken his measures with
Brother, with the Nobility of the Neighbourhood, *The Duke of Rohan prevents it.*
some Inhabitants of St. *John*, he repair'd thither be-
e the Election was perform'd. The Queen finding her
terprise broken by the Dukes presence, resolv'd to take
advantage of his Journey, to execute a design she
contriv'd with *la Rochebeaucour*. She wrote to the Of-
ers and to the Town House, that in order to prevent the
effects of the Election of a new Mayor, she desir'd that
old one might be continu'd. The Duke of *Rohan*, who had
n'd his point, refus'd to submit to those orders. He oppos'd
Continuation of the Mayor in writing, and declar'd

1612 bodly that the People had abus'd the Queens Authority t
notwithstanding orders from the Court to the contrary.
obtain the ſaid Letter. That affair was ſomewhat Nic
and as ſome thought the Duke had imbroil'd himſelf
little too raſhly in it, others alſo were of opinion tha
the Queen had expos'd herſelf too much, and that ſh
had been ill adviſ'd. St. *John* was a free City, a City o
Surety, jealous of her Privileges, and in a Province in whic
the *Reform'd* were the ſtrongeſt. Therefore this undertakin
to alter the accuſtomed form of the Election of a Major
to uſe Authority in order thereunto, under pretence of
diſcord which did not as yet appear, gave cauſe to ſuſpec
that the Court had a deſign upon the Priviledges of th
Inhabitants, which were violated without neceſſity; o
upon the ſurety of the place, which they endeavoured t
commit into the hands of ſuſpected perſons; or perhap
upon both.

The Queen is offended, and things ſeem to incline to a War.
Nevertheleſs, the thing was very much reſented a
Court; and the Queen being inform'd of the Duke of *Ro*
han's oppoſition, caus'd his Lady, his Daughters, and a
his Family to be Secur'd. She put a Gentleman into th
Baſtille, who was ſent by the Duke to juſtifie his Act
on: She caus'd the Duke to be proclaim'd a Rebel
and order'd an Army to march againſt him. She wa
to Authoriſe the ſaid enterpriſe her ſelf by her Preſnce
and becauſe it was neceſſary to prevail with the reſt o
the *Reform'd* to ſuffer the ſaid Duke's Ruin, and the lo
of St. *John* without oppoſition, ſhe was to make a ſolem
Declaration that ſhe had no deſign againſt any body bu
the Duke and his Adherents; to confirm the Edicts
ſuffer all ſuch to live in Peace who did not ingage in
thoſe Troubles; The Queen was to take the Marſhal
de Bouillon and *Leſdiguieres* to Command under her
in that Expedition: and as if the Court had bee
as ready to act as to order, orders were ſtrai
diſpatch'd to the Officers that were to Command in
the ſaid Army, to keep themſelves ready to march.
Manifeſtos were publiſh'd on both ſides. The Dukes up-
braide

aided the Court with all their Wiles; and endeavour'd prove that the conſequence of that affair was general. hat which appear'd in the Queens name, endeavour'd create ſuſpicions about the Duke of *Rohan*'s intentions, d to juſtifie the Court, to perſwade that their only aim as againſt that Rebel, and that ſhe deſign'd to maintain e Edicts: and finally, it invited the Catholicks and *Re-rm'd* to ſerve the King in that occaſion.

The End of the Second Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Edict of Nantes.

VOL. II.

BOOK III.

A Summary of the Contents of the Third Book.

ppearence of Accommodation: under which the troubles continue. Endavours are us'd to engage Du Plessis *in them who remains in quiet. Assembly of the Circle at* Rochel. *Project of Reconciliation among the great ones. Sedition at* Rochel: *Its Original and Violence. Negociation for the accommodation. High Pretentions of the Duke de* Rohan. *The Queen agrees to them, preserving some appearences for herself. The Duke being exasperated with new Injuries, will no longer be satisfied with them. The Assembly meets at* Rochel: *and gives the*

the Deputies General new Articles. Resolutions taken at Court: but ill executed. New Declaration. Remarks upon those frequent Edicts. The Circle assembles again. Rochel *withdraws from the rest of the Deputies; which puts an end to the Troubles. Verbal promises to tollerate Provincial Councils. Declaration of the Marriages resolv'd upon with* Spain. *Which offends the* French: *but particularly the* Reform'd. Ferrier *forsakes the Ministry: Is receiv'd Counsellor at* Nimes: *Is Excommunicated. Sedition against him. Diligence of the Consuls to save* Ferrier: *Writings on both sides. Appologies of* Ferrier: *and his end. Reconciliation of the Duke* de Rohan *and Marshal* de Bouillon. *Enterprise of the Sheriffs of* Saumur. *Equity of the Chamber of the Edict of* Paris. *Rights of the Bishop of* Mompellier *upon the University. Discontents of the Princes. The Duke* de Rohan *joyns with them. Polity of the Marshal* de Bouillon. *Retreat and Manifesto of the Princes. Their Precipitation is blam'd. The Peace is made. The Prince of* Conde *is injur'd at* Poitiers. *Towns of Surety open'd to the King. National Synod. Letters from the King of* England. *Council of the Lower* Guyenne. *Mutual subordination of the Assemblies. Brief of leave for a General Assembly. Letters from the Lords. Pecuniary affairs. The Ministers are exempted from paying the Tayles. Places of Surety.* Berger *a Reform'd Counsellor in the Parliament of* Paris, *turns Catholick.* Reform'd *of* Gex. *Churches not settled as yet. Condition of the* Reform'd *in the County of* Avignon. *Liberalities of the Synod. Colleges.* Bearn. Metz. *Oath of Union. Letters to the King and Queen. The Queen prepares to assemble the States. Declaration of the King's Majority. Overtures of the States. The Clergy and Nobility unite themselves against the Third Estate.* Reform'd *in the States. Indepency of Kings; whose Cause is betray'd by the Clergy: and by the Court it self. Passion of the Clergy. Harrangue of Cardinal du* Perron. *Why* Hereticks *are tollerated. Distinctions of the Cardinal. His Conclusion. Reflections.* The Third Estate

persists

erſiſts. Character of Miron,* *Preſident of the Chamber of that rder. The Court ſilences the third Eſtate. Illuſive Decree f the Clergy, and their ſhameful Prevarication. Inequality of he Prince of* Conde. *Perſeverance of the Clergy in that Do- rine. Sedition at* Milhau. *Harangue of the Biſhop of* Lucon. *edition at* Beleſtat. Cahier *of the Clergy. Sequel of the* Ca- ier. *Articles propos'd directly againſt the* Reform'd : *Sequel f the ſaid Articles. Concluſion of the* Cahier.

* *Speaker of the Commons.*

THERE was a great deal of reaſon to believe, that things would have gone farther, conſidering the proceedings of the Court : The rather becauſe the Duke of *Rohan* ſeem'd nowiſe daunted, at the ſtorm that was pre- ing againſt him. The Election of the Mayor was de according to his deſire : *la Rochebeaucour* was forc'd yield ; and found himſelf almoſt reduc'd to pay the t of the ſervice he deſign'd to do the Queen. The ke gave the Offices of the City and of the Garriſon perſons he could confide in, and the Deputy Governor's e to *Hautefontaine*, who was at his Devotion. Never- leſs, the Sequel did nowiſe anſwer thoſe high beginnings: ey fell to Remonſtrances and Negociations ; and *The- s* Senechal of *Quercy*, a wiſe and moderate man was to the Duke, in order to perſwade him to keep with- he bounds of Duty. *Du Pleſſis* alſo undertook that af- ; and the Duke having preferr'd the advice of that old n, equally Prudent and Honeſt, to the deſires of a young bility, which would incline him to a War, yielded to Exhortations of *Themines*. An accommodation was de in which in apperance the Queen had the ſatisfacti- ſhe deſir'd ; and the Duke in reallity. The old Mayor s continued for ſome days: after which a new order s ſent, allowing the Inhabitants to proceed to the Ele- on of another. This procur'd the liberty of thoſe per- ns the Court had a little inconſiderately impriſoned : t the evil was not cur'd by that Remedy. The Duke *de han* refuſed to go out of St. *John*, to let *la Rochebeaucour*

1612.

Apperance of accommodation.

Under which the Troubles continue.

1612. command there in his absence: and he had a great mind while he was seconded by the Zealous of the Province to rid himself of that man in whom he could not confide: So that there happened new disputes, which kept the Jealousies on foot, and which renew'd the threatnings of a War.

Endeavours us'd to involve du Plessis *in the same.*

Indeavours were us'd to involve *du Plessis* in the same; insinuating to him that the Queen, sending Forces towards St. *John*, might improve that occasion to take *Saumur* from him. That advice might equally proceed, either from those who were desirous of a War, and who were in hopes to ingage all the Provinces into it, incase they could oblige *du Plessis* to take suretys, as being full of Jealousie for himself: or from those who being acquainted with the jalousies of the Marshal *de Bouillon*, did not question but he would improve all occasions, to humble *du Plessis*, by taking from him a place of the consequence of *Saumur*. It was no hard matter to incline the Queen to do him that injury; either because he had taken the part of the *Zealous* in the last Assembly, or because the Book he had lately published had incens'd the Catholicks against him. The Nuncio us'd his utmost endeavours in order thereunto and he was seconded by the Marshal *de Bouillon*, who represented *du Plessis* as a Man without whose advice the Duke *de Rohan* did nothing. Nevertheless, *Du Plessis*, being perswaded that the Court was not in a condition to attack the whole Party by main force, and consequently that they would not venture to take *Saumur* from him by open War, refus'd to follow the Council of those who advised him to fortifie the said City and his Garrison: and even when he saw the Forces of *Boisdauphin* lodged almost under the very Walls of *Saumur*, he persisted in his design only to arm himself with Innocence. He obtained what he desired thereby. The Court discovered, that he had no thoughts of War, since he had slipt so fair an occasion to declare it; and that far from taking the advantage of it, as another would have done, had he been in his room, he had not so much as express'd the least suspition of being attack'd in Forms. The Queen caus'd *Bois-*

Who remain in quiet.

dauphin

phin to retire; and made uſe of *du Pleſſis* council, 1612.
out an end to thoſe Troubles.

n the mean time the differences between the Duke of *Aſſembly of the Circle at* Rochel.
ban and *de la Rochebeaucour* daily grew worſe and more
ſiderable: The Duke being reſolv'd to turn him out
ny rate, and the Queen on the contrary thinking her
obliged to maintain him in his Poſt, as a man ſhe
ld confide in, and whom the Duke deſigned to turn
only becauſe he had too great a dependency on the
rt. Inſomuch that ſhe ſtill returned to threatning from
e to time: and that the Duke took meaſures to pre-
t the effect thereof. It prov'd no hard task ſo to do,
reaſon that the Publick Protection *la Rochebeaucour* re-
ved from the Queen made him to be ſuſpected: and
reas ſeveral people were of opinion that the King's Au-
rity was nowiſe concern'd in that diſpute, they con-
led naturally that the Queen had ſecret reaſons, to take
part of a Subaltern ſo highly againſt his Superior Of-
r. For which reaſon the Province of *Saintonge* eaſily
er'd themſelves to be perſuaded that the generality was
cern'd in that Affair, and that their Surety was viola-
by the attempt that was made upon the beſt place
hin their Precinct. Therefore they made uſe of the Ar-
e that had been drawn at *Saumur*, which Authoriſed
Province that ſhould be attack'd to aſſemble Depu-
out of the Councils of the five adjacent Provinces, to
iberate about ſuch remedies as ſhould be moſt proper
be apply'd to the Evil it was threatned with. Thoſe
d of Aſſemblies were commonly call'd the *Circle*;
er becauſe that name was taken from the form of
Government in *Germany*, divided into Provinces that
call'd *Circles*: or becauſe the Province that was attack'd
ven'd thoſe that ſurrounded it. They invited *Rochel*
ch made a Province a part, the Lower *Guyenne*, *Poitou*,
ou, *Bretagne*, to ſend two Deputies a piece at *Rochel* on
20th of *September* out of their Council, to conſult about
Affairs of *Saintonge*, and of St. *John d'Angely*. The

1612. Court was acquainted with it; and in order to hinder tha of *Rochel* to receive the said Assembly into their City, to suffer them to do any thing which might prove of co sequence, they took precautions which increas'd the En and which had like to carry things to the utmost extr mities.

Prospect of Reconciliation among the great ones.

But before we relate them, it will not be amiss to down in this place that the Commissioners of the Nation Synod of *Privas* for the Reconciliation of the Lords, w were divided at *Saumur*, apply'd themselves about the Commission, as soon as they arriv'd at *Paris*. They m great difficulties at first: by reason that the Marshal *de Bo illon* and *de Lesdiguieres* refus'd to harken to it, but urg such conditions as would not have been approv'd of by t rest. But finally, they agreed upon the substance and form a Writing, which was sign'd by those two Lords, and *Chatillon*: Whether it were that the Marshal *de Bou* had already a prospect of other Intrigues with the discon tented Princes, for the success of which it was necessa the *Reform'd* should be united; or whither he thought had done enough to be reveng'd of the refusal of t Presidentship at *Saumur*; or finally, whether it were t he had a mind to show that he had a respect for a Syn which represented all the Churches; He enter'd again to the Union of the Churches: and tho it seem'd not m material for the affairs of St. *John d'Angely*, yet it bro the Queens measures. She could no longer pretend to t those two Lords along with her against the Duke of Ro since they were reconcil'd to him, and had sign'd Treaty of Reconciliation and Concord. The Commi oners deputed two among them, *viz.* *Rouvray* one of t Deputies General, and *Durand* one of the Ministers of P *ris*, to carry the Writing which those three Lords h sign'd, into the Provinces to be sign'd by the rest. *du Ple* was easily prevail'd upon to sign it: but when they ca to the Duke *de Rohan* at *St. John d'Angely*, they found a harder task; and had not *du Plessis* gone to him on p

about it, he would hardly have done it. The five 1612.
vinces were sent for; the appointed day was at hand;
it was to be fear'd that incase the Assembly were held;
would relapse into greater and worse fewds than
ore. *Du Plessis* caus'd it to be adjourn'd untill the 20th
October: and having imploy'd that time to negotiate
accomodation at Court, he got it to be put of for a
nth longer by the Mediation of the Deputies
eral.

Rochel had had its share of the Troubles; and about the same time that the Duke of *Rohan* conven'd the five vinces, there broke out a Sedition there, the conse-nces of which were to be fear'd. The Queen had avour'd to interpose her Authority in the Election he Mayor of that City, and to make her self Mi-s of it, as she had endeavour'd to do at *St. John*. The nity of Mayor of *Rochel* was very considerable: he Governor of it by his place; and had almost an ab-ute Power there, both as to the Military and Civil Go-nment. So that incase the Court could have gain'd t one point, of having the Election of the Mayor at ir disposal, they might easily have secur'd that place hout besieging it. But the City having the power to e their Chief themselves, carefully preserv'd that viledge, and would nowise suffer the Brigues of the urt to incroach upon that important liberty. There-e the Queen succeeded yet less in it than at *St. John*: d the last Mayor was Elected according to the usual m, notwithstanding all her endeavours to the contrary. t tho the said City preserv'd their Rights, they re-mbred still that the Queen had endeavour'd to Invade m; which appear'd in the affair I am going to relate.

Sedition at Rochel.

Coudray, Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, was one of the Sheriffs of *Rochel*; but he was suspected of ing with the Court. His behaviour in the Election of e Mayor had increas'd those jealousies: and it was thought at he had been the bearer of the Queens orders, which tended

Its origina.

1612. tended to Violate the usual forms. He came to Roch
every year in the Vacations, under pretence of his Do
mestick Affairs: but it was thought that the Cou
gave him secret orders. He came some days th
year sooner than he us'd to do; and tho he never
us'd to come before the Parliament was broken up, he cam
to *Rochel* before it that time. He had brought divr
Commissions relating to Justice, even in such places a
were not under the jurisdiction of the Parliamen
Insomuch that in order to Authorise him in such places
which the jurisdiction of that Court did not extend, th
Queen had made him intendent of Justice, and that w
the Title of his Commission. But lest the Gates of Roc
should be shut against him, the Court had not given hi
the quality of Intendent of the Polity; by reason that th
Rochelois, who were sole Masters of their City, would not ha
allow'd him to take that Title, far from suffering him
exert the authority of it. He made no use of that pr
tended Intendence of Justice he was invested with, and
declar'd that he would not take the advantage of it: whi
perswaded them that the said Commission cover'd other d
signs; that it only serv'd to Authorise him, as bearer of
Royal Commission; and that it was left to his discretio
to use it, or not, according as he should think fit. He d
covered only a Credential Letter for *Rochel*, which gave th
assurances of her Majesties good Intention. But it w
thought that he was only sent to divide *Rochel*, if he coul
from the rest of the Churches: which design had a doub
prospect; the one to oppress the Duke *de Rohan*, who cou
not defend himself unless *Rochel* assisted him: the other
deprive *Rochel* of the advantage of the General Unio
when ever it should be attack'd in particular. Moreov
it was thought that he brought Instructions to dissipate th
Assembly, which it was very well known at Court th
Duke *de Rohan* was meditating. They knew that it migh
become General, incase the Deputys of the Circles shoul
think fit for the common good to invite the Deputi
c

the other Provinces at it: and they were ſenſible that 1612.
Duke would uſe his utmoſt endeavours, to renew all
propoſitions of that of *Saumur* there. *Du Coudray* was
accus'd of writing to the Queen, in termes which ſeem'd
intimate that the Inhabitants of *Rochel* were not well
in'd. He ſeldom convers'd with any of the Inhabitants,
ſuch as the reſt had no good opinion of: and the firſt
t viſited him at his arrival, was one *Le Vacher*, a man
y much ſuſpected, and not belov'd by the people; eſpe-
ly ſince that in a certain diſpute with the Citizens,
had had the inſolence to threaten them that he would
g them to *Paris* with a Rope about their Necks: which
e them a great deal of reaſon to believe that he relyed
the favour of the Court: ſince otherwiſe it would
e been a ridiculous threatning, in the mouth of a pri-
Inhabitant of *Rochel*.

And its vi-olence.

Theſe reaſons whether true, or likely to miſtruſt him, ex-
d ſo furious a Sedition againſt him, that the Magiſtrates
ſt not at firſt appear before the Mutiniers, to oppoſe
r Violence. They took up Arms; made Barricado's
he avenues; and *Du Coudray* was forc'd to lye conceal'd
fear. This began on the 5*th.* of *September*: but the firſt
being ſtopt of it ſelf, the Sedition broke out again
he 12*th.* with ſuch terrible threatnings againſt thoſe
were ſuſpected, that *Du Coudray* deſir'd to go out of
Town for his ſafety; whither he really thought him-
in danger, or whether he had a mind to take an occaſion
n thence to aggravate the Relations and Complaints, he
accus'd of ſending to Court againſt *Rochel*. In order to
ove him from thence the Mayor accompany'd with ſome
ldiers attended him to the City Gates: Yet tho' the
yor was very much reſpected by the *Rochelois*, the Peo-
being in a rage forgot their reſpect on that occaſion;
upon him and his Men, and purſued *Du Coudray* with
s and injurious Words. The Mayor was ſlightly wound-
but *Du Coudray* receiv'd no hurt: and when that ob-
of the Peoples jealouſies and rage was remov'd, they ea-
ſily

1612. ſily return'd to their former Duty. A large account of the ſaid Sedition was ſent to the Council, leſt *Du Coudray* ſhould repreſent it yet in a more odious manner. All the motives of the People were repreſented in it, as well as the progreſs of their violence: but *Du Coudray* was reputed the occaſion of the evil; and the whole ended with Proteſtations of Fidelity and obedience.

Negotiations for an accomodation. This affair being ended, *Rochel* conſented to receive the Aſſembly, tho they were unreſolv'd about it at firſt: but they only began their Seſſion there on the 20*th.* of *November*, by reaſon that powerful endeavours were us'd in two Months time to find out the means to come to an accommodation. *Du Pleſſis* oblig'd the Duke *de Rohan* to make his propoſitions. He made them like a man that feared nothing, and who thought himſelf capable to inſpire fear into others: and to ſay the truth, it cannot be deny'd that he impos'd Laws upon the Court, if we reflect on the manner in which thoſe troubles were ended. He demanded more advantagious Conditions than thoſe the Aſſembly of *Saumur* had obtain'd: and for his own particular he requir'd the removal of *La Rochebeaucour* and of *Foucaud*, who he did not like; to have the diſpoſition of the Compagnies of the firſt; To Nominate a Deputy General himſelf; That his and his Brothers, and his Friends Penſions ſhould be reſtor'd, together with the arrears that had been ſtopt; and that all manner of proceedings ſhould ceaſe againſt ſuch as had been proſecuted upon his account. Thoſe pretentions were ſo high, that there was no likelyhood to expect that the Queen would condeſcend to them. Great difficulties aroſe upon it: and while the Council was deliberating about them, there aroſe new ones. A Meſſenger having ſubpœned *Hautefontaine* to appear in the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, was very ill us'd at St. *John d' Angely*, where the Aſſigns of the Court advanc'd as little by proceedings of Juſtice, as by threatnings of War. On the other hand, *Saujon*, a Gentleman of *Saintonge*, who had been ſent by the Duke of *Rohan* to the upper *Guyenne*, to try what ſuccors he might expect

High pretentions of the Duke de Rohan.

n thoſe provinces, and to maintain *Rambures* in the Go- 1612.
ament of *Aiguemortes* againſt *Berticheres*, whom the *Re-*
'd were jealous of, was ſtopt at *Rouergue*, and us'd like
riſoner of State. So that people were exaſperated on
ſides.

Neverthelefs, the Court not finding it ſelf in a Condition ſuſtain by effects the height of their firſt threatnings, mis'd the Duke all that he had deſir'd. The truth is the Queen was not diſpleas'd at the removal of *La Rochefoucaut*, by reaſon that the Government of *Chatelleraud* g vacant at that time, ſhe beſtow'd it upon him. She only 'd in order to ſave appearances that the Duke *de Rohan* ld receive him for eight or ten days in St. *John*; as if the en having had the power to maintain him, had only re- uiſh'd it in order to promote a peace, without being any obliged to it. But whereas the Generality of the *Re-* *'d* began to be heated, ſhe was alſo oblig'd to grant them of thoſe things which had been refus'd to the Aſſembly *aumur*. I have ſaid that the National Synod had renew'd demands of it, and that they had charg'd the Deputies eral with a *Cahier* in which they were contain'd. Some thoſe Articles were favourably anſwerd'. The *Reform'd* e allowed not to ſtile their Religion *Pretended Reform'd*. Court promis'd the Miniſters the ſame exemptions the Eccleſiaſticks of the Roman Church injoy'd. The ods were reſtored to their former Liberty which had been tle incroach'd upon by the laſt Declarations. They pro- d to redreſs the grievances of the Provinces; and to give *Reform'd* ſatisfaction for the Towns of *Aiguemortes*, *Eſſone*, *Mas d' Agenois*. They promis'd to revoke all the Expe- ons, Letters, Acts, Decrees, that had been given ſince the mbly of *Saumur* againſt the *Reform'd*. But that which was t conſiderable, was the toleration of Provincial Coun- The Queen had expreſs'd a great repugnancy towards but whether it were that ſhe was afraid they would keep n up againſt her will, or becauſe ſhe had a mind to nt the *Reform'd* a favour to blind them, ſhe finally

The Queen conſents to it, only preſerving ſome appearences for her ſelf.

1612. consented to that Settlement, but with a Clause, which might occasion some dispute, but yet could not be refus'd; what was that they should use that priviledge as modestly as they had done in the Late King's time.

The Duke being exasperated by new injuries refuses to accept them.

But when the Duke *de Rohan* receiv'd an account of the promises of the Queen, he was in the first transports of his anger, for the violence committed against *Saujon*. So that he refus'd even to answer the Reasons that were alledged to him, to oblige him to receive those good offers. He threatned the utmost severities incase that Gentleman received the least ill treatment; and protested that he would hearken to no reason untill he had receiv'd satisfaction upon that Article. Thus all those promises, which the Queen made perhaps less to keep them than to dissipate the Assembly which was to repair at *Rochel*, prov'd ineffectual, and the Deputies met there on the appointed day. The Court found no other expedient, to prevent their taking any vexatious Resolutions, than to send *Rouvray* thither, and to prevail with *Du Plessis* to assist at it. They could not prevail with the Assembly not to meddle with such Affairs as might create most occasion of vexation: and moreover the Assembly us'd them almost like suspected Persons. The reason of those suspitions was that they distrusted the Queens promises; and that they partly discovered her Intentions through the fair words wherewith she design'd to amuse the World. What ever *Rouvray* could say to justifie the sincerity of her promises prov'd ineffectual: the Assembly refus'd absolutely to break up untill they beheld the effects of it: and all that could be obtain'd from them was that they would break up, without leaving any marks of their having made any deliberations; on condition that the Deputies should meet at the same place again on the 25th of *December*, to see whether the said promises were performed; and to confer about it without holding the form of an Assembly. Nevertheless, in order to make them comply to this, *Rouvray* promis'd to add some new Articles to those which the Synod had drawn: and among the

The Assembly meets at Rochel.

And charge the Deputies General with new Articles.

they desir'd that whenever there should be a vacancy of 1612.
Government of any place of Surety, the Churches
ld have the liberty to Nominate three Persons to the
g, out of which he should chuse one; That what had
retrench'd out of the Sum promis'd for the payment
he Garrisons should be restor'd; That the form promis'd
the Edict of *Nantes*, should be given to the Chamber of
Edict of *Paris*; That the *Reform'd* should be allow'd
Nominate the Person that should Collect the Sums that
ld be given to them for the maintenance of their Garri-
and of their Ministers; and some others of that kind.
s little Assembly seem'd to exceed the bounds of their
er; since that according to the Intention of the Regu-
n of *Saumur*, they ought not to have exceeded the
r of St. *John d' Angely*, upon the account of which they
been conven'd. But the relation of that affair to all
rest, and the jealousies occasion'd by little things in
ch a mistery was suspected, made them pass over
e reflections. And *Rouvray* could obtain nothing with-
those Conditions.

Rouvray having made his report to the Court, the *Resolution taken at Court.*
en found that bare words would not satisfie Per-
so well resolv'd: but she thought her Authority too
h concern'd in the continuation of that Assembly, to
ny thing at their request. Therefore a Council was
on purpose upon that Subject, in which it was resolv'd
o nothing that might seem to be granted in favour
hat Assembly, which was look'd upon as unlawful;
forbid Provincial Councils for the future; To an-
the other Articles nevertheless according to the
en's promise; not as being propos'd by that Assem-
which was reputed unlawful, but as contain'd in a
tion presented by the Deputies General before *Rouvray*'s
ney; To publish a new Declaration, confirming the
ts, and granting a general Pardon for all those that
ld remain within the bounds of their Allegiance. The
Resolution ended by the project of sending the Mar-

1612. *Chevauchee.*

shals of *France* to perform their Circuit or Progress in the respective Provinces according as it had been practis'd anciently, and according to the obligation of their said Offices *accompanyed with Officers of Justice and Forces*, to check and punish the Guilty, and to aid and assist the Good. This was a threatning resolution, which signified properly that they would oblige the Duke *de Rohan* to obey by force of Arms; and punish him like a Rebel, if they could catch him. Those Circuits or Progresses which were formerly part of the Civil Government of the Kingdom, and which were ordain'd to protect the weakest against the strongest and to incourage the oppress'd to complain, finding themselves assisted by Law and by the King's forces against the might of the oppressors, had been of no longer continuance than Liberty. They had been suspended for a long time and considering the behaviour of the Court, and the Progress of Arbitrary Power, it was easie to Judge that they would not be re-establish'd; or that they would not be us'd in order to administer Justice. The Marshal *de Bassompierre* was to be one of them, that it might not seem to be an affair of Religion: The Marshal *de Brisac* was to be joyned to him in that Progress: and the Forces were to be divided as well as the Generals. But finally whether they were to Cost a Province or two, they were resolv'd to force the Duke of *Rohan* to obey: and his resistance was imputed to the mildness of the means that had been us'd till then in order to reduce him.

But ill perform'd.

Nothing of all this was put in execution, but the Declaration that was publish'd within a week after it, which was the third that appear'd that year. It first enlarg upon the endeavours the King had us'd to maintain Peace among his Subjects, according to the Maxim of the late King, who having granted the Edict of *Nantes* in order to remove all the fears and jealousies of the *Reform'd* in relation to the Liberty of their Persons, of their Consciences, of their Honours, and of their Families, had happily govern'd his People in peace by the observation of that

New Declaration.

of the ſecret Articles, Breefs, and Settlements made 1612.
conſequence thereof. The King added that his endea-
rs had not hinder'd his Subjects in general, and even
Reform'd, from entertaining jealouſies of each other;
ch had induc'd them to augment their Forces, to make
viſion of Arms, to hold Councils and Aſſemblies: which
rather imputed to an ill grounded fear, than to ill
, having ever found the generality of the *Reform'd*
l affected to his Service. He ſaid that the beſt way to
edy that evil, and to avoid the conſequences thereof,
to obſerve the Edicts inviolably: in order whereunto
order'd the Edict of *Nantes*, that of the 22*d*. of *May*
o. The private Articles, the Decrees, the Regulations
other Letters expedited in conſequence thereof, for the
rpretation of the execution of the Edict, to be read and
liſh'd anew in the Parliaments. After which he abo-
d all Decrees, Acts, or Proceedings, and Expeditions
de againſt the *Reform'd* under any pretence whatever;
impos'd a perpetual ſilence to his Attornies General,
r Subſtitutes and all others upon that Subject; by rea-
that he was of opinion that the infractions committed
the *Reform'd*, only proceeded from ſlight jealouſies, and
from ill will: and that he was in hopes that for the fu-
e they would keep within the bounds of the Edict. Fi-
ly, he forbad all manner of Communication of Aſſem-
s, the eſtabliſhing and holding of Provincial Councils,
ing of men, and all actions directly or indirectly contra-
to the Edicts, on pain of being puniſhed as diſturbers of
publick peace.

This Declaration was publiſh'd on the 15*th*. of *De-* *Remarks upon thoſe frequent Edicts.*
ber. The Spirit and Stile of the others appear'd viſibly
it, which only tended to repreſent the *Reform'd* as peo-
that were ever ready to take up Arms. Nothing could
of more uſe to the Court, than always to give them the
me even of the injuſtices that were committed a-
nſt them. The project of their Ruin was built upon
t Foundation; and the minds of the People had been
prepar'd

1612. prepar'd ſo well upon that Subject, by that Policy, th
even ſome of the *Reform'd* blam'd the ſuſpicions and fore
caſt of their Brethren. It is from thence that the exclam
ors have drawn all the Common Places of their Invectiv
Nothing can be more ſpecious in appearence, to convin
the *Reform'd* of having ever had a Turbulent Faction
inclination, than to produce Pardons upon Pardons grante
to them: and to ſee the prohibition of perſevering in the
enterpriſes daily renew'd againſt them; However the juſt
ification of their Conduct will appear, by the Remonſtra
ces of the Parliaments, and by the Manifeſtos of the Pri
ces, who reproach'd the Queen directly with the inobſerv
tion of the Edicts. But before I proceed to that, we mu
obſerve that the *Reform'd* were ſenſible of the Policy o
thoſe Declarations; and that they were loth to recei
them, by reaſon that they knew that they condemn'd them
ſelves by ſubmitting to them. Therefore the Deputies
The Circle Aſſembles again. the Circle being come to *Rochel* on the 25*th.* of t
Month, according as it had been reſolv'd at their ſeparati
made great difficulties upon the State in which affairs a
pear'd to them. They were neither pleas'd with the Declara
on, nor yet with the Anſwers made to the Deputies Gener
becauſe they did not find thoſe anſwers in Writing altogeth
conformable to thoſe they had receiv'd a month before fro
Rouvray in the Queen's Name. The prohibition of Pr
vincial Councils troubled them more than all the reſt: m
the more the Court ſeem'd adverſe to allow them, the mo
Rochel ſeperates from the reſt. they eſteem'd them neceſſary for their ſafety. Inſomu
that the Deputies General were oblig'd to uſe their utm
endeavours to appeaſe them, and *Du Pleſſis* to do the like;
which proving ineffectual, the City of *Rochel* was obliged
ſeperate from the reſt of the Deputies, and to declare th
they thought there was no further neceſſity for the con
nuation of the Aſſembly. But the Duke of *Rohan* bein
come thither, in order to make them alter their reſol
tions by his preſence, they were like to come to blows
and to oblige the Body of the City to retract. The Ma

revented it, by ſecuring the Cantons that could make the ſtrongeſt. Thus to avoid making War with the rt, the *Reform'd* were upon the point of waging it nſt one another, and to ſpare their ancient Enemies trouble to ruin them. It is obſervable that the May- nd Preſident of *Rochel* were lately come from the Court, re they had been to give an account of the preceeding tion: and that the good Treatment they had re- d there, had diſpos'd them to follow mild Councils. for *Du Pleſſis*, the Court rewarded him ſome years it for his good intentions; by taking *Saumur* from by an unworthy Treachery: and they begun with him, rder to diſtinguiſh him from the reſt. 1612.

The Aſſembly being therefore no longer able to ſubſiſt *Rochel*, and that City declaring poſitively that they were fied with the Queens proceedings, the Duke of *Rohan* dreaded that example might be followed by o- s; and that he might be forſaken as ſoon as ever his was attack'd; that thoſe reproaches might be renew'd nſt him which had been made at *Saumur*, that he only d at trouble and diſorder, to make himſelf head of the y, that Duke, I ſay, ſubmitted like the reſt, and ſent a tleman to the Queen, to expreſs his regret to her for ng offended her. The Queen receiv'd his Submiſſions; what ſhe had promis'd was perform'd. *La Rochebeau-* enter'd into St. *John d' Angely*, for form ſake; and the en remov'd him from thence within a few days to give the Government of *Chatelleraud*. However the Queen iſted in the reſolution not to tollerate Provincial Coun- but after having been ſolicited by the Deputies Ge- l, and by divers Envoys from the particular Provinces; *Pleſſis* having alſo ſolicited very earneſtly for it, and onſtrated what inconveniencies might ariſe from it, in- the Provinces, to whom thoſe Council ſeem'd to be lutely neceſſary, ſhould refuſe to diſſolve them, the en promis'd Verbally to tollerate them, provided the rches made a modeſt uſe of the ſaid Inſtitution: which the

Which puts an end to the troubles.

1612. the Deputies General acquainted the Churches with
her Name. Thus one and the same thing was forbidd
by a publick Law, and allow'd of by a secret pr
mise: insomuch that it was easie for the Queen to ta
the advantage of the Law when ever she pleas'd, and
forget her Promise.

Verbal promise to tolerate Provincial Councils.

Declaration of the Marriages resolv'd upon with Spain.

However those troubles did not end until the beginn
of the year 1613. But before we leave this, it will b
proper to observe that the Seeds of the Civil Wars whi
were soon, after kindled in the Kingdom were sown in
The Queen declar'd publickly that the Marriage of th
King with the Infanta of *Spain*, and of the Infant of Spa
with the King's eldest Sister were agreed upon. She cho
the 25*th* of *March* to make the said Declaration, a day d
dicated to the Solemnity which the Catholicks call the A
nunciation. Three days of rejoycing were made upon thi
account, in which a prodigious dissipation was made of th
remainder of *Sully*'s Husbandry. The Duke of *Mayen*
was sent into *Spain*, to Sign the Articles between the Kin
and the Infanta; and at his return he brought back wi
him the Duke *de Pastrana*, to Sign those of the Infan
and of the King's eldest Sister. That affair offended th
Prince of *Conde*, and the Count *de Soissons* to a high d
gree, because it had not been communicated to them. The
retir'd from Court upon that pretence: but their anger d
not last long; and their consent, their signature, and thei
return were bought with some gratifications. The mo
prudent among the *French*, likewise were displeas'd, to se
those Marriages concluded so soon after *Henry* the I
Death, who had express'd so much repugnancy toward
them; and that those sums should be expended in Turn
ments and Balls which had been laid up for greater design
That they should serve to pay the vain Pomps which e
press'd the joy of an alliance with their greatest Enemies
That what he had design'd, to make War against them, t
break the Fetters they design'd to Impose upon *Europ*
should serve to show publickly that they renounc'd thos
glorio

What offends the true French men.

rious projects; and that *France* ſhould ſhamefully adhere 1612.
the progreſs of a Houſe which aim'd at the Univerſal
narchy.

But no body was more concern'd at it than the *Reform'd*,
reaſon, that beſides the general reaſons in which they
ed with the reſt to diſapprove the ſaid Marriages, they
particular ones which only related to themſelves. They
as well as every body elſe that *Spain* had a great aſ-
dant in the Council of *France*; and that not having been
to oppreſs *Europe* by the ruin of that Kingdom, they
eavour'd to ſucceed in it, by joyning the intereſts of
State to theirs, under pretence of Allyance and Friend-
. They ſaw that *Spain* did precipitate an affair which
not ripe yet, in marrying of Children before the Age
which Nature renders them capable of it: which alone
ſufficient to give violent ſuſpicions of ſome hidden de-
. They could not foreſee whether Marriages of this
ure, being only promiſes which may always be re-
ted, might not prove a trick of *Spain*, which had for-
ly play'd the like; and who would break that Pro-
as ſoon as they ſhould want the Allyance of another
ce. The Negociators, which were the Pope and the
t Duke, were ſuſpected by them, as perſons that de-
'd their ruin. The Duke *de Mayenne* choſen among
ny others for the Embaſſy of *Spain*, he whoſe Name
ſeem'd to revive the League, created a thouſand ſuſpi-
s in them. Finally, they knew that at the firſt propo-
n that had been made of thoſe Marriages, an Article
been inſerted in it relating to them: and that the Ca-
licks expected to ſanctifie thoſe Marriages by the de-
ction of *Hereſie*. Thoſe thoughts had run in the minds
hoſe who had inſpir'd the deſire of War into the Duke
Rohan: but whereas the cauſe of the difidence remain'd
after the accomodation of that affair, and the ſepara-
of the Aſſembly of *Rochel*, peoples minds were ſtill
y to take fire, when the Princes expreſs'd new diſ-
tents.

1613.

Ferrier abandons the Ministry.

The noise that was made at *Rochel* to hinder the continuation of the Assembly, was soon appeas'd: But there happened an affair at *Nimes* which did not end so easily. *Ferrier* who had been depriv'd of the profession of Theology, and of the Ministry he had exerted at *Nimes*, by the National Synod, not being satisfied with the Church of *Montelimar* where he was sent; resolv'd to try whether the Court would assist him in order to be restor'd or give him some recompence for what he had lost by his complaisance for them. He obtain'd a Counsellors place in the Presidial of *Nimes*: and after having receiv'd his Patents for it, he resolv'd to officiate it himself. The Ministers of *Paris* and others us'd their utmost endeavours to put that fancy out of his head, as soon as they knew it. Moreover they obtain'd a promise from him that he would obey the Synod: but he broke it; and to add treachery to desertion, he abandon'd his Religion, and yet profess'd it still outwardly. And it is thought that he liv'd in that shameful dissimulation long before he quited his Ministry. His Church upbraided him for it, and he partly confest it, as will appear by the Sequel.

Is receiv'd Counsellor at Nimes.

As soon as he came to *Nimes*, in order to be received in his new Office, the Consistory having notice of it, endeavour'd to oppose it; and being assisted by the Consuls and Consular Council, they desir'd the Presidial to defer the reception of *Ferrier*, because there were reasons to hinder it, which they would give his Majesty an account of, by most humble remonstrances. *Ferrier* had foreseen those difficulties; not doubting but the City and Church would look upon his enterprise as a Bravado. And indeed he had only chosen that imployment to brave his Enemies: and whereas they knew him to be a giddy headed haughty revengeful Man, they were sencible that he would prove insupportable to those who had contributed towards his disgrace, being in possession of a place of Justice. But as the same reasons which made others fear him, made him the more desirous of it, he had taken precautions against those oppo-

oppoſitions before his departure from *Paris*. He had brought ſuch poſitive and ſuch preſſing Letters from the Court, that the Preſidial either thought, or feigned, that they could not defer his reception. So that he was receiv'd notwithſtanding the oppoſitions of the Conſiſtory: but whereas he had rejected the remonſtrances of that Company upon his enterpriſe, they excommunicated him after ſeveral proceedings, being aſſiſted by the advice of ſome Miniſters, and of ſome Elders of the neighbouring Churches, as Deputies from the Synod of the Province to ſtrengthen them. The Excommunication was pronounc'd on the 14*th.* of *July*. Notwithſtanding which *Ferrier* in order to brave the Conſiſtory with more haughtineſs, cauſ'd himſelf to be conducted to the Palace by the Provoſt and his Men. He was attack'd at his coming back, firſt by the Children, who threw gourds and rail'd at him; by degrees ſome of the Common People joyn'd with them without Arms. *Ferrier* finding himſelf preſt, retir'd in a Magiſtrates houſe: but a Catholick Counſellor who was with him, paſs'd through the Croud without receiving the leaſt affront, or injury, by word or deed. Soon after which ſome body crying out of the Houſe in which *Ferrier* had retir'd himſelf, that ſome of them would be hang'd, that threatning exaſperated the People inſtead of frightning them. However they had ſo much conſideration in their fury as not to confound others with *Ferrier*; and to ſhow that they only aim'd at him, thoſe mutineers quited the houſe in which he was, and attack'd and forc'd his, after his Servants had defended it a long time with Stones. The Miniſters who came thither in order to appeaſe the tumult, receiv'd ſome Stones from the Houſe, which incens'd the Rabble to the utmoſt extremity: So that without reſpecting either the Conſuls, Judges, or Miniſters they broke down the doors, plunder'd and burnt all the goods, and omitted nothing that an enrag'd multitude is capable of doing. However it was obſerv'd that a *Franciſcan*, and ſome Prieſts paſſing through the crowd, in the height of

1613.

And is Excommunicated.

1613. the Sedition receiv'd no manner of outrage. Finally, the first Consul appeas'd the people, and in order to cool that first heat, a Minister made a Prayer upon the place, to beg of Almighty God to calm their hearts. The Prayer was hearkned unto with as much Tranquility, as if the auditors thoughts had all been calm.

Diligence of the Consuls to save Ferrier.

In the mean time the Consuls plac'd Guards at the Gates, and in divers parts of the City, and took precautions, as if they had been fearful of a surprise. Their design was to cause the Gates to be opened in the night, under pretence of discovering what was done without, in order to let *Ferrier* get out of the City with the Souldiers undiscovered. The better to cover their design, they gave out that they had receiv'd certain intelligence that there was a design on foot against the City, and that their Enemies design'd to take the advantage of that popular rising to put it in execution. However they durst not venture to put him out the first day, lest the people being hot still should perceive it: and the next day they could not, by reason that the word happen'd to be given double at the Gate where they design'd to pass, without knowing how it came about. But on the *17th.* they got him out, and they found some of the Constables Gens-d'armes who expected him, in order to Guard him. A Corps de Guard was placed in his House for the security of his Wife who was ready to Lye In: but she also left the City within 8 or 10 days time by her Husbands order, who had a mind to have an occasion to insist in his Complaints, on the circumstance of his Wives condition, to aggravate the Violence of the People. he took his time so well in order thereunto that she was delivered between *Nimes* and *Baucaire* which are but three Leagues distant from each other; falling in Labour by the way. During these Transactions the People had destroyed a Country House which did belong to *Ferrier*; had fell'd the Trees, rooted the Vines, and committed other disorders: and the Judges having Imprisoned some of the Seditious to frighten the rest, they were rescued with violence: but yet at the same time the Mutineers were careful not to let other Prisoners escape. *Ferrier*

Ferrier being ſafe, the ſaid War dwindled to writings 1613.
both ſides; both Parties being deſirous to avoid the
proach of it. The *Reform'd* accus'd *Ferrier* of a ſordid *Writing on both ſides.*
varice, which made him detain the ſallary of the Work-
en that work'd for him: and they pretended that the
ildren of thoſe ill-paid Workmen had begun the Sediti-
. They upbraided him with having taken Penſions from
enry the 4*th*, and from *Lewis* the 13*th* to betray his Bre-
ren, and to reveal their Secrets: that he had been wa-
ring in his Religion; ſometimes promiſing the Catholicks
change; and then again promiſing the *Reform'd* to per-
vere: That he had told ſome perſons that he had preach'd
e Doctrine of *Jeſus Chriſt* for 16 years, without believ-
g in him: That he had ſpoken of the Incarnation of the
n of God, in ſuch horrid Terms, that Paper could not
ar them: That ever ſince the death of *Henry* the 4*th* his
nner of preaching had been Seditious; that the Catho-
ks and *Reform'd* had made equal complaints againſt him
the Duke *de Ventadour*, who had been oblig'd to re-
mand him: That he had endeavour'd to draw his Col-
gues into a Sedition: That he had propos'd means to
n the Churches: That he had ſuppos'd Calumnious Let-
s under other peoples names: Ill adminiſtr'd ſuch things
he had been intruſted with: Converted the Money of
e Accademy and of the Church to his own uſe, which
d been prov'd againſt him in the Synod of *Privas*; and
general that his Life and Converſation was neither ſuita-
e to the Catholick or *Reform'd* Doctrine.

He deny'd part of thoſe accuſations: but he excus'd the *Appollogies of Ferrier.*
t, as if he had had reaſons to do it. He called the be-
aying of their Secrets, which the *Reform'd* upbraided him
ith as a piece of Treachery, Fidelity to the King: What
ey call'd Penſions to betray them, a recompence for his
od Services: Thoſe Sermons as they ſtil'd Seditious, free
d ſincere Diſcourſes, in which he ſpoke his mind conſcien-
uſly about the then State Affairs. He acknowledg'd that
had Preach'd Doctrines contrary to thoſe of the *Reform'd*;

but

1613 but he said that they were new lights which he had discover'd in Catholick Books, which had opened his eyes about many errors of his own Religion. This was found in the Appologies which either himself or the Jesuits did Print. However, this Sedition had no other consequence than the Transferring of the Presidial of *Nimes* to *Beaucarie*. It was ordain'd so by a Decree from the Council, which gave this reason for it, that they could no longer sit at *Nimes* there to administer Justice without danger. But the City having satisfied the Court by a speedy obedience; and other considerable Cities, which look'd upon the consequence of that Affair to be general, having joyn'd their interests to theirs in order to obtain the revocation of that Decree, they obtain'd it easily. *Ferrier* being cruely mortified by the ill success of his Enterprises, and irreconcileable with the *Reform'd* that abhor'd him, comforted himself with the love of the Catholicks, who look'd upon him still to be of some use. He liv'd a long while after that miserable Catastrophe; and the Court where he was favour'd by the Jesuits, honoured him at last with a place of Counsellor of State. There is a Pamphlet of his in which he makes the Elogy of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, whose Ministry afforded a Theme to a thousand Satyrs. He never was so firm a Catholick, but that he still gave the *Reform'd* hopes of joyning with them again But whereas there was no fortune to be expected in their Service, especially after the decay of their Affairs, he persisted to the end in the Roman Religion which answered his Ambition and Vanity.

And his end.

Reconcilement of the Duke de Rohan *and the Marshal* de Bouillon.

The Duke *de Rohan* who had only made an agreement with the Court by Force had preserv'd some resentment against those who had put that Violence upon him: and the Commissioners of the Synod had not been able to prevail with him to enter into the Reconciliation which the other great ones had sign'd. The end of those Broils giving people time to breath, the Negociations of that Accomodation were resum'd: but with some difficulty at first, by reason that there was some coldness between the Duke and the

Ple

Pleſſis, who was very uſeful to prevail upon people. The 1613.
old coldneſs proceeded from that *du Pleſſis* had broken all
the Dukes meaſures at *Rochel* by his Credit and Prudence.
However as they had a great reſpect for each other, they
were eaſily reconci'd. They met in a Houſe belonging to
the Dukes Mother, where after ſome diſcourſe they remain'd
very well ſatisfid with each other. Moreover the Duke
promis'd to live civily with the Marſhal *de Bouillon* when
he ſhould go for *Paris*; and whereas the reaſons which made
him take that reſolution were grounded upon the Publick
good, and the Service of the Churches, the Marſhal reli-
ed them as well as he, and promis'd the ſame thing. But
yet jealouſie did not allow them to enterain any real friend-
ip or confidence in each other.

The Sheriffs of *Saumur* made an attempt that year, which *Attempts of the Sheriffs of Saumur.*
ow'd that *du Pleſſis* moderation expos'd him more than
y other to the attempts of his Enemies. They ſuffer'd
emſelves to be perſuaded to call a Jeſuit into their City,
Preach there during the *Octave*, which the Catholicks call
Corpus Chriſti. The thing was of conſequence had it ſucceeded,
and the exampl would have been great had *du Pleſſis* ſuffer'd it
incline the Governours of the other places of ſurety to
do the ſame. Therefore the Jeſuits of *la Fleche* had thought fit
begin with *Saumur*, and had made an agreement with the
Officers, and the body of the City to ſend them a Preacher.
The Sheriffs and the others had much ado to deſiſt from
that Pretention, although *du Pleſſis* gave them to under-
ſtand that having beſides the uſual Prieſts, three ſorts of
Monks in the City, they had no occaſion for a Jeſuit; and
that he ſhowed them that thoſe of that Robe were exclu-
ded out of the Cities of Surety, by the Anſwers to the
Cahiers. They expected to obtain his conſent by Civility
and Intreaties: but finally, he being poſitive not to grant it
to them, and they not to diſiſt from their enterpriſe, he
was oblig'd to obtain an order from above. The Queen
granted it according to her promiſes, and to the deſire of
du Pleſſis; and ſhe caus'd the Jeſuit to be countermanded
herſelf.

* *Petitions or Addreſſes.*

The

1614. The Chamber of the Edict of *Paris* revers'd a sentence of the Judge of *Orleans* that year, who had adjudged a Legacy given by a Lady of Quality for the maintenance of the Ministers and Poor of that City, to the Hospitals of the said City and of *Remorantin*. The like proceedings happened often: The Inferior Judges commonly expres'd a great deal of Passion in the affairs of the Edict; and made no difficulty to violate the cleerest dispositions of it by their judgments. But the Chambers were more equitable: and whereas none but chosen Judges were imploy'd there still, whose Righteousness and Moderation were known, they often reform'd what the Inferior Judges had judg'd amiss. But that very year the King granted an Edict to the Bishop of *Mompellier*, which the *Reform'd* thought they had reason to complain of. He gave or confirm'd to the Bishop the right of making Regulations for the Government, or Reformation of the University; To take an Oath from all such as were admitted into their Body, or that injoyed any of their Offices; and generally to authorise their Acts. This under pretence of doing an act of Justice, was a Cruel incroachment upon the *Reform'd* of that City, who were much more powerful than the Catholicks, and who pretended that the said *Right* belonged lawfully to the Body of the City, over whom the Bishops would usurp it. The subjecting of them to the Authority of the Bishop, was the more grevious to them by reason that he was an undertaking malicious person, who spent all his time in contriving to trouble others for his own advantage. His name was *Fenouillet*: and he was indebted for his advancement to the Duke of *Sully*. The said Lord had obtain'd the Bishopwrick of *Poitiers* for him from *Henry* the 4*th*, and that of *Mompellier* becoming vacant about the same time, he got him translated to it. But tho *Fenouillet* was indebted to a *Reform'd* Lord for his Dignity, it did not hinder him from doing a thousand mischiefs to the others; nor to declare himself upon occasion one of their most inveterate Persecutors. He did not want Eloquence

Equity of the Chamber of the Edict of Paris.

Rights of the Bishop of Mompellier *upon the University.*

loquence: and when *Lewis* the 13*th* Beſieg'd *Mompellier* 1622, he harrangud that Prince in ſo violent a manner, at the Inhabitants of the ſaid City would have had reaſon expect the utmoſt Extremities, if they had not been le to defend themſelves. This Edict was made about o years before it was verified, by reaſon that the oppoſi-ons of the City made the Court judge that affair to be conſequence; and that the State was ſo imbroil'd, that it ould have been a raſhneſs to have exaſperated the *Reform'd*. hey might have given a potent re-enforcement by their nion, to thoſe that were diſatisfied with the Regency.

The Princes were very much diſatisfied with it; and ith much reaſon. The extraordinary favour of the arquiſs *d' Ancre*, an *Italian* of little merit, eſteem'd of bſcure Birth, and who could not ſo much as ſpeak *French*, ent ſo far that every body murmur'd at it; the Prin-s having no ſhare in the Affairs, and that Stranger alone overning according to his pleaſure. The Prince of *Conde*, e Count *de Soiſſons*, the Duke *de Longueville*, and *de Vendome*, *Mayenne* and *de Nevers*, and ſome others united them-lves againſt the Favourite: Some were induc'd to it upon e account of Pride or Intereſt, others upon the account Amours, or Intrigues. The Marſhal *de Bouillon* was ehoteſt of all of them; and he was the Mediator of the d Union. He had entertain'd hopes to advance him-f in the affairs of the State, and to gain the favour of that inceſs by his Complaiſance. But after that Princeſs had ob-ain'd the Service ſhe expected from him, he was neglected ke the reſt: Whither it were that ſhe obſerv'd that he had ot ſo much power over the *Reform'd* as he pretended, or at ſhe was diſpleas'd that after having engag'd herſelf, rely-g upon his Credit, to refuſe ſeveral things to the Aſſembly f *Saumur*, ſhe had been oblig'd to grant the ſame things at ivers times, one after another; whereby ſhe had loſt the ruit of her Favours, by reaſon that they were granted by orce and out of ſeaſon. So that the Marſhal only ſucceed d in loſing part of the confidence the *Reform'd* did repoſe

1614. *Di contents of the Princes.*

1614. in him, and drew powerful Enemies upon him. In order to remedy that loſs, he diſpos'd the Princes to exp their reſentments: and whereas he was us'd to put Name of the *Reform'd* at the Head of all his Propoſitio he did not fail to offer them all their Forces. The D of *Rohan* was a great obſtacle for him. Their Reconcilia had not ſtifled their mutual diſidencies. He could do thing without him, by reaſon that he had a great Pow in *Saintonge*, in lower *Guyenne*, and in *Poitou*, three co ſiderable Provinces. The Marſhal *de Bouillon* was afra that incaſe he ſhould enter into the Union he would gro too Powerful: but yet the Prince of *Conde* invited him t it. He found him very willing to joyn with him, by re ſon of the laſt diſcontents he had receiv'd from the Qu Moreover, the Princes putting the Inexecution of the Edi among the reaſons of their retreat, and obliging themſelv to obtain a reparation of the ſame, it was a ſtrong moti to engage him into their party, by reaſon that it ſeem to be very advantageous to the Churches.

The Duke of Rohan *enters into it.*

Therefore he ſeem'd to harken to it, and ſent *Hautefo taine* his Confident at the Conference where the Prin treated of a Peace. This being joyn'd to the Artifices the Duke *de Bouillon* made the Queen ſo jealous of hi that ſhe reſolv'd to take his Place of Colonel of the Sw *zers* from him, which ſhe preſented to *Baſſompierre*, t fineſt Gentleman of the Court, and who was moſt in h favour at that time. The Duke freely reſign'd his pla and took a recompence for it, which he thought bet than to expoſe himſelf to loſe it, without the leaſt adva tage, by refuſing it: beſides his Sallary was not very w paid. The Marſhal *de Bouillon* had had the cunning to co ceal the ſhare he had in the diſcontents of the Princes fro his Confidents; and in order to make all the ſuſpicious of t Court full upon Duke *de Rohan*, he had only mention'd it his Friends. So that the Marſhal *de Bouillon* ſeem'd to have ſhare in thoſe Intrigues, altho he was the head of them: a he behaved himſelf ſo prudently that he became the Media

Artifices of the Marſhal de Bouillon.

them. The Queen being deceiv'd by that Policy, or ming ſo to be, imploy'd him to quench thoſe riſing Flames: he had the Art to deſerve the thanks of both ſides in Affair which he had promoted himſelf. The Duke of *ban* was of no other uſe to him than to make the Queen ad the Princes the more, in order to oblige her to grant m better Conditions; and to make the Princes accept accomodation the ſooner, leſt they ſhould be too much g'd to that Rival of his Glory, incaſe he ſhould pro- d to a Declaration of War. 1614.

Retreat and Manifeſto of the Princes.

The Princes withdrew to *Mezieres*, a place blonging the Duke *de Nevers*, near *Sedan*, which was very veniently ſeated, either to receive foreign Suc- rs, incaſe they could obtain any, or to fly out of Kingdom incaſe they were reduced to that neceſſity. Duke *de Vendome* was not able to follow the reſt, reaſon that he was ſtopt at *Paris* as ſoon as their eat had been known: but having ſoon after made Eſcape he repair'd into *Bretagne* of which he had the vernment, in order to make the people take Arms there. y publiſh'd a kind of Manifeſto in all their Names, in form of a Letter from the Prince of *Conde* to the Queen: complain'd in it of all the Diſorders that were obſerv'd ll the parts of the State; and above all things of the xecution of the Edicts of Peace granted to the *Reform'd*, had conceiv'd juſt jealouſies about it, The whole was uc'd to deſire an Aſſembly of the Eſtates General, as only means to reſtore *France* to a perfect Tranquilty. writ to the Parliament of *Paris* to the ſame purpoſe. anſwer was ſent him in the Queens name, in which the rt endeavour'd to throw the blame of the diſorders of ch the Regency was accus'd upon the Princes themſelves. y juſtified the Queen particularly upon the ſubject of Edicts, ſaying that ſhe had us'd her utmoſt endeavours the obſervation of them: but that whenever ſhe re- d to uſe any ſeverity againſt the *Reform'd*, which as y pretended abus'd their Privileges, thoſe who endeavour'd

1614. to incline them to a Rebellion represented all her actions
them as Cruelties and Injustices; and that whenever she ha
been indulgent to their demands, the same Persons ha
blown into the Ears of the Catholicks, that she favour
their progress by the impunity of their enterprises.

Their precipitation is blam'd.

The Wiser sort were of opinion that the retreat of th
Princes had been too much precipiated; and that having
made a false stept at first, they would obtain no great a
vantage of their ill-contriv'd Union. They had neithe
Money, Souldiers nor strong holds and all their hopes bein
built on Immaginary Succors, or uncertain Events, we ma
say that they were very Ill grounded. Not but that th
Duke of *Rohan* did whatever he could on his side t
make a show of his Power, and to render himself con
siderable to the United Princes. He prevail'd with th
Provincial Council of the Lower *Guyenne* to Conven
an Assembley at *Tonneins* of three Deputys of every on
of the other Councils, and the Letters of it were di
patch'd towards the end of *March*. The day on whic
they appointed the Assembly to meet, was the same th
had been taken to hold a National Synod in the same Place
Insomuch that had those two Assemblys concurr'd in th
same Resolutions, it might be said that the *Reformed* ha
never taken such general ones. We will observe El
where why it did not succeed. I will only say that th
Princes only making use of the Duke *de Rohan's* goo
Will, to render themselves the more formidable to th

A Peace is made.

Queen, they concluded a Peace in the presence of *Ha*
tefontaine his Envoy, to whom they daily gave a thousan
Assurances that they had no thoughts of it. The Sum
of Money that were offer'd them, made their Swor
drop out of their Hands. They obtain'd the usual A
of Grace: and the greatest thing they got was a promi
to Assemble the Estates. *Amboise* was delivered up t
the Prince of *Conde* as a Place of Surety. The othe
profited by it according to their Quality. The ob
Duke of *Rohan* paid the Scot, and got nothing but th

Queen

Queens Indignation by it. The Duke *de Vendome* held 1612.
out longer than the reſt; and the Queen was forc'd to
go into *Bretagne* to reduce him to Reaſon.

This Treaty being concluded at Ste. *Menehould* on the 5th, of *May*, was forthwith put in Execution: but the Peace which was but juſt concluded had like to have been broken by an affront the Prince of *Conde* receiv'd at *Poitiers*. He was diſatisfy'd with the Biſhop to whom he ſent ſome ſmart Letters by a Gentleman of his Retinue. The ſaid Gentleman was ill us'd, by the conſent, and perhaps at the Inſtigations of the Biſhop. The Prince being inform'd therewith in a Journey of which no body knew the Secret, reſolv'd inconſiderately to go to *Poitiers* to revenge that affront. Whereas he was only Arm'd with his Quality at that time, and not very well attended, he was not much in a Condition to be fear'd; and therefore the Inhabitants ſhut their Gates againſt him, and refus'd him Enterance. This ſeem'd to be done by the Biſhop's Credit: but it was thought that he had receiv'd ſecret orders from the Queen about it. Moreover ſome Perſons ſome which were Ingag'd in the Princes Intereſts were turn'd out of the City: whereupon he did whatever lay in his Power to Aſſemble his Friends and to lay a kind of Siege before that Inſolent City. But he could hardly Aſſemble Men enough to annoy the Inhabitants a little, whom he hindered from going to and fro by keeping of ſome Paſſages. He neither had time enough nor means to renew his Correſpondence which the Peace had broken: and the Queen being gone from *Paris* with her Forces, the fear of her marching againſt him oblig'd him to remove from before *Poitiers*. He was forc'd to ſubmit that affair to Juſtice, and to ſuffer Commiſſioners to be nominated to examine it: and the Biſhop was ſent for to Court as it were to be reprimanded for his proceedings. It was not ſo much to puniſh him, as to put him in ſafety: and the Queen having brought the King to *Poitiers*, improv'd that occaſion to put her Creatures in the Chief Imployments there, in order to ſecure that City to herſelf. The *Reform'd* reſolv'd in that Progreſs to ſhow the

Injury done to the Prince of Conde *at* Poitiers.

Cities of Surety opened to the King.

1614. the King that he was as much Maſter of the places of Surety, as of all the other Cities of his Kingdom. He was received with his Forces in all thoſe where he came. Moreover, he was invited to come through ſuch as he ſeemed to avoid on purpoſe, leſt it might create ſome jealouſie.

National Synod. The King of England's Letters.

Soon after the Treaty of the Princes, the *Reform'd* held a National Synod at *Tonneins*. Several affairs were handled in it, which neither related to their Doctrine, nor Diſcipline. They receiv'd Letters from the King of *England*, who embrac'd all occaſions to concern himſelf with Divinity, as much as he neglected to mind the general affairs of *Europe*. The Subject of his Letters was a diſpute between *Tilenus* and *du Moulin*, who accus'd each other of Error, about the Miſtery of the hypoſtatick Union. Beſides, *Tilenus* had Sentiments that were not very Orthodox, about the concurrence of Grace with humane Will. The Marſhal *de Bouillon* who did eſteem him, and who had call'd him to *Sedan*, to give a reputation to the College he had founded there, declared himſelf publickly his Protector; which gave a great deal of diſcontent to the Churches. That affair occaſioned ſeveral Conferrences, after which *Tilenus* was finally abandon'd, and left the Churches of *France* in quiet, untill he took upon him to write againſt the Aſſembly of *Rochel*, during the Civil Wars. As ſoon as the Synod received the King of *England*'s Letter, they reſolv'd to open it: but before they read it, they reſolv'd, leſt their keeping a correſpondence with a foreign Prince might offend the Court, to ſend a Copy of it to *Rouvray*, one of the Deputies General, who remain'd with the King while *la Miletierre* was come to *Tonneins*, to the end he ſhould ſhow it to the Miniſters incaſe it ſhould create any jealouſie in them: and they proteſted at the ſame time that incaſe the ſaid Letter did mention any thing but what related to Religion, they would not treat about it without expreſs leave from the King. It was a medium which ſeemed to reconcile the divers pretentions of the Court and of the Synod: The Court would

ould not allow the *Reform'd* to keep any Communication with Foreigners: and the Synod thought that they ought to ve the freedom of that Correspondence, in things which lated to their Doctrine. Therefore they thought that ey ſhould ſatisfie the Court by keeping within thoſe bounds, d by tying their own hands in affairs of another ature. 1614.

The Council of the Lower *Guyenne* was oblig'd to give e Synod an account of the Convocation they had made, hich I have ſpoken of. That way of proceeding was not pproved of every where, becauſe it exceeded the bounds the regulation made at *Saumur*; That the Province had ot a ſufficient grievance, to have recourſe to that re-edy; That even in that caſe it would have been ſuffici-t to invite the Deputies of five adjacent Provinces; and nally, That ſince a General Aſſembly was expected, which e Deputies General endeavour'd to obtain leave for the id Convocation could not be look'd upon as neceſſary. They ledg'd reaſons for it, which freed them from a Cenſure. he Church of *Pujols*, in the precinct of the Aſſembly of *Agen*, hich is part of that Province, had refus'd to ſubmit to e reſolutions of that Council. Complaints were made it in the ſaid Aſſembly, where after having heard the arties, they had cenſured the diſobedience of the ſaid hurch; tho they juſtified pretty well that their intentions ere good. The ſaid Church appealed to the Synod, which onfirm'd the Judgment of the Aſſembly. The reaſon it was that the reſolution having been taken by the plu-ality of Voices, they broke the Union in refuſing to ſub-it to it, and made an inlet for Diviſions. Moreover it obſervable by this affair, as well as by ſeveral others, hat tho the Power of Political and Eccleſiaſtical Aſſem-lies was bounded in certain things, the one being to med-le with Civil Government and Safety, the other with Diſ-ipline and Doctrine, nevertheleſs, there was a kind of nutual Subordination between them, by virtue whereof he one ſometimes reform'd the regulations of the other, or

Council of the Lower Guyenne.

Mutual Subordination of the Aſſemblies.

1614. or took Cogniſance of their Judgments by way of Appeal. That was very proper to maintain Union between thoſe two Tribunals, and might have contributed conſiderably towards the preſervation of the Churches, if it could have been obſerved without Ambition or Jealouſie.

Brief of leave for a General Aſſembly.

The Deputies General had obtained leave to hold a General Aeſſmbly: but the Brief oblig'd them to aſſemble at a time and in a place which did not pleaſe them. The place was *Grenoble*, very diſtant from all the Provinces, and moreover in the Power of *Leſdiguieres*, and of a Parliament which would not allow the Deputies the liberty of their Suffrages. The time was the 15*th* of *July*, too ſhort a time to allow the Provinces Leiſure to nominate their Deputies, and to prepare their Inſtructions. Moreover, the Brief contain'd modifications that were too ſtrict, and allow'd the Aſſembly nothing but to nominate Deputies General. The Synod order'd thoſe that perform'd that function at that time, to obtain a more convenient Place, and freer, a longer time, during which Provincial Aſſemblies might be held, to give an account of the proceedings of the Synod: and a more favourable Brief, giving the Aſſembly a larger Permiſſion. The Synod, only obtained an alteration as to the time. The Aſſembly was put of untill the 25*th* of *Auguſt*: but the Queen declar'd that ſhe could neither change the Place, nor the form of the Brief. The Conjuncture of the time, the King being near upon entering into his 14*th* year, and conſequently to be declared Major, might have given the Aſſembly an occaſion to treat about great things. The Eſtates that were promiſed, were to meet ſhortly: which alſo was an inducement for the *Reform'd* to look about them, But thoſe very reaſons alſo induced the Court not to allow their Aſſembly all ſort of Liberty. Nevertheleſs, the place diſpleaſing them, they choſe rather not to meet than to do it in the Capital City of a Province, in which the Parliament and Governor might equaly diſturb them. We will ſee what happened about it the following year, in which the alterations of Affairs made them earneſtly

neſtly deſire the ſame place, which they had ſo much rejected. 1614.

An account was given to the Synod of the means that had been us'd to reconcile the Lords; and Letters were deliver'd to them from the Dukes *de Rohan*, de *Sully* and from *du Pleſſis*, which deſir'd the Members of the Synod to acquaint the Provinces with their good intentions, and with their zeal for the Service of the Churches. *Bergerac* diſown'd in that Synod the Brief of 1500 Livers, which the King had given them to take upon the 15000 Crowns of Augmentation; and after the Church and City had declar'd in writing, that they renounc'd all manner of means to obtain the ſaid Sum, unleſs it were by the good Will of the Synod, the Aſſembly granted them 1200 Livers. This husbandry ſeem'd to be very neceſſary, by reaſon that the Funds were wanting every where for the payment of the Miniſters: and thoſe who had treated with the late King upon that Subject, had taken their meaſures ſo ill, that moſt of them having no Sallary beſides what they had out of the ſaid Donations were reduced to great ſtreights: which render'd them incapable of performing their Miniſtry, ſuſceptible to the inſpirations of the Court which endeavoured to corrup them, or deſpicable for their Poverty. The Sum granted by *Lewis* the 13*th* added but little to their Sallary; beſides they had occaſion for it, for ſo many things that the Miniſters had not the advantage of it. The King applyed part of it himſelf to what he pleas'd; and he had had much ado to free that Sum of the penny *per* Liver which he had taken out of it for the Sallary of the Deputies General. The reſt was diſtributed part to the Accademys and Colleges, part in Gratifications and Recompences, and part for Deputations and private Affairs. The Lower *Guyenne* propos'd in order to remedy that Evil to beg of the King wherewith to pay the Miniſters intirely. The Synod harkened to that propoſition; but they thought fit to refer it to a General Aſſembly.

Letters from the Lords. Pecuniary Affairs.

Among the things that were promis'd in order to diſolve the Aſſembly of *Rochel*, the Court had put the *Reform'd*

1612. in hopes of an Exemption of * *Tailles* for the Ministers: and the Declaration of it had been drawn accordingly. But the Courts of Aids, made great difficulties about it; and it had not been verified; so that it had only prov'd an illusion till then. The Synod order'd the Deputies General to press the Registring of it; and the Deputies of the Churches to carry the said demand to the mix'd Assemblies of their Provinces; and those particular Assemblies to give them to their Deputies to be moved in the General Assembly.

Exemption of Tailles for the Ministers.
* *Taxes.*

They spoke of the Innovations that were introduc'd in the nomination of the Governors of the places of Surety, and in the reception of the *Reform'd* in the places that were allow'd to them. They were oblig'd before their said reception to take an attestation of the Assembly within the extent of which the Government of a Place became vacant. But the Court did not observe it, in order to have the sole authority of those Nominations. The Synod made a very severe order upon that Subject against those who accepted Governments or other Imployments that way: and referr'd the Complaints of the fact to the Political Assemblies. They also order'd the Consistories to hinder the Governors of places from protecting any persons accus'd of things which deserv'd Punishment, lest those Cities given for the Surety of their Religion should serve to protect Criminals.

Places of Surety.

One of the six *Reform'd* Counsellors in the Parliament of *Paris*, call'd *Berger*, was lately turn'd Catholick. His change made a breach in the number of the Officers of that quality promis'd by the Edict: and the *Reform'd* pretended that *Berger* ought no longer to injoy the said imployment which belong'd to them, since he had chang'd his Religion. But *Berger* had made his bargain before he chang'd his Religion that he should not lose his Place; and it was the interest of the Catholicks not to turn out such as imbrac'd their Communion, lest the fear of that disadvantage should discourage others who might also be inclined to do the same. The Synod order'd the Deputies General to endeavour to repair that breach; and to acquaint the Assembly with it incase they

Berger *a Reformed Counsellor at* Paris *turns Roman Catholick.*

hey could not ſucceed in it. But their diligence prov'd in- 1614.
tectual; and the *Reform'd* never receiv'd full ſatisfaction
pon that Subject.

The diſcharge granted by the King of the Penny *per Li-* *Reformed of Gex.*
ver out of the Money he had granted the *Reform'd*, authoriſed
he Synod to deſire him alſo to diſcharge them of the 3600
Livers adjudged to the Churches of the Country of *Gex*.
The reaſon was that the ſaid Sum was taken out of a Grant
n which that Country had not been conſider'd, by reaſon
hat it was not under the Kings Dominion at the time of the
dict; and that at the time when the ſaid augmentation was
ranted, it had a Fund ſettled by the late King's Commiſſioners,
or the maintenance of its Miniſters. Moreover, the ſaid Sum
as diſtributed by order from the Council; which did
ot forget to do it in ſuch a manner that diviſions might
riſe about it. The Synod of *Burgundy*, of which that
ayliwick was a dependency, had adjudg'd 60 Livers out
f the Money deſign'd for that Cantoon, for a College they
eſign'd to erect at *Gex*: and the Aſſembly had acqui-
s'd to it. But the Inhabitants of the City being offended
hat ſo little was granted them, apply'd themſelves to
he Council in which they obtain'd a Decree which ad-
dg'd them 250 Livers. This was dangerous, both as to
he example, which authoris'd the Malecontents to appeal
rom the Judgments given in the Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies
o the Council: and for the Conſequence which ſubmited
he diſtribution which the Synods made of the ſaid Grants
o the review of the Council: which was directly contrary
o the Brief of 1598, which allow'd the *Reform'd* to diſ-
oſe of them without giving any account of it. There-
ore the Synod took the thing to heart; and cenſur'd the
Reform'd of the City ſenſibly; and threatned to proceed
urther againſt them, incaſe they did not ſubmit with obe-
ience to their Synods.

We may gather from the Synod that there were Churches *Churches not as yet ſettled.*
rounded on the diſpoſition of the Edicts, of which the
ettlement was nevertheleſs not as yet made, by reaſon of

1614. the oppositions of the Catholicks; whither it were upon the account of the Poverty of those that were to compose them, or upon the account of the negligence of those that were to imploy themselves about it. There were some of this kind in *Auvergne*: and that of *Issoire* was of that number. They had long pursued their affairs inefectually at Court: but the Synod being inform'd with their deplorable Condition, order'd the Deputies General to second their Petitions, and to recommend them in their Name.

Condition of the Reform'd in the County of Avignon.

The *Reform'd* of the County of *Avignon*, who two years before thought themselves strong enough to form a Province by themselves had strangly alter'd their Condition since. They had been persecuted with so much violence that their Condition was worthy of Commiseration: and the Synod which knew no other remedy, was forc'd to beg of the King to turn their Mediator, to obtain some ease for them.

Liberality's of the Synod.

The Synod made other liberal gifts to some particular persons, *Rivet* had 600 Livers for some Works, and *Gigord* Professor in Theology at *Mompellier*, who had had a dispute at Court some years before with *Cotton* the Jesuit, had 1850.

Colleges.

The same Synod appointed places in every Province, in order to establish Colleges, of which some have subsisted till our days; and tho they were sensible, considering the small Fund they had to dispose of, that there were too many Accademies in the Kingdom, by reason that they were too chargeable, yet they preserv'd them for fear of prejudicing those places out of which they should remove them.

Bearn.

They gave the Churches of *Bearn* power to convene a National Synod in their Turn, on condition that they should submit to the Decisions of those that should be held in the Kingdom, and that they should make their appeals there. We have already seen by what happen'd in the Assembly of *Saumur*, that the Court would not allow the Political Union of that Province with the rest of the Churches of the Kingdom. But the said Province it self dreaded to be United too much with them in the exercise of their Discipline, for fear of injuring the priviledges which the Churches injoy'd there

ere independently from the Edict of *Nantes*, and by virtue of more ancient Titles. Particularly they were 1614.
aid, left in ſubmitting the Churches of the Country to
e deciſions a of Synod held elſewhere, it might ſerve as
pretence againſt the Right they pretended, that the Ge-
ral and Particular Caſes of their Inhabitants could not
taken out of the hands of their natural Judges; *viz.*
e Council, and their Eſtates. There was ſomething like *Mets.*
s relating to the City of *Mets*; the Church of which
ly maintain'd a Communion of Doctrine with the others:
t kept at a diſtance as to the reſt, for fear of prejudic-
g the Rights they injoy'd before the Edict; from the very
e they ſubmitted under the Protection of *France*.

The Oath of Union was renew'd in that Aſſembly with *Oath of Union.*
e uſual Proteſtations of Obedience and Fidelity to the
ng, *The Empire of God remaining whole*; and every
eputy promis'd to get it ratified in his Province. Finally, *Letters to the King and Queen.*
e Synod writ to the King and Queen, about the things
ey order'd the Deputies to ſollicit. This difference was
ſerv'd in the ſaid Letters that the ſame things that were
ntion'd in the King's Letter, were ſome what more inlarg'd
on in the Queen's. Among the Complaints they made
them, there was one in particular, concerning an exceſs
mmitted at *Guiſe* againſt the perſon of a *Reform'd*;
hich the Lieutenant General was accus'd of having had a
nd in; either by exciting the Authors of it directly, or
conniving at them. They demanded Juſtice about it,
the end that the puniſhment of thoſe that were guilty
it, might put a ſtop to thoſe Violences, and ſhow that
e *Reform'd* had a ſhare in the King's protection as well
the reſt. They gave reaſons in the ſame Letters for
e refuſal that was made by the Churches to accept *Grenoble* for the place of their General Aſſembly; and in order
obtain a more convenient place, they alledg'd the ex-
mple of the late King, who always had a regard to the Pe-
tions of the *Reform'd*, as to the nomination of a place for
e like Convocations; but that Negotiation was interrup-
d by Affairs of more Conſequence. The

1614. *The Queen prepares to Assemble the Estates General.*

The Queen who had promis'd to assemble the Estates General only thought on means to amuse every body untill the King's Majority. The affairs that occur'd since the Treaty of *Menehould*, &c. happen'd as apropos for her, as if she had contrived them her self. But she had yet a nother design in her Head, which was of greater consequence. She was very sensible that the Princes had desired an Assembly of the States in order to mortifie her by the suppression of her Creatures: and that the whole Kingdom was in expectation to see what the said Assembly would produce, which had been formerly the remedy of the peoples Grievances, and the defence of their Liberties. But she had observ'd by the success of the last States that it was not impossible to make a different use of it; and to oppress by means of the States, those who expected protection and assistance by them. In order whereunto she did what *Pius* the 4*th* had done with the Councils which his Predecessors stood so much in awe of. He made use of them to break the bonds which those Assemblies were us'd to give to the authority of his See; and to reform those Princes that had a mind to reform him. Thus the Queen took measures to make the States serve to maintain her Power, and to colour the oppression of the people. Therefore she resolv'd to make the Declaration of the King's Majority, before the Overture of the States: not doubting but tho she thereby lost the Regency, it would be easie for her to preserve the Authority of it. The King was but easie, so young, and so well dispos'd by the Education and by the discourse of his Confessor, and others whom the Queen had put about him, to be Govern'd by her, that there was no likelihood she should Reign less absolutely under her Sons name for the future, than she had done then. The only way to maintain her Power was to make that Prince speak; whose Will ought to be more respected being declar'd Major, than when it seem'd inspir'd into him by his Mothers directions.

The Overture of the States being appointed on the 15*th* *October* at *Paris*, the Queen carried the King to the Parent on the 2*d* of the ſaid month, to take the Act of Majority, and to verifie the Declaration of the preceding day; who after having prais'd Almighty God for proſperity he had granted to the State, and reed the Queen thanks for her prudent conduct during Regency, contain'd four or five Articles, certainly thy to be the firſt Laws of a Prince, who was to make his State for the future himſelf, and to truſt no longer he vigilency of others. The firſt confirm'd the Edict of *tes*, and all the Articles, Regulations and Decrees that been granted to the *Reform'd*, touching its Interpretaand Execution. The ſecond condemn'd all Correſponcies, Leagues and Aſſociations at home and abroad; Deputations made to Foreign Princes whither nds, or Foes, without leave, under any pretence whatr. The third depending on that forbad all thoſe who iv'd Sallarys, Pay, or Penſions from the King, to re- any from any other Prince or Lord, and to bear Arms ollow any body but the King, on pain of loſing their loyments, Sallarys and Penſions. The fourth renew'd all Ordinances againſt Duels; without any hopes of Mercy. laſt did the ſame againſt Blaſphemies, and order'd the ent Ordinances to be publiſh'd a new. In order to Judge he Juſtice & neceſſity of the third Article, we muſt obſerve there were ſeveral perſons in the King's Pay, who apd themſelves nevertheleſs to the ſervice of certain Lords, om they look'd upon as their Patrons, whoſe Will was a eraign Law to them. In the progreſs the Court had ly made it was obſerv'd that two Lords follow'd the g, who had each of them 500 Horſe to attend them. as glorious for the King to Command ſuch potent jects: but it was uncertain whether ſuch Subjects would ays obey: and Policy could not permit the King to pay nds and Creatures to his Subjects to act againſt him.

1614. *Declaration on the King's Majority.*

On

1614. On the day the Queen had appointed, the Deputies
the Provinces repair'd to *Paris* and made the Overture
Overture of the States. the States. There had been great Brigues in the Provinces
obtain the nomination of persons that were at the devoti
of those who design'd to profit by that Assembly. The Que
had us'd her utmost endeavours to have them favourab
The Prince of *Conde* had omitted no means to get t
strongest Party there: and whereas the Publick Good a
his Interest seem'd to be link'd together, he had eas
found such as did embrace his Party, altho he had n
wherewith to make gratification like the Queen. He w
** The Commons.* particularly seconded by the * third Estate, which comme
ly is the only one that keeps to the right Cause: by rea
that being the first on which the weight of oppression lig
they are also the first that oppose the progress of Slaver
The Prince had much ado to resolve to come to Court
ter the mortification he had receiv'd. His weakness had
of the Queens Power; and he was afraid that coming
Court after an Affront for which he had receiv'd so lit
satisfaction, he would make but a melancholly figure the
But the Queen would have him there, by reason that oth
wise whatever she should cause to be ordain'd without h
should want weight and effect; and that on the first oc
sion he should have to create new Troubles, she should
oblig'd to begin a new. She was resolv'd to ruin
Power by the means of the Estates, in order to break
his measures for the future.

The Clergy and Nobility unite against the third Estate. She would have met with no success in that enterprise h
there been any Faith in the Clergy, or Vigor in the No
lity. But the Clergy spoil'd all according to their usual c
stom, and betray'd the King and Kingdom for their partic
lar interest. The Court engag'd them on their side, b
Complaisance and benefits: and they ingag'd the Nobili
on theirs; and those two bodys being joyn'd oppressed th
third Estate. There are natural seeds of discord amon
those divers orders of the Kingdom: The two first are n
burdened with the Charge of the State, and little va
th

ne grievances of the third which bears them all: and the 1614.
hird on the contrary having ever Complaints and Re-
onſtrances to make againſt the two others, who ſeldom
are their Blood and Labour, and are very Liberal at their
oſt. The Clergy having began by Maſſes, Proceſſions and
he Communion, to which they invited the other two, re-
olv'd to ſecure the Nobility, and to diſpoſe them to joyn
ith them, to act together. They apply'd themſelves about
by Deputations in form, and by particular Intrigues. The
rongeſt machine they ſet at work, even publickly, was in-
ereſt. They repreſented to the Nobility of what uſe Benefi-
es were for the Children of Noble Families. They per-
waded them that thoſe two Orders made properly but one
ody, ſince the Clergy was for the moſt part compos'd of
Gentlemen dedicated to the Church, who poſſeſs'd the Re-
enues of it: and that therefore the Nobility ought to be
nited to an Order, of which they partak'd the Riches and
Dignity ſo advantageouſly. In reallity, Benefices are the
eſource of the Nobility, which being ruin'd in the King's
rvice, have no better way to maintain, or to raiſe their
ortunes, than to make Eccleſiaſticks of their younger
ons, and Nuns of their Daughters, while they only keep the
ldeſt to preſerve the Name and Luſtre of their Families.

There were ſome *Reform'd* among the Deputies of the No- *Reform'd in the States.*
ility: but they were not ſtrong enough to oppoſe the Catho-
cks. Beſides what ever came from them was ſuſpected by
he ignorant Nobility and one of the reaſons which prejudic'd
he rights of the Crown moſt, and the Prince of *Conde*, was that
hoſe who maintain'd them moſt were *Hereticks*. Peoples minds *Independency of Kings.*
eing diſpos'd thus, The third Eſtate began to treat the que-
ion of the Independency of Kings, and of the ſafety of their
erſons, againſt the enterprizes and pretentions of the Court
f *Rome*. It was none of their fault that it was not paſs'd
nto a fundamental Law of the State that they were ſubject
o no Power directly, nor indirectly; and that there was no
aſe or pretence to authoriſe any body to declare their for-
eiture of the Crown, & to diſpence their Subjects from their

1614. Allegiance. The murther of the two laſt Kings had made a deep impreſſion in the hearts of the King's beſt Subjects, and the Third Eſtate was deſirous to ſtifle the remainder of the League by that Law, by ſhowing their maxims to be falſe, and contrary to the principle of Monarchy. It was ſtill freſh in Peoples minds, how thoſe maxims had like to have torn the Kingdom into piece, and to deprive the lawful Heir of the Crown under pretence of Religion, and of the Excommunication pronounc'd againſt him by the Popes.

Whoſe Cauſe is betra'yd by the Clergy and by the Court it ſelf.

It ſeems wonderful in our days that a propoſition ſo ſpecious in it ſelf, and ſo advantageous to Kings could be rejected. And yet it certainly was; and that which is moſt ſurpriſing is that the King's authority was us'd to reject it. The truth is that it was no novelty at that time: the Court had partly done the ſame two years before. The Monks had undertaken to make Kings ſtoop under the Popes feet. The Clergy of the *Sorbonne* was inclinable to that Seditious Theology. Regal Authority was the ſport of their Diſputes, and moſt people were wretchedly miſled into that opinion. I do not wonder that they refus'd to allow the *Reform'd* at that time to have the honour to defend their Soveraign, and that thoſe Books were ſuppreſs'd which they wrote upon that Subject: but yet methinks they ſhould have had a little more regard for the Catholicks who maintain'd the ſame Cauſe. Nevertheleſs the Court handſomely acquieſs'd to its own diſadvantage. *Richet* only defender of the King's Rights, and of the Liberties of the *Gallick* Church, and who maintain'd the propoſitions which the Clergy has lately defin'd, was oppreſs'd by *Duval*, another Doctor ſeconded by the Monks: and the Court interpoſing in that Diſpute, he was oblig'd to part with his place of *Syndic* of the Univerſity, to ſuffer the Condemnation of his Books, without ſaying any thing, and to ſuffer his Brethren, and even the King himſelf whoſe Intereſts he did defend, to treat him as an Heretick. But whereas the *Reform'd* had a great ſhare in that Diſpute which was renew'd in the States, I think it will be neceſſary for their Honour, to relate ſomewhat at large how that affair paſs'd.

The

The Clergy fell out into an Exceſs of Paſſion againſt 1614.
he Authors of that propoſition. They made as much
oiſe as if they had deſign'd to take away their vaſt Re- *Paſſion of the Clergy.*
enues, or to ſet the *Reform'd* Religion upon the Throne.
hey drew the Nobility into their Sentiments: and ha-
ing put Cardinal *Du Perron* at the head of a ſolemn De-
utation which they ſent to the Third Eſtate, he oppos'd
he good Intentions of that Body with all his might. The *Harangue of Cardinal du Perron.*
id Cardinal made a long ſtudyed diſcourſe upon that
atter, to render the ſaid propoſition odious: and he main-
in'd the Intereſts of the Court of *Rome* with ſo much
onfidence, that he ſeem'd only to make uſe of the Gran-
eur to which the favour of Kings had rais'd him, to de-
roy them, and to make them ſubject to a Forreign Power.
he turn he took to make an Impreſſion upon the minds of
he Catholicks, was to repreſent that Doctrine as a branch
f *Hereſie*, in order to create jealouſies about its Original.
e maintained with a boldneſs ſuitable to a more odious
ame, that before *Calvin the whole Church*, and even the
allick *Church* did believe that when a King did violate the
ath he had taken to God and to his Subjects, to live and
ye a Catholick; and not only turn'd *Arian* or *Mahometan*,
ut even proceeded ſo far as to War againſt *Jeſus Chriſt*,
at is, *to force the Conſciences of his Subjects*, and to oblige
em to follow a falſe Religion, he might be declar'd depri-
ed of his Rights, and his Subjects could be abſolved in
onſcience and at the Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical Tribunal,
f the Allegiance which they had ſworn to him: and that it be-
nged to the Pope or Council to make that Declaration.
e maintained that this Sentiment expos'd no body to the
nathema, and did not deprive thoſe who held it of the
ommunion of the Church He declared more than once that
e Oath which the King of *England* had exacted from the
atholicks, was the *Patron* of the Doctrine of the Third
ſtate, which at the bottom was the ſubſtance of that Oath.
e alledged ſeveral inconveniences which might ariſe from
he enterpriſe of that Houſe; for Inſtance that it would be

1614. a Snare for Conſciences, to make people read as an Article of Faith taken out of the word of God, a Doctrine the contrary of which had been and was ſtill held by all the reſt of the Catholick Church; That it was dangerous that Lay-men ſhould undertake to decide matters of Faith, without being guided by a Council, or ſome other Eccleſiaſtical Judgment; That it might create a Schiſm, to declare a Doctrine Impious, which was approved by the other Catholicks, which they did ſeperate from by that Declaration; That under pretence of ſecuring the Life and Grandeur of Princes, they would be expoſed more than ever by the troubles which a Schiſm cauſes. He had the boldneſs to ſay, that the Murther of Kings could be prevented no otherwiſe than by the fear of Eternal Puniſhment; and that nothing but Eccleſiaſtical Judgments can give a real Terror of Puniſhments. He ſeconded all this with Examples, and Teſtimonies ſet out with a great deal of Pomp; diſplaying as he us'd to do the moſt fabulous and moſt falſe Reports: and he endeavou'd to prove by ſubtil artificial anſwers, the Examples and Teſtimonies to the contrary.

Why the Heriticks are tollerated.

He alſo endeavour'd to refute the Objections drawn from other Cauſes, and among the reſt that which was taken from the Tolleration granted to *Hereticks*: from whence it might be concluded that if Juſt Laws were made to preſerve their Lives, their Eſtates, and their Honours, Kings were much leſs to be depriv'd of theirs under pretence of *Hereſie*. He anſwer'd it in a manner which ſhow'd, that according to his opinion the Laws under which *Hereticks* lived, did only ſuſpend the execution of thoſe which were againſt them: and inſinuating that incaſe a new *Hereſie* ſhould ariſe, which might be oppreſſed without danger by reaſon of its weakneſs, they would not fail to deprive the profeſſors of it both of their Eſtates and Lives; he ſhow'd clearly enough that it was only the power of the *Reform'd*, which he meant almoſt every where in naming them *Heriticks*, which made their ſafety. This alone might ſuffice, if men were equitable, to apologiſe for their Precautions and Difidences:

ſince

ce nothing can be more natural and juſt, when People are 1614.
reatned with Puniſhments and Maſacres, than to take
eaſures to prevent them. He did not forget in that place
relate the uſage *Servet* had receiv'd at *Geneva*, and the
rians in *England*.

Speaking of the fourth inconvenience which he found in *Diſtinctions of the Cardinal.*
Doctrine of the Third Eſtate, he reduc'd his about the
ety of Kings to diſtinctions of Tyrants by Uſurpation, and
rants by Adminiſtration, and ſome others which might
ſcover how much thoſe pretended Sureties were illuſive.
he Caſe was not to preſerve the Lives of Kings againſt the
rts that are Lanc'd in the diſputes of Colleges, where
oſe diſtinctions might have been of ſome uſe; but againſt
aſſinates, whoſe fury could not be repell'd by a *Diſtinguo*.
his ſubject requires, and I ſay the ſame of moſt of thoſe which
late to practice in important matters, Principles Independent
all ſuch ſubtleties; which may at once give the moſt igno-
nt, a clear Idea of the Duties that are impos'd upon
em

In order to end that long diſcourſe by a concluſion wor- *His Concluſion.*
y of the reſt, he endeavour'd to perſuade that it was a
eat moderation in the Popes, to ſuffer ſuch to remain in
e Communion of the Church of *Rome*, which held the Do-
rine of the Third Eſtate: and according to him they were
ry much oblig'd to the Court of *Rome*, for not being Ex-
mmunicated by them, and declar'd *Hereticks*. Finally, to
ſpoſe his Auditors the better to relinquiſh that Article, he
cus'd the *Reform'd* of being the Authors of it, and to have
pt in that propoſition, which he call'd the *Apple of Diſcord*, * Petion or *Addreſs.*
the *Cahiers* of ſome Provinces, to ſow Diviſion among
e Catholicks. He ſaid that they had long threatned that
nterpriſe; That the ſaid project came from *Saumur*: That
evertheleſs both the Synods and Miniſters would refuſe to
gn that Doctrine: which he prov'd by their Confeſſion of
aith; by the exceptions which they added to the proteſta-
ons of their Obedience and Fidelity; and by their taking
f Arms, when ever the Court had attempted to deprive them
f the Liberty of their Conſciences. Whcre-

1615. Wherenpon we may obſerve firſt, That he apply'd the
Reflexions. Doctrine to his with a great deal of malice; ſince there
a great deal of difference between not obeying Kings, wh
they will force Conſciences; or making them lyable to dep
ſition by virtue of an Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure, and expoſi
them to the Daggers of Murtherers, under the pretence
Anathema's. The one was the Sentiment of the *Reform'd*
the other was the Opinion of the adherents of the Cou
of *Rome*, the impudent pretentions of which the Third Eſtat
would ſuppreſs. Secondly that the *Reform'd* in taking Arms
never intended to revoke the Oath of Allegiance they ha
ſworn to their Kings; but only to ſecure themſelves againſt
violence and oppreſſion, being ſtill ready to lay down thei
Arms, as ſoon as their perſecutors had done the like. F
nally, that the Cardinal juſtified againſt his will accordi
to his principles, thoſe Wars which the Catholicks have
often reproach'd: ſince they never did take Arms but whe
their Princes violated that Oath made to God and to them
to make them live in peace and liberty under the protectio
of their Edicts. It was a uſual thing among the moſt violen
Votaries of the Court of *Rome*, to impute thoſe very things
to the *Reform'd* as high Treaſon which that Court teache
as a duty to the Catholicks.

* *Houſe of Commons. The third Eſtate Perſiſts.*

This Diſcourſe produc'd no effect in the * Chamber of th
Third Eſtate, by reaſon that *Miron* who preſided in it main-
tain'd the importance and neceſſity of the Article with V
gour and Capacity. He neither wanted Wit, Learning, o
Courage: and as he equall'd the Cardinal in that, he had
the advantage of a great probity over him. Moreover he
was ſeconded by the Parliaments, whoſe Heriditary Doctrine
he deſign'd to paſs into a Law: and all the good *French*,
whether *Reform'd* or Catholicks, were very deſirous that
his propoſition might be converted into a Law of the State.

Character of Miron, *Preſident of the Chamber of that Order.*

So that he would perhaps have carryed it in ſpight of the
Clergy, and have diſabus'd the Nobility, had the Court taken
care of their own Intereſts. But the Queen ſtood in need of
the Clergy, either to maintain her Authority, or to accom-
pliſh

ish the Marriages with *Spain* which she earnestly desir'd. 1615.
e was oblig'd to pleasure the Court of *Rome* and the *Spa-*
ards, who interess'd themselves very much in that dispute:
e one to take the advantage of the weakness of the Govern-
ent, and to make some Incroachments upon the Kings of
ance, who had preserv'd their Independency better than
hers against their pretentions: The other to sow jealousies
d difidences in the Kingdom, which they might take the
vantage of in favourable occasions. The Jesuits who were
e Popes faithful Servants at that time, and very powerful at
urt, where they had the direction of the Consciences of the
g and Queen and of the principal Ministers, did not be-
themselves on that occasion; being sufficiently concern'd
the Assassinations which the Third Estate had a mind to
event, to think it necessary to prevent the Condemnation
he Doctrine which authorises them. Therefore the Cler-
obtain'd of the King under pretence to avoid disorder and
nfusion, to refer the said Dispute to himself and his Council.
t whereas the said removal only suspended the question,
on which the Third Estate seem'd resolv'd to press the King
give his judgment, they thought fit to silence them quite
on that Article. They were commanded to put that Article
te out of their *Cahier*, where they design'd to put it at
head of all the rest. Thus the Queen sacrific'd the Inter-
s of the King her Son to her particular ambition; and hin-
d him from improving the greatest example of fidelity
t Subjects can give to their Prince.

The Court silences the Third Estate.

The Clergy nevertheless in order to acknowledge that
mplaisance, and to show that they were not Enemies to
safety of Kings, put an illusive proposition in lieu of the
icle of the Third Estate, of causing the Doctrine of the
uncil of *Constancia* upon that matter to be published: a
ctrine which maintaining the interest of Crown'd Heads
appearence, submits them nevertheless to the Censure of
Popes; and exempts them no longer from the Rebellion
attempt of their Subjects than while the Popes maintain
favour them. In effect the Council only condems this pro-
position

Illusive Decree of the Clergy.

1615. position: *All Tyrants may and ought Lawfully and Meritoriously to be kill'd, by any of their Vassals or Subjects, even by secret Machinations, and by Artful Flatteries, notwithstanding any Oath whatever taken to them, or any treaty they have made with them, without staying for the Sentence or Order of any Judge whatever.* Without minding the other equivocal Terms in which the said Article is drawn, it is evident at least in consequence of that last Clause, *Without staying for the Sentence or order of any Judge whatever*, that it leaves all Princes expos'd to assassinations and perfidiousnesses, against whom Conspiracies are made after the Sentence or Order of certain Judges, that is, after the ordinance of any Council or Pope: since that, according to the Doctrine of Cardinal *Du Perron*, there is no Jurisdiction but that which can stand up against Kings. Now this was properly what the Third Estate would prevent; in order not to expose Temporal power to the discretion of a See, which has only founded its Grandeur upon the ruin of Princes. So that by this shameful and perfidious illusion, the Clergy substituted instead of the remedy which the Third Estate and the King's good Subjects word oppose in favour of Kings against the enterprises of the Popes, that very evil which the Third Estate and the said good Subjects endeavour'd thereto remedy.

And their shameful Prevarications.

But the Clergy did not think they had carryed their Prevarication far enough by that Artifice. After having propos'd to the King the Publication of that Decree, they bethought themselves; and in order to render the Lives and Soveraignity of Kings more dependant of the Popes, they only thought fit to order, that his Holiness should be intreated to Confirm that Decree, and to order the Publication of it. This way of proceeding was pretty conformable to what Cardinal *Du Perron* had done in other occasions. In certain publick disputes in which he had assisted, he had concluded after a pompous displaying of false Erudition, that one might maintain the said matter pro and con with a safe Conscience; and that all the Doctrine of the Independency of Kings was

ly Problematical. In the mean time all Persons of Ho- 1615
ur trembled to think that in order to secure the Life and
own of Kings, there was, as they said, a necessity to ob-
in a *Pareatis* of the Pope. The Clergy pretended in vain
at in sending the thing to the Roman See, the said Decree
ould become more Universal, and more Authentick: That
the King caus'd it to be publish'd, it would only serve
France; whereas if it were done by the Pope, the Doctrine
the Decree would become that of all the Catholick part
Christendom. The Answer to it was that the said Decree
ing only an Illusion, the Publication thereof would only
ve to render the Illusion more general: and that incase it
re of any Vertue, it matter'd but little what strangers
ght think of the Kings of *France*, provided all the *French*
de it a point of Honour and of Conscience, to believe that
ir Kings were only responceable for their Crowns and
ions to God.

Inequality of the Prince of Conde.

The Clergy did not forget in that affair to gain the Prince *Conde* on their side, who at first seconded the Third Estate. ey us'd the same reasons to blind him, as had prevail'd h others. They told him that the *Reform'd* imployed n to make a Doctrine pass unawares to him which came m them; and which tended secretly to ruin the Catholick ligion. The Prince's proceeding in this matter proved qual, and did not answer the hopes people had of him. e advice he gave in the Council upon that Subject is diffe- tly related. It is true that he took the thing upon a high- tone, after the Dissolution of the Estates: but he succeed- no better in it, since he obtain'd nothing but words. In mean time the Clergy having obtain'd all they desir'd, d having made the Doctrine of the Council of *Constantia* s for the Faith of the State, persever'd in that opinion near years: and some years before they recanted it, those that mpos'd their *Memoirs* by their order, not foreseeing that would be condemn'd within five or six years time, In- ted the Cardinals Speech, and the Articles of that As- nbly in them. This may serve to prove that the Faith of

Preference of the Clergy in that Doctrine.

a the

1615. the Clergy of *France* depends on the ſtrongeſt; That when the Government is weak, and involv'd in troubles, they Sacrifice the Intereſts of the Crown without heſitation to the *Roman* See; and that when there is more profit to be expected from Servitude in devoting it to Temporal Powers, they likewiſe Sacrifice the pretended privileges of the ſame See to the Grandeur of Kings.

Sedition at Milhau. During the Seſſion of the Eſtates, there broke out a Sedition at *Milhau*, on Chriſtmas Eve, in which Town the *Reform'd* were the ſtrongeſt: and if we may credit the Complaints the Biſhop of *Rhodes* made about it in the Chamber of the Clergy, the Catholicks and particularly the Prieſts, ſuffer'd very much by it: The *Reform'd* took up Arms, routed the Eccleſiaſticks, broke the Crucifixes, and the Croſſes; Tore the Ornaments; broke down the Altars, prophan'd the Relicks, took the Pix out of the Tabernacle; flung down the Conſecrated Hoſts, and trampled them under their feet. There had already been ſuch another Sedition in the ſame place, under the preceeding Reign, againſt which the Clergy had complain'd: but either for want of proofs, or for other reaſons, the proſecution of it was laid aſide. It was renew'd upon this new incident, of which the Circumſtances were aggravated, in order to have a better reaſon to renew the firſt complaints. The Clergy reſolv'd to ſpeak to the King about it, and invited the two other Chambers to joyn their Deputies to theirs, which they promis'd to do. It was performed two days before the diſſolution of the Eſtates by the Arch-Biſhop of *Lions*, who made a long diſcourſe to the Queen, in the King's abſence, upon the Reſtoration af the *Roman* Religion in *Bearn*; upon the re-union of *Navar* to the Crown; and upon the Sedition of *Milhau*. The Queen told him that ſhe had already Nominated Commiſſioners to inſpect thoſe matters.

The Biſhop of Lucons Speech. On the 23*d.* of *February* the Biſhop of *Lucon*, ſince Cardinal of *Richelieu*, preſented the * *Cahier* of the Clergy to the King. His diſcourſe was not Eloquent, tho he pretended to Eloquence even to his dying day: but it was very violent

* *Petition or Addreſs.*

nt againſt the *Reform'd*, accuſing them of polluting holy 1615.
aces by their prophane Burials; of keeping Churches in
hich the Catholick Service could not be perſormed,
d of injoying Eccleſiaſtical Eſtates. He alſo complain'd
the exceſſes committed at *Milhau*, and deſir'd that it
ight be reveng'd: but for fear of alarming the *Reform'd*,
declar'd that he only meant upon ſuch as were guil-
, and that as for the reſt the Clergy thought no farther on
em than to deſire their *Converſion*, and to promote it by
eir Example, their Inſtructions, and their Prayers. The
mainder of his Speech only related to the Grandeur of
e Clergy, which he repreſented as an affair of as great
nſequence as if the welfare of the State had depended
on it. Notwithſtanding thoſe earneſt entreaties about
e affair of *Milhau*, and the Kings Anſwer, which is ſaid
be, That he thought himſelf as much oblig'd to re-
nge the *Stabbing of his God*, as the Parricide of his Fa-
er: the Clergy did not obtain the Vengeance they de-
'd. The reaſon of it is that the *Reform'd* likewiſe brought
complaint to Court of a greater violence committed
ainſt them in thoſe very parts, ſoon after the ſedition at
ilhau. They had built a Temple at *Beleſtat*, where they had *Sedition of Beleſtat.*
right to perform the exerciſe of their Religion by the
licts. The Catholicks pull'd it down, and not being con-
nted with that, they acted great Violences againſt the
eform'd that liv'd there, who were Plunder'd, Beaten,
ounded, and very Barbarouſly us'd. It look'd as if the
tholicks had done this upon the account of Repriſals, and
be reveng'd of the violences that had been committed
Milhau, by thoſe of *Belleſtat*. The King receiving the
mplaints of both ſides much about the ſame time, it was
fficult to do Juſtice to the one, without doing it alſo to
e other. So that the beſt expedient the Court could
ink on, to avoid greater inconveniences, was to ſatisfie
e Parties with general promiſes, and to refer them to
dges that might take a particular cogniſance of their
mplaints. It remain'd in agitation till towards the latter
d of the year.

1615. In the mean time the Clergy had compos'd their *Cahier*, which contain'd upwards of 300 Articles, among which those that did not relate to their own Grandeur, tended only to preserve to the Queen the Authority of the Government which she was very jealous of; or to betray the interest of the State, and to incroach upon the Edicts, under which the *Reform'd* were maintain'd. Such were upwards of 60 Articles, which directly or indirectly tended to disturb them in the possession of their Liberties. To that end they desir'd the Restoration of the *Roman* Religion in all places under the King's dominion; particularly in *Bearn*, and in to all the Places newly re-united to the Crown: The Condemnation of Books and Discourses that were injurious to the *Pope*, lately Printed: The Revocation of Pensions given upon Benifices to persons that were not qualified for them; specifying among the reasons of Incapacity the *Pretended Reform'd Religion*: Prohibitions to the Parliaments to meddle with the observation of Festivals: The Exemption of Imprisonment for Ecclesiasticks; and leave for Bishops to condemn to the Gally's: Leave to apply themselves to the next Judge Royal for the execution of Ecclesiastical Sentences, incase the ordinary Judge were of the *Pretended Religion*: a great extention of the Rights of Tithes. Besides this there were complaints that the Kings Officers or those of the *Pretended Religion* hinder'd the Bishops from rebuilding their Churches and their Houses. Other Articles desir'd that such Monks as should be met out of their Habit and Convent without Letters of * *Obedience*, should be chastis'd as Apostates; which related directly to the Monks that imbrac'd the *Reform'd Religion*. That the Jesuits might be re-united to the University of *Paris*; That the King would be pleas'd to judge their Causes himself, and to take them under his protection; That the Printers might be reduc'd to a certain number in every City; and that they should print no Books without the Diocesan's Liscence; That all Books from abroad should be prohibited unless they had the same approbation; That the

Cahier of the Clergy.

Leave, Permission.

e Marriages with *Spain* might be accomplished ; 1615.
hat the King ſhould take back again the Towns of
oſtage given by the Treaty of *Ste Menehould*; That
e Principality of *Bearn*, and the reſt of the Kingdom of
ar ſhould be re-united to the Crown; That all the
urch Lands there ſhould be reſtor'd to the Eccleſiaſticks,
thout allowing them to be imployed for the uſe of the
form'd, which was ſtiled a *prophane uſe* ; That a Party
amber ſhould be eſtabliſh'd at *Pau*; That the *Reform'd*
dges there ſhould not be allow'd to take Cogniſance
Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes; That Military Offices, and ſuch
related to Juſtice ſhould be given to Catholicks ; That
Edict of Settlement ſhould be made between the Catho-
ks and the *Reform'd*; That the Garriſons ſhould be re-
v'd out of ſuch Towns as were not ſeated on the
ontiers. That Article did not relate to the Places of Sure-
; which another ſpoke of directly, and deſir'd the King
take them again : but this has contributed conſiderably
enſlave the Kingdom ; by reaſon that it ſerv'd for an
verture to diſarm all thoſe that were able to defend
ir Liberty. The next deſir'd the Prohibition of all for-
gn Correſpondencies,

Continuation of the Cahier.

Others propos'd the reſtoring to the Eccleſiaſticks their
uſes and Caſtles within the ſpace of three Months :
oblige thoſe that were order'd to prove their being
form'd, meaning the Catholicks that imbrac'd the *Re-
m'd Religion* to make their Declaration before the
dge Royal, ſix Months before their being allow'd to
move their Cauſes to the Chambers of the Edict. That
e was ſufficient to ruin them in the Parliaments. Others
ir'd that all the Cauſes in which Eccleſiaſticks were
ncern'd might be remov'd before the Parliaments, Preſidials,
d other Catholick Judges : and that the Chambers ſhould
be allowd' to receive their Appeals.

Articles propos'd against the Reform'd.

Thirty two others followed theſe, which were di-
ly againſt the *Reform'd*. The firſt of them was to
preſs the exerciſe of their Religion ; That in the mean
time

1615. time they ſhould be reduc'd to the Conceſſions of the late King; and that all they had obtain'd during the minority ſhould be revok'd. The others imported that they ſhould reſtore the Churches to the Catholiks: That they ſhould not be allow'd to Bury their Dead in the ancient Church-yards, or in the Churches, and that the Catholicks ſhould be allow'd to oppoſe it by force of Arms. That they ſhould be forc'd to reſtore the Church-yards they had ſhar'd with the Catholicks; That they ſhould be forbidden to write againſt the Sacraments of the Roman Church, and againſt the Authority of the Pope, on pain of rigorous puniſhments; That the Miniſters ſhould not be allowed to go into the Hoſpitals, even to comfort their Sick; That Maſters ſhould be oblig'd to ſuffer their Servants to perform the rites of their Religion, and to allow the Curates to viſit them when ſick; That the exercise of the P. R. R. ſhould be prohibitted in Lands that were held in homage of the Church; That the Catholicks turn'd Proteſtants ſhould not injoy the exemption of contributing towards the building of Churches, *&c.* Untill a year after their ſignification of their profeſſion in the Regiſter Office. That their Temples ſhould be a thouſand Steps diſtant from the Churches at leaſt; That the Patronages of the *Reform'd* ſhould be transferr'd to their neareſt Catholick Relations, or in default of any to the Ordinary; That a prohibition ſhould be made on pain of corporal puniſhments, to impoſe upon the Catholicks the Sums raiſ'd for thoſe of the *pretended Religion*; *That the Reform'd* Lords ſhould not be allow'd to have Sermons in any of their Houſes, but that in which they made their principal abode; nor to make uſe of the Kings Confeſſion for the others; That an Order ſhould be made for the Kings Officers to be admitted in the Synods: That the Briefs ſhould be recall'd which granted to the *Reform'd* Benifices, Stewardſhips, or Penſions out of Eccleſiaſtical Eſtates; That Eccleſiaſticks whether Secular or Regular might be challeng'd by the Biſhops, after their having embrac'd the

Reform'

form'd Religion, though no Information was made be- 1615.
e their Change; That the manner of electing the Judg-
that were to ſerve in the Chambers, being prejudicial
the State and to the Church, the King would be plea-
to revoke it, and to cauſe them to be choſen accord-
to the Order of the Regiſter; That the Chambers
uld not be allowed to take Cogniſance of any Eccle-
tical affairs; and that whatever ſtate a Cauſe were
even after the concluſion of the Proceſs, an Eccleſi-
ck Interpoſing the whole ſhould be remov'd to the
liaments; That the *Reform'd* of *Calais* ſhould not be
w'd to Preach in *Dutch*, or in any other Language
French; That the Temple built near *Bourg* in *Breſſe*,
the convenience of *Boeſſe Pardaillan* who had been
vernour of it, ſhould be taken from the *Reform'd*;
r at *Pont de Veſle*, the Temple being only divided
n the Church by a Wall, the *Reform'd* ſhould be
g'd to provide another place; That Fathers or Guar-
ns hindring their Children or Pupils from turning
holicks, the Attornies General ſhould be ordered to
ſecute them for it; That the Children of a Catholick
ner, bred Catholicks, ſhould remain ſo after his
th, though their Mother was *Reform'd*; That the
eutenants General, and other Judges of that Religion * *Chief Juſtices.*
Bayliwicks, ſhould not be allowed to take Cogniſance
he Poſſeſſory of Benefices, or other Beneficial matters;
t the Colleges, and Semminaries that had been found-
by the *Reform'd* at *Charenton*, at *Saumur*, at *Clermont*
Sorvoiſis and in ſeveral other Places ſhould be taken
n them; That they ſhould not be allowed to have
igners for their Doctors, Rectors, and Tutors; and
no Foreigners ſhould be allowed to teach any Do-
e but that of the Catholick Church within the King-
.

An

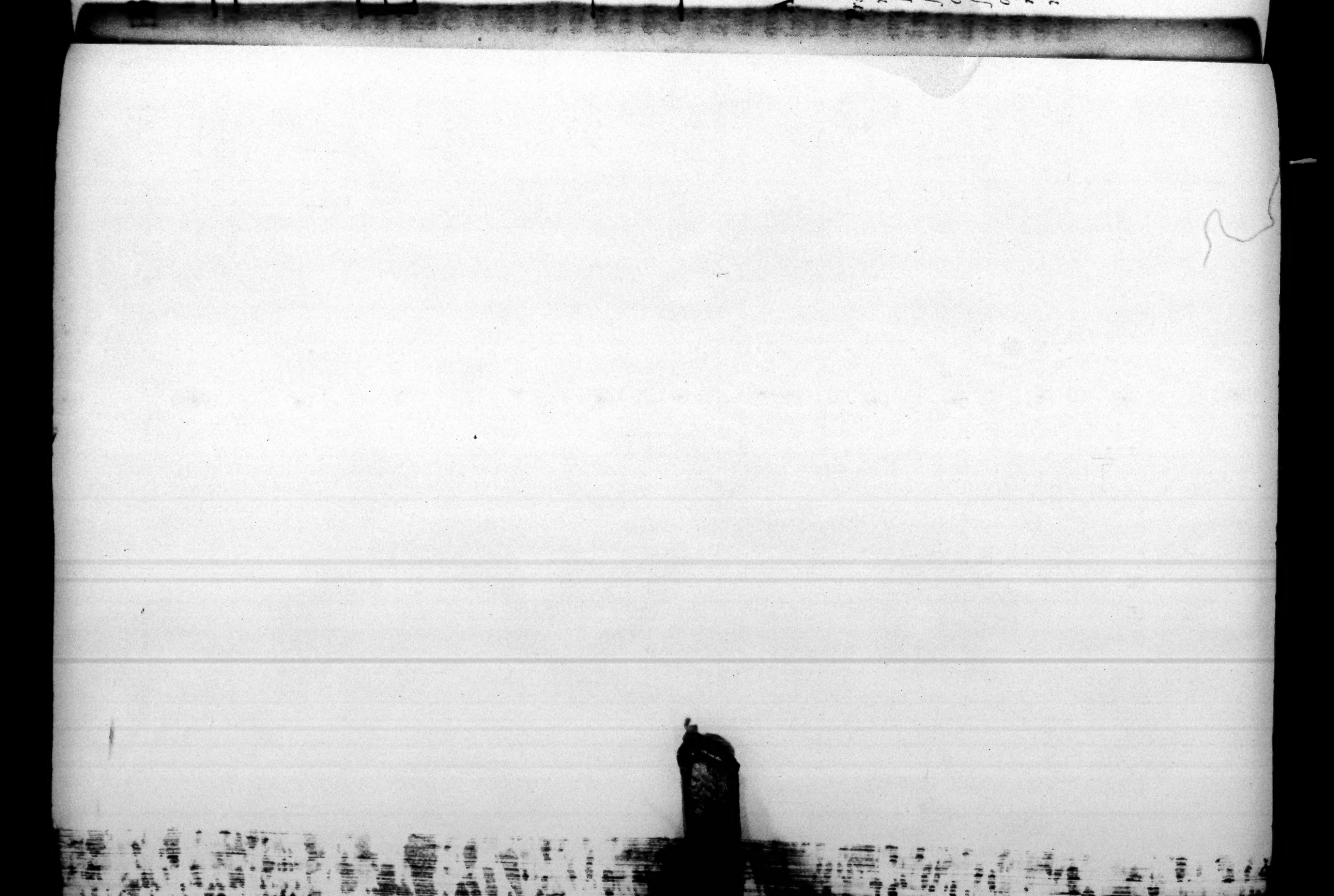
1615. An Article, which follow'd them, imported that all the Pro-
vinces and Governments had charg'd the Inſtructions of
Sequel of the ſaid Articles. their Deputies with Complaints againſt the enterpriſes of
the *Reform'd*; and the next deſir'd they ſhould not be al-
low'd to perform the exerciſe of their *Religion*, nor
keep Schools in Towns, nor in the Subburbs of Epiſco-
pal Cities: accuſing the Commiſſioners that were ſent to
the Provinces in 1611, of having favour'd the *Reform'd*
beyond reaſon, upon that Subject, under pretence of put-
ting the Edict of 1577 in Execution. In which there was
a manifeſt fraud in the Clergy, which did not mention the
Edict of *Nantes* here; as if the Commiſſioners of 1611
had not been the Executors of it; or that the ſaid Edict
had not confirm'd that of 1577, in the Article of the
firſt places allow'd in Bayliwicks. Nothing had been
done beyond reaſon in delivering to the *Reform'd* Places
for the exerciſe of their Religion which had been pro-
miſed to them by two ſolemn Edicts: And the Clergy, to
whom *Henry* the 4*th* had granted as a favour, that Epiſco-
pal Cities ſhould be exempted from being given as * Se-
cond places of Bayliwicks, ſhould not have diſſembled
that the ſaid exception, made in their favour for the ſecond
did confirm the General Law for the firſt. The next de-
ſir'd that the King ſhould not grant Eccleſiaſtical Caſtles
or Towns for the future for places of Hoſtage; and that
the Government of *Mas d'Agenois* ſhould be taken from
Calonges, by reaſon that the Clergy pretended that the
Reform'd had neither the exerciſe of their Religion allow'd
there, nor a Garriſon before the year 1600. In the
very next the Clergy was not aſham'd to deſire contrary
to a Law which Chriſtianity and humanity have eſtabliſh'd,
that the Judges of the Party-Chambers might not be allow'd to
paſs *in Mitiorem*, incaſe they were divided in their opini-
ons in Criminal Caſes, under pretence that that Law
prevented the puniſhment of Criminals. They deſir'd that
in ſuch a Caſe the Cauſe might be remov'd to the other
Party Chambers, or to the Chambers of the Edict. S
th

* *Places in which the Reform'd were allowed to perform the publick exerciſe of their Religion.*

hat when the accus'd had reaſon to expect according to that equitable cuſtom, to ſee an end put to their Tryal by ſome moderate Puniſhment, the Clergy thought fit to make them dance through all the Juriſdictions of the Kingdom, and to keep them always in dread, and in Fetters, untill that after having paſs'd through all of them, they ſhould fall at laſt into the hands of a Chamber in which they might not find a ſufficient number of Judges to ſave them from Periſhing. This may ſerve to judge of the Charity the Roman Clergy was capable of; ſince they would not have it in the power of Judges of their own Religion to ſpare humane Blood; and to reverſe a ſentence, in caſes in which Cuſtom does authoriſe it, which ordain'd the ſpilling of it. They complain'd in the next place of the demoliſhing of Eccleſiaſtical places, pretended to be done by the *Reform'd* ſince the peace granted by the Edict of *Nantes*: The freſheſt example they could allege of it, was a thing which had been done above 15 years ago. 1615.

They concluded all this, beſeeching his Majeſty to cauſe what he ſhould be pleas'd to grant the Clergy to be Regiſtred and inviolably obſerv'd: So that the *Reform'd* would not have been able to ſubſiſt long if the Clergy had obtain'd their demands. Moreover in a particular * *Cahier* of regulations which they call'd *Spiritual*, and which they humbly begg'd his Majeſty to Authorize, they deſir'd that the right of Burial in Churches, and in Church-Yards ſhould be deny'd to the *Reform'd*, and to ſuch as ſhould be kill'd in a Duel, dying without Confeſſion, whatever Quality they were of. This Article alſo ſhows the nature of their Charity to the *Reform'd*, which they compar'd in this place not only to perſons they eſteem'd to be damned without redemption: but to perſons condem'd by all the Laws, whoſe fury was the object of publick deteſtation. It is alſo obſervable that in all thoſe Articles, in which they ſpoke of the Religion of the *Reform'd* they Tranſpos'd the word *Pretended*, to render the ſignification of it the more Odious: calling it always *Pretendue Religion Reformee*, inſtead of *Religion Pretendue Reformee*, or barely the *Pretended Religion*. Concluſion of the Chapter.

The End of the Third Book.



THE HISTORY OF THE Edict of Nantes.

VOL. II.

BOOK IV.

A Summary of the Contents of the Fourth Book.

Proposition diſlik'd by the Nobility. Declaration of the King, which does not cure the Evil. New Intrigues, in which the People are drawn, the Parliament and the Reform'd, *who ſollicit to obtain another place inſtead of* Grenoble; *and obtain* Gergeau; *which does not pleaſe them, and they deſire* Grenoble *again; to which the Court conſents. Aſſembly of the Clergy. Settlement for the Penſions of Converted Miniſters. Conduct of the Court, and of the Prince of* Conde, *who invites the Aſſembly of* Grenoble *to joyn with him.*

Diversity of opinions. The King's Progress. The General Assembly sends Deputies to him. Those Deputies are adjourn'd to Poitiers. *The Queen waves the Princes propositions, and performs her Progress without hindrance. Particular* Cahier *of the Assembly. General* Cahier. *Answers which are not satisfactory. The Deputies are amus'd, they Communicate their fears to the Assembly.* Lesdiguieres *keeps them in awe. They remove to* Nimes, *in spight of him; and excuse themselves at Court, which does not approve it very well. They are jealous of the Lords.* Lesdiguieres *and* Chatillon *are ingag'd in the Interest of the Court. The Duke of* Candale *embraces the Reform'd Religion. The* Reform'd *are hated by the Favourites. The Duke d'* Epernon *hates them mortally. Treaty of Union between the Assembly and the Prince of* Conde, *under divers reservations: which revives the Princes Party. New Declaration which confirm the Edicts after an argumented Preface. Effect of the Declaration. The* Reformd *are disarm'd at* Bourdeaux. *The Consistory discontinues the exercise of their Religion. Two Advocates acquaint the Parliament with it, which orders the usual Assemblies to be continued. The Ministers withdraw. The Consistory cites the Advocates after the Conclusion of the Peace: who appeal to the Parliament. The Consistory suspends them publickly from the Communion. Severe Decree. Passion of the Advocate General. Facts disown'd by the Ministers. Absurdities, and ridiculous pretentions. Proceedings against the Ministers. Sequel of the ill will of the Parliament. False Decree of Inrollment of a Declaration against the Prince of* Conde. *Propositions of Peace. Deputies and Letters from the Assembly of* Nimes. *The Lower* Languedoc *remains peaceable. The King of* England *offers to be Mediator of the Peace, which the Council of* France *refuses. Conferrence and Peace of* Loudun. *Translation of the General Assembly to* Rochel, *from whence they send Deputies to* Loudun. *Unjust proceedings of the Court. The Assembly is almost forc'd to accept a Peace. Edict of* Blois. *Private Articles. Sequel. Inrollment and modification of the Edict.*

I did

Have inlarg'd upon the preceding Articles preſented by the Clergy by reaſon that they may be look'd upon as the Plan or Scheme of the Perſecution the *Reform'd* have undergone from that time, untill our days. As the gy thereby ſhow'd how little they were inclin'd to Peace Equity, the Nobility which follow'd their inſpirations movements, did not appear better diſpos'd. They ſed during the Seſſion of the Eſtates, to Petition the to maintain the Catholick Religion, according to the he had taken about it at his Coronation. The *Re-'d* who were preſent took that propoſition to be made nſt them, and were perſuaded that the Nobility aim'd eir Religion. And indeed thoſe that were acquain- with the nature of that Oath, which I have ſet down in her place can think no otherwiſe; ſince that the King ſing thereby utterly to deſtroy all *Hereticks* declar'd ſo by the Church, the Application of it fell naturally the *Reform'd*, who are look'd upon as ſuch by the licks. Therefore the ſaid propoſition was warmly ted, between the *Reform'd* Gentlemen who were pre- and the promoters of it: in ſo much that they were to proceed to great extremities. The King was ac- ted with it, and he hinder'd it from going any further ir promiſes: and whereas peoples minds were ſtrang- 'd by that diſpute, he iſſued out a new Declaration on 12th of *March*, which Confirmed all the Edicts.

1165.

Propoſitions diſliked by the Nobility.

began with great Elogies of the Queen's conduct du- the Regency, and of the care ſhe had taken to con- the Edicts, in imitation of the late King, and to reme- e infractions of it, as ſoon as ſhe was acquainted with n: which the King look'd upon as the true Cauſe, which to the aſſiſtance of God had maintain'd his Subjects in the bounds of their Allegiance to him, and in ami- ong themſelves. After which the King expreſſed that good effect of the Queens Prudence had obliged him, after

Declaration of the King.

1615. after the Declaration of his Majeſty, to intreat her to continue to aſſiſt him with her Council, *with the ſame authority as if the Adminiſtration of the Kingdom were ſtill in her hands.* That by her advice he had iſſued out another Declaration, of the ſame ſubſtance with that ſhe had publiſhed and caus'd to be verifi'd at the beginning of her Regency to ſignifie that it was her earneſt deſire to make his Subjects live in Peace and friendſhip, and to obſerve the Edicts Inviolably. In the next place he declar'd that he was ſorry for what had happen'd in the Eſtates, upon the propoſition of the Nobility; and in order to ſatisfie the *Reform'd*, who rejected it at firſt, as little neceſſary, or rather abſolutely uſeleſs, ſince he was reſolv'd to profeſs the Catholick Religion to his dying Day: but after that he excus'd it, as proceeding from the Zeal of the Nobility towards the preſervation of the Roman Religion, without a deſign of giving offence to any body: whereupon he ſaid that the Catholick Nobility had declar'd it to him firſt ſeparately and then altogether: That they had proteſted to him that they were very deſirous of the obſervation of the Peace eſtabliſh'd by the Edicts: That they had intreated him to leave the re-union of his Subjects to the Providence of God, uſing the uſual means of the Church; being but too much perſwaded by experience, that violent Remedies had only ſerv'd to increaſe the number of thoſe that had left the Church, inſtead of teaching them the way to return to it. Therefore in order to remove the jealouſies of the *Reform'd*, who avoided factions and ill deſigns, and all pretence of diſturbances from thoſe that endeavour'd to promote them. The King confirm'd anew all the Edicts, Declarations private Articles, Settlements, and other Letters and Decrees given in favour of the *Reform'd*, both by himſelf and the Late King, upon the Interpretation and Execution of the Edict of *Nantes*; and order'd the ſame to be obſerv'd Inviolably.

Which does not Cure the Evil.

This Declaraton which remain'd upwards of ſeven Weeks before it was verify'd in the Parliament of Paris

not cure the Evil the aforeſaid Conteſtaion had cre- 1615.
. It hardly ſerv'd to Pallitate it: And indeed it was
very likely that it ſhould ſatisfy any body, conſidering
it was Penn'd. It was natural to ſuſpect that a Conſtant
Law could not be the Sequel of a Preface without
h. That Imitation of *Henry* the 4*th's* Prudence it In-
ſo much upon, had never appear'd in the Queen's
duct. On the contrary ſhe had abandon'd all the late
s projects; alterd, confounded, and deſtroy'd all
he had done for the Peace and grandeur of the King-
; and concluded the Alliance with *Spain*, for which
ad expreſs'd an Invincible Averſion to his dying day.
affectation of always ſpeaking of the Imitation of a Prince
whoſe Maxims had been overthrown, offended thoſe
griev'd to ſee how much the Regency had disfigur'd
Government. It is odious to boaſt of a thing the con-
of which is notoriouſly known by every body: and
'd proteſtations of performing a Duty which one
es from by a Thouſand Actions, ſeldom perſwade a
which Effects contradict. Moreover every body
oo ſencible how many Cabals and Factions had torn
ingdom during the Minority to reliſh the praiſes that
given to the Queen of having maintain'd it in Peace.
s the Miſtery of the Court appear'd too openly in
id Declaration; in which the Regency was continu'd
g the Majority to the ſame Perſon, who upon the
nt of the Majority ſhould have renounc'd it: and the
contents found a fair pretence to murmur, in that a
who was Major, ſound in body and mind, remain'd
under the directions of others; only alledging the
nce of his Majority, to ſecure his Mothers authority;
nly made us of the Priviledg of the Age he had
n'd to put himſelf under the Yoke of a ſecond Guar-
hip. The King was the only loſer by the Declation
s Majority, and by the Seſſion of the Eſtates. The
n remain'd Regent under another Name. Foreigners
ut merit whom he had advanc'd, to the Excluſion of
the

1615. the Native *French*, and even of the Princes, exerted
the Authority in the King's name, by the means of
Princeſs whoſe mind and heart they govern'd. The
form'd were ſenſible of the Equivocation of thoſe wo
by the means that are uſual in the Church, by reaſon that
had learned at their Coſt by a diſmal experience,
Maſſacres and diſingenuity are means much more in
in the Roman Church for the *Converſion* of pretended
ticks, than Sermons and good example. So that peo
minds being prepar'd by thoſe Reflections, eaſily took
again at the firſt occaſion that offer'd it ſelf.

New intrigues

The Prince of *Conde* who expected to raiſe his Autho
by the means of the Eſtates, on the contrary loſt the
he had left by the prevarication of the Clergy, and of
Adherents; and the Queen caught him in the ſame ſnare
had ſet out for her. She remained in poſſeſſion
the Government in ſpight of him; ſhe got the approba
of the Marriages ſhe had concluded; ſhe obliged the Pr
to Surrender the Town of *Amboiſe* to her, which ſhe had
ven him for his ſecurity at the Treaty of *Ste. Menchould*;
in order to tire the Patience of the *French* to the utmoſt
made *Conchini* a Marſhal of *France*. The Marſhal *de Bu*
lon had ſerved her uſefully in that Conjuncture of Affa
in hopes that his Credit and Capacity, which appeared
that occaſion, would oblige that Princeſs to give him a gr
er ſhare in her favour. But ſhe was unwilling to put
ſelf into the hands of a man of his Capacity; and *Conc*
who lik'd him as a Counſellor, would neither allow
to be his Maſter, nor his Competitor. Therefore the M
ſhal finding that no more notice was taken of him than
fore, reſolv'd to be reveng'd, and renew'd Intrigues wi
finally ruin'd the Queen's Affairs: but which had the
fortune at the ſame time to occaſion the decay of
Reform'd Religion, and the Slavery of *France*. The Pr
of *Conde* being very much diſatisfi'd with the Eſtates,
yet more with the Queen, willingly gave ear to new pro
ſitio

ions, and he judg'd that things would be dispos'd to favour new designs. 1615.

It was necessary for him to set three wheeles a going to ve more success in his present discontents than he had d in the preceding, which had only serv'd to discover his eakness. There was a necessity to get the People, the Parament of *Paris* and the *Reform'd* of his side. The People as sufficiently dispos'd to joyn with the Malecontents, upthe account of their natural aversion to Foreigners. It easie to persaude them that Foreigners have less regard r them than those that are born and bred in the same ountry with them: and they excuse the excesses which amtion and avarice make their own Countrymen Commit, ith more ease, than the least attempts of a Foreigner. oreover the Deputies of the Provinces had receiv'd t little satisfaction from the Court. The King had res'd to examine the * *Cahiers* of the Estates before their ssolution: a Maxim of great use to wave the Complaints the People, not to hear them, while they are in a Cacity to sollicit answers to them. The Court took but very tle notice of those *Cahiers*, after the departure of the Deaties. But the Clergy, which had serv'd the Queen accorng to her mind, obtained almost whatever they design'd. he Deputies of the other Orders obtain'd nothing but ain, general promises, of which they were sensible that ey should never see the effects; and that the People ould be oblig'd to seek out other remedies to redress eir Grievances.

To which they ingage the People.

* *Petition and Addresses.*

The Prince had good Friends in the Parliament, which ere dissatisfied; and thought themselves bound in Duty d Honour, to redress by their Authority the Affairs which ere ruin'd by the false Policy of the Court, But that erhaps would not have produc'd great effects, had not e Court given an Overture to it, by an excess of severity. he Parliament seeing how the Intentions of the well meang part of the Estates were evaded, gave a Decree towards the end of *March*, which invited the Princes, the eers and Officers of the Crown that sit among them, to

The Parliament.

1615. Assemble with them to remedy the disorders of the State. The Court was very much allarm'd, and offended at that Boldness. They sent for the Parliament to have an account of their enterprise, revers'd their Decree, and forbad the execution of it. But that August Court was no-wise disheartned; and after several deliberations they made very grave Remonstrances to the King, and such as became a Senat that lov'd the Glory and Peace of the State. They spoke boldly upon all things that deserv'd to be observed in the present Conjuncture: and as they insisted vigorously upon the Article of the Third Estate, which the Court had rejected, they did the same upon whatever related to the advantage of the people. All their discourse in a word tended to inspire the King with maxims of an equitable Government. I should swerve from my subject, in relating the Articles of their Remonstrances. Therefore I shall only observe that among 29 or 30 others, there was one which related to the Edicts, and which desir'd the King to preserve the Splendor and Dignity of the Roman Religion, without swerving from the Edicts of Pacification. So that the Parliament, which had formerly made so much difficulty to pass the Edict, had finally found by experience the necessity of its observation. The King receiv'd those Remonstrances ill, either because they were too just to please the Court, in which the people only thought of making their fortune at any rate; or because they were too free to please such as only aimed to oppress Liberty; or finally because it was thought necessary for the King's honour, who had often declared that he would not allow any to be made of him. The Queen looked upon them as Invectives against her Regency; The Marshal *d'Ancre* as an affront offered to those that envied him; The President *Jeanin*, as a reproach of the discipation of the Finances, which were not improved in his hands. The Dukes *d' Guise* and *de Epernon*, who were dissatisfied with the Parliament, offered their Services to the King against that venerable Senat. So that all things seemed to conspire to mortifie that Illustrious Body. The next day a Decree was given in the Council, in the King's Name, which order'd the Decree of the Parliament to be Li-

cerat

rated, as well as their Remonſtrances; That the Decree ould be taken out of the Regiſters, and that of the Council t in the room of it: all this was preceded by very abuſive preſſions, ſtiling the behavour of the Parliament unlawful; hich was a treatment they were little us'd to. *Whitſun-de* falling out while the Parliament was deliberating upon at affair, and afterwards the King's Progreſs towards *Pyrenees*, ſpended Peoples minds, and made them forget the thing for while: but that injury done to the moſt venerable Body of e Kingdom, ſtrengthen'd the Princes Party with a ſpecious etence of complaint, and increas'd it by a great number Malecontents. 1615.

And the Reform'd.

The Marſhal *de Bouillon* labour'd on the other hand, to evail with the *Reform'd* by his Intrigues to joyn with the ince of *Conde*. He flatter'd *Rouvray* who was one of their ſt heads, and who was one of the Deputies General, with e hopes of being ſent Ambaſſador to the *United Provinces*; es *Bordes Mercier*, who had been Deputy General with the omiſe of a Counſellor's Place in the Parliament; *Berteville*, ith the aſſurance of the General Deputaion, which he had ng aſpir'd to. He blinded all thoſe that hearkned to him, ith the expectation of a great Reformation in the Govern-ent, which would ſecure the Edicts againſt the attempts of *pain* and *Italy*; revenge the King's Death, recover the ho-our of the Monarchy againſt the prevarications of the Cler-y; amend the laviſhneſs of the Finances, and deprive the oreigners who were univerſally hated of their odious autho-ity. But his ſtrongeſt argument to prevail with the majori-y of the *Reform'd*, was the concequences of the Alliance ith *Spain*; and to frighten them with the ſecret Articles hat were agreed upon. Moreover he writ to the Court to how among other things the Reaſons they had to dread the ffect of thoſe Marriages. *Jeanin* made an Anſwer to him pon that Article which might have ſatisfied the moſt diffi-ult, if he could have perſuaded that there was any ſince-erity, in the promiſes and words of the Court. *The Laws*, aid he, *eſtabliſh'd in* France *to live in Peace, which have been bſerv'd ſo long already, will make us look with horror on any*

1615. *Councils that might tend to disturb it. Therefore unless some wicked and ill advis'd Subjects occasion a breach, the Peace and Tranquility establish'd by the Edicts will last for ever.* That was very fine, if the *Reform'd* could have believ'd it true. But experience made them sensible that there was no trust to be given to promises: and that while they were attack'd almost publickly by a thousand Wiles, it would have been ridiculous to imagine people did not laugh at them, when they preach'd such unlikely things to them. So that the Marshal easily found people disposed to believe that those discourses were no oracles; or that *Jeanin* did not hold the Maxims of the Court

Who shall get to have another place in stead of Grenoble.

During those Transactions the *Reform'd* continu'd their solicitations, to have another place granted them instead of *Grenoble*, where they were allow'd to hold a General Assembly. While they endeavour'd to obtain another place, for fear of not being free there, the behaviour of *Lesdiguieres* gave them a new pretence to refuse it. The Husband of *Mary Vignon*, whom he had kept scandalously along while, and whom he had made Marchioness *de Treffort*, was kill'd in such a manner as perswaded every body that *Lesdiguieres* was the author or accomplice of his Death. That new scandal created a horror in the *Reform'd*, who could not resolve to put under the Authority and in the Power of a man capable of such actions, a great number of their most considerable Members; who should be oblig'd to pay a thousand respects to a man who was suspected to be guilty of so odious a Crime: They were afraid, with reason, that their Enemies would take an occasion from thence to accuse them Religion of being too indulgent and toremiss in their Morals.

And obtain Gergeau.

The Court being willing to gratifie them in that point, consented at last that they should hold the Assembly at *Gergeau*, where another had been held in the late King's Reign. This place pleas'd them no better than the first. Their pretence was that the preceding Assembly had been inconvenienced there for want of Lodging: but the true reason was that theey thought that place too near *Paris*; and that they were sensible that the Court had pitch'd upon it to keep the Assembly in Awe.

The

The Deputies General made new Petitions to obtain a more convenient place: and whereas the Court refus'd to comply it occasion'd divers movements in the Provinces, which some propos'd to take a more convenient place, without relying on the Curtesie of the Court to no purpose. They also propos'd a meeting at *Montauban*, there to agree about a place in which the Assembly might neither want Liberty nor Convenience. In the interim some extraordinary affairs falling out, which oblig'd *Lesdiguieres* to make a Journey to Court; and they expecting to be freer in his absence, which 'twas thought would be long enough to afford the Assembly time to form their resolutions, they thought fit to desire *Grenoble* again, and to declare publickly that they would make use of the Brief they had obtain'd the preceding year. This alteration at first created jealousies in the Court, who could not imagin it to be done without *Lesdiguieres* having given the *Reform'd* some secret assurances of not opposing them. He had shown by the manner of his assisting the Duke of *Savoy*, against whom the King of *Spain* made War, that he stood upon his honour some times. The Queen had engag'd that Prince in that War, and had promis'd by *Lesdiguieres* to assist him. But after the conclusion of the Marriages, she refus'd to execute that Treaty; by reason that she was willing in order to please the King of *Spain* to force the Duke of *Savoy* to make a Peace. However *Lesdiguieres* assisted him, notwithstanding the reiterated orders he receiv'd not to do it, and whereas he could not do it in the King's name who disown'd, it he did it in his own. The example seem'd to show, that tho he was devoted to the Court, he knew nevertheless how to disobey when he pleas'd. But after that bold action, he made his peace so soon and with so much ease, that it look'd as if the Court had connived at it underhand. As for the suspicion the Court had of his being ingag'd secretly with the rest of the *Reform'd*, he easily destroyed it. He assured the Court of his Services and of his Fidelity; and sent *Bellujon* there on purpose with his Instructions, and to receive their Orders. He had long resisted the removal which the *Reform'd* did sollicit, being

1615.

Which they are not satisfyed with.

And desire Grenoble *again.*

1615. being as desirous to have one of their Assemblies in his pow-
er, as they were fearful of trusting it into his hands. There-
And the Court Consents to it. fore when he found that they desired it of their own accord
he was one of the first that took them at their word: and
the Court being satisfied with him gave them a new Brief
which allow'd the holding of the Assembly at *Grenoble*. But
whereas *Lesdiguieres* presence was more useful to the Court
at *Grenoble* than elsewhere, they put of his Journey to ano-
ther time. The *Reform'd* being deceiv'd on that side, had
no pretence left to go from their word: The Deputies re-
pair'd to *Grenoble* towards the middle of *Jully*: and contrary
to all appearences, the Prince of *Conde*'s Intrigues prevailed
over the credit and cunning of *Lesdiguieres*.

Assembly of the Clergy. But during those Petitions of the *Reform'd*, and the delays
of the Court, the Clergy as I have already said, Assembled
at *Paris*, for the renewing of the Contracts they commonly
make with the King once in Ten years. But whereas they ne-
ver give, any thing without receiving, they did not fail to
advance their Enterprises against the *Reform'd* and to pursue
the project of their Ruin which they had form'd in the Ge-
states. It was with that Intention the Coadjutor of *Roans* made
a Speech to the King on the 8*th* of *August*. he represented the
State of the Roman Religion in *Bearn* to be so dismal and
deplorable, that for want of Priests the Catholicks could
not Christen their Children there till they were 20 years of
Age; and he represented as one of the greatest misfortunes
that the Ministers were paid there with the Revenues of the
Church. He said moreover in order to make the *Reform'd*
more odious, that the Roman Religion was favour'd more
by the *Turks*, than by the *Reform'd* of *Bearn*: and those Fa-
cities tho plainly disprov'd by the replys of the *Reform'd*, and
by the knowledg of all People, were disperc'd and received
as undeniable Truths. He complain'd that the Abby of St.
Anthony de Viennois had been lately given to a young Se-
cular, presented by an *Heretick*, and to move the more pity
against that injustice, he said that miracles were performed
about the Tomb of the late Abbot. He also return'd the
King thanks about the reception of the Council of *Trent*
which

ich he had promis'd : but he made a little too much haſte 1615.
on that Article. It is true that the King had promis'd to
bliſh it, but it was prevented by the Troubles that began
break out : and perhaps he was glad that one of the Ar-
les of the Peace of *Loudun*, diſingaged his word, and hinder'd
n from doing what the Kings his Predeceſſors had conſtant-
refus'd to do. Before the end of the ſame month the Biſhop
Beauvais began the ſame Song over again; and made ſtrange
llicitations about the affair of *Bearn*, complaining that the
tholicks were depriv'd of the uſe of the Sacraments both
their birth, and at their Death, for want of Prieſts to
miniſter them. He was very preſſing upon the affair of
ilhau which happen'd the Winter before : and tho the Ca-
olicks had done as much at *Beleſtadt* ſince, he deſir'd that
o compenſation might be made of thoſe two affairs. Ne-
rtheleſs, the reciprocal ſollicitations of the Catholicks and
the *Reform'd*, did not permit thoſe affairs to be ſeri-
ſly diſcuſs'd. Their complaints only produc'd a delegati-
n of Judges who neither pleas'd the one, nor the other;
d whoſe judgment prov'd ineffectual. The Peace of *Lou-*
n aboliſh'd the remembrance of thoſe two affairs, and the
ne paſs'd thus in ſpight of the Clergy, for a compenſation
the other.

In the ſame Aſſembly, the Clergy, who had no ſucceſs in the
nqueſt of Miniſters, drew an ample Regulation for the diſtri-
tion of 30000 Livers which they had deſign'd for the Penſions of
oſe that ſhould turn Catholicks : and being ſincible that the num-
r of thoſe Proſelites was as yet too ſmall, to employ that little
m, they conſented that untill their zeal had made a greater
rogreſs they ſhould give the remainder of the ſaid Sum to others
eſides Miniſters, provided it were only given to perſons of Me-
t. It appeares by thoſe Regulations, that the Clergy was diſa-
ſi'd even with thoſe they had corrupted, ſince they took ſo much
are to hinder that Money from falling into ill hands. But not-
ithſtanding all that, they met with no ſucceſs in their
retended Converſions ; and even after the affairs of the *Re-*
orm'd were ruin'd they were forc'd to imploy their Money to
ther uſes.

In

1614. In the mean time the Court had no manner of regard
Behaviour of the Court. the People, and broke their promiſes with as little rega
as if they had deſign'd to make Malecontents. They re-e
bliſh'd *La Paulette*, or the annual duty they had been obli
to revoke, becauſe it had been deſir'd with great Earneſtne
and the Queen went her ſelf to the *Baſtille* from whence
took 800000 Crowns, which were remaining there of
fourteen Millons in ready Money, which the Duke of
ly had hoarded there by his good management. So that it loo
as if they had a mind to favour the deſigns of the Prince
And of the Prince of Conde *Conde*, who was preparing to hinder the accompliſhment
the Marriages with *Spain*. His Diſcontents had remov'd him
degrees from the Court; and in that Retirement he flatte
himſelf of being powerfully aſſiſted both at home and abro
he was in hopes that the King of *England* and the *United P*
vinces, who could not be pleaſ'd at thoſe Marriages, wo
aſſiſt him powerfully; and indeed he had receiv'd great p
miſes of it. He expected that the Forces which were beco
Uſeleſs, by the Peace of *Savoy* lately made, and were
the Frontiers of *Germany*, would aſſiſt him: and perhaps
would have prov'd ſo, had he had Money to buy them.
every thing fail'd him; and he found himſelf Ingag'd in a W
which he could never have got honourably out of, had
the *Reform'd* ſuccor'd him at their own Coſt. The Queen
ſecretly prepar'd every thing for the accompliſhing of her
ſigns, amuſ'd the Prince with Negotiations: and Sent *Villa*
ſeveral times to *Couſſi*, to confer with him there about
means of an Agreement. But during thoſe Treatys they
bauch'd his Ceatures from him; either by perſwading th
that the Prince only deſign'd to make his own Peace, and
it was already far advanc'd, or offering them more pote
and profitable advantages under her, than they could exp
under the Prince of *Conde*. Inſomuch that many of them to
Gratifications, or were dazled by Promiſes. They broke
the meaſures he took with Stangers, and made all his deſig
miſcary.

None but the *Reform'd* were ſtill able to do ſomething for him; but they were ſlow to declare themſelves. Their Aſſembly had been open'd at *Grenoble* on the 15th of *July*; and *Leſdigueres* having refus'd the Preſidentſhip, which was offer'd to him by all the Deputies, they had Elected *De Blet*, Deputy for the Nobility of the Province of *Anjou* for their Preſident; and *Durand* Miniſter of *Paris*, and Deputy for the Iſle of *France*, for his Aſſociate; and *Boiſſeuil* and *Maniald* for Secretaries. The Prince of *Conde* ſent a Gentleman thither to invite them to joyn with him, in order to procure a good Reformation of the State; in which he promis'd to make the *Reform'd* find all the Sureties they could reaſonably expect. A conſiderable part of the Aſſembly inclin'd towards that Union; and the Pretences the Prince us'd were ſo plauſible and ſo Noble, that they could hardly fail of making an Impreſſion upon many People. To paſs the Independence of the Crown into an Act of the State; to ſecure the King's Perſon againſt Aſſaſſinations, Excommunications, and Depoſitions; to revenge the too long neglected Murther of the late King; to hinder the Publication of a Council againſt which a great King had Proteſted, and which was very prejudicial to *France*; to reduce Taxes and Impoſitions at reaſonable Rates; to remove the exceſſive Authority of Foreigners, and to call them to an Account for the Abuſes introduc'd during their being in Favour; to ſettle the Edicts of Pacification beyond Reach: All theſe were great deſigns, which appear'd ſo Juſt, ſo Lawful, and ſo neceſſary, that no body queſtion'd but they would be attended with the Bleſſing of God, and that all true *Frenchmen* would unanimouſly favour them. But others were of Opinion, that the Aſſembly ought to leave the management of the Political part of thoſe Projects wholly to the Prince of *Conde*, and to apply themſelves ſolely to take meaſures for the ſafety of the *Reform'd* Religion. They did not queſtion but the Prince had a Right by his Birth, to endeavour to purge the Government of all the Abuſes that were ſlipt into it; but they did not think it proper for the *Reform'd* to ingage in it otherwiſe than by Prayers to God, and moſt humble Remonſtrances to the King.

1615.

The Prince of Conde *invites the Aſſembly of* Grenoble *to joyn with him.*

1615. Some Provinces had given their Deputies Instructions to that Effect.

Diversity of Opinions. The diversity of Opinions, manag'd by *Lesdiguieres* for the Interest of the Court, having appear'd at the overture of the Assembly, satisfy'd the Queen, that the *Reform'd* would not be ready so soon, but that she might have time to put her designs in Execution, before the Prince and they could be in a Posture to oppose them. She had given great Causes of Complaint to the Duke of *Rohan*, whom she was Jealous of upon that Account. Therefore being desirous to oblige him by some Favour to forget what was past, she took the occasion of a difference, between the Houses of *Rohan* and *de la Trimouille*, about the Presidentship of the Estates of *Britany*, to which they both aspir'd, with such Equal Rights, that it was impossible to decide the question, otherwise than by adjudging the said Privilege to both, to injoy it Alternately. The Duke *de la Trimouille* who was lately return'd from Travelling, design'd to appear in the Estates, and so did the Duke of *Rohan*. They refus'd to yield to each other, which concurrence could not fail of being attended with ill Consequences. The Queen being desirous to pleasure the Duke of *Rohan*, by seeming to declare her self in favour of him, either to imploy him elsewhere, while she perform'd her Progress, or to oblige him in an Affair of Precedence and Honour, sent him an Order to repair to the Estates to preside there; and at the same time sent a contrary Order to the Duke *de la Trimouille*, whose displeasure she did not Value, by Reason that he was very young, not much known, and far from that degree of Credit and Power, in which the World had seen the late Duke his Father. This avail'd the Queen but little; by Reason, that her Refusal of the Government of *Poitou* to the Duke of *Rohan*, to whom she had formerly Granted the Survivorship thereof, made a deeper Impression upon him, than her pretended Favour about the Presidentship. He made no use of the Order he had receiv'd from the Court, and Presided that time by consent of the Duke *de la Trimouille*, by Virtue of an Accommodation procur'd by their mutual Friends to hinder those two Potent Families, that liv'd in Friendship at that time, from coming to a Breach.

Never-

Nevertheleſs the Queen, being ſo well ſatisfy'd with the then State of Affairs as to aſſure her ſelf of ſucceſs, reſolv'd to improve it, and to do her Buſineſs before the Prince could have time to oppoſe it. Therefore all of a ſudden, while the Negotiation of Peace ſeem'd to draw towards a happy Concluſion, ſhe ſent an Order to him from the King, to repair to his Majeſty with all ſpeed, to accompany him in his Progreſs, in Order to the Accompliſhing of his Marriage. And leſt he might plead Ignorance, ſhe acquainted him with the very day he had pitch'd upon for his departure. The Prince complain'd highly at this Precipitation, and took occaſion from thence, to take up Arms; but with ſo ſmall a Number of Men, and ſo little proſpect of Relief, that he was like to ſink under it. In the mean time the King ſet forward, and continu'd his Progreſs ſlowly; tho' ſome of the moſt Judicious, and beſt skill'd in Affairs of State, were of Opinion that it was a Raſh Reſolution; by Reaſon that the King removing from the Center of the Kingdom, left a kindl'd Fire in it, which would have time and opportunity to do a great deal of miſchief, while the Court remain'd at one of the Extremities of the Kingdom the moſt diſtant from the Conflagration. The Aſſembly of *Grenoble*, which after all the delays occaſion'd by the diverſity of Opinions, had at laſt determin'd to try what they could obtain from the Court, before the taking any other meaſures, had depu'd three Perſons to the King, to preſent their * *Cahiers* to him; and had charg'd them expreſly, humbly to beſeech his Majeſty to conſider the Prince of *Conde's* Remonſtrances. Thoſe Deputies were *Champeaux*, *Des Bordes Mercier*, and *Maillray*. *Champeaux* had the greateſt ſhare of Honour in that Deputation, by Reaſon that he was the Head and ſpeaker of it: But *Desbordes* had more Credit, becauſe he was a Man of better Parts, beſides his being ingag'd in the Prince of *Conde's* Intereſt, to which the Marſhal *de Boüillon* had drawn him, as I have already ſaid, by very fair promiſes. The King was gone before the Deputies reach'd *Paris*; and could not overtake him, till they came to *Amboiſe*, from whence, the King having heard them, adjourn'd them to *Poitiers* for an Anſwer.

1615. *The King's Progreſs.*

The Gene-

This

1615. This delay was ill resented by the Deputies, who look't upon it as an instance of the little regard that would be had to their Intreaties. And indeed, one of the Propositions of the Prince of *Conde*, which they were to insist upon in the behalf of the Assembly, was either to break, or to put off the Marriages with *Spain* until another time: And instead of hearing them upon that Subject, they were adjourn'd for an Answer to a Place, where the King having perform'd half his Progress, it was not very likely that he would go back, without making an End of it.

It is true, that the Queen declar'd freely, that had it been desir'd sooner, that Journey might have been put off to another time; but that it was then too late to think upon it, that it was impossible to Retreat with Honour; That the Place was fix'd, the Day appointed, and that they were too forward on their Journey to go back. There is no Reason to believe that she spoke in earnest, or that the Impending Storm she beheld, made her sensible that she had Us'd too much precipitation, and that it would have been better for her to have given some satisfaction to those that oppos'd her designs, in order to break their Measures. She was undoubtedly very well inform'd with the Intentions of the Prince before her departure. But in reality, the forwardness of the Journey affording her a good pretence to end what she had so well begun, without heeding Remonstrances to the contrary, it was easie for her to pay those with a specious Excuse, whom she had no mind to give a solid satisfaction to. The best Excuse that can be made for a Refusal, is to pretend that the Request is made too late, and that it would have been Granted, had it been propos'd sooner. The Fault then, seems rather to proceed from want of diligence in the Petitioner, than from want of good Will in the Person that refuses. However, it behov'd the Queen to show that she had Power enough to do whatever she pleas'd, in spight of half the Kingdom. Therefore she continu'd her Progress without Interruption, and without the least accident as far as *Poitiers*: But as soon as she Arriv'd there, her Measures were like to have been broke by Misfortune that could admit

of

of no remedy. *Madame* fell ſick of the Small-Pox, and the Court that could do nothing without her, was oblig'd to tarry there two Months for the return of her Health. 1615.

The Queen gets to her Journeys end without Oppoſition.

This delay ſeem'd to afford the Prince of *Conde* the time to prepare himſelf for War, which the Queens diligence had depriv'd him of. However he could only raiſe a ſmall Body of Men, which happily eſcap'd the Purſuit of Marſhal *de Bois dauphin*, who was order'd by the Queen to obſerve him, and follow'd him cloſe. He was accus'd by ſome of not improving the occaſions that offer'd themſelves to beat the Prince's Army, by reaſon of his Irreſolutions; but others were of opinion that he was Commanded not to Ingage in a Combat with the Prince, but only to amuſe him, until the Exchange of the Princeſſes of *France* and *Spain* were accompliſh'd; becauſe it was thought that then it would be more eaſie to ſatisfie the ſaid Prince. But whereas the Aſſembly of *Grenoble* deferr'd to declare themſelves, and expreſs'd their deſire to favour the Prince's Arms, more by Words than Effects. The Court did not meet ſo many Croſſes in that Journey, as they might have done, had there been more Union or Diligence in the contrary Party, or had the Prince's Forces been as ready to take the Field, as his Declaration to appear. The Duke of *Rohan* had been powerfully ſollicited to take up Arms, and did it at laſt being nettl'd that the Queen expreſs'd no more conſideration for him: And after the Peace was concluded, he had the boldneſs to tell her, That his Inclination did prompt him to ſerve her; but that finding himſelf deſpis'd, he reſolv'd to ſhow that he was capable of ſomething. His Friends had promis'd him Six Thouſand Foot and Five hunder'd Horſe, and had they been as good as their Word, he would have been able with ſuch a Body to ſtop the Court, and to afford the Prince of *Conde* time to joyn with him. But the Promiſes that were made to him, were reduc'd to a third part, and notwithſtanding his utmoſt Endeavours, he could not raiſe above Two Thouſand Men. Moreover he loſt a great deal of Time in making *Montauban* declare it ſelf, and in vain Endeavours to obtain a Reinforcement from the other Cities which refus'd to give it him. So that the Queen had as much time as was neceſſary

1615. ceſſary to repair to the Frontiers, there to exchange the Princeſſes, and to bring back the King and the new Queen to *Bourdeaux*.

Particular Petition of the Aſſembly.

** Petitions or Remonſtrances.*

During the Abode the King made at *Poitiers*, he could not refuſe to read the * *Cahiers* that were preſented to him by the Deputies of the Aſſembly, and to anſwer them according to his Promiſe at *Amboiſe*; and though the Anſwers did not appear ſufficiently poſitive to them, yet they concluded that the preſent Conjuncture had Induc'd the Court to make them more favourable, than they would have been at another time. There were two different ſorts of *Cahiers*, the one General, the other Particular. The laſt contain'd Complaints and Demands upon particular, though conſiderable Caſes, *viz.* That the King would be pleas'd to cauſe the Letters Patent for the Exemption of Miniſters to be Regiſtred, the Verification of which had been depending about three Years; and to ſend an Expreſs Order to the Parliament, and to the Court of Aids to that end: That the King would alſo be pleas'd to annul the Prohibitions made by the Judge of the Provoſtſhip of *Paris*, about Erecting a College at *Charenton*, by reaſon that ſince his Majeſty had confirm'd the Right of the Exerciſe of their Religion in that place, it fol ow'd of Courſe that they were allow'd a College for the Education of their Children: That the Chamber of Accompts of *Provence* might not be allow'd to take Cognizance of the Affairs of the *Reform'd*: That the Declaration which refer'd it to the * Party-Chamber of *Grenoble*, in which it had been Verify'd, might be confirm'd by another obliging the Chamber of Accompts to Regiſter it: That Poor Gentlemen and Maim'd Soldiers of their Religion, having obtain'd * Places in Abbys, with the Maintenance of a Monk, might be receiv'd in the ſame as well as the *Catholicks*: That the ſame Privileges the King had granted to the College and Academy of *Montelimar*, might alſo be granted to the Academy and College of *Die*.

** In which the Judges were half Catholicks, and half Proteſtants*

** Oblats, or Secular Monks.*

General Petition.

But the General *Cahier* contain'd 25 Articles, the ſubſtance of which was as follows. That the Independency of the Crown might be look'd upon for the future as a Fundamental

mental Law, according to the Article of the * Third Eſtate, and to the Remonſtrances of the Parliament: That an exact and diligent Inquiry might be made about the Death of the late King, in order to diſcover and puniſh the Authors thereof, according to the *Memoirs* that ſhould be given about it: That the King ſhould refuſe to publiſh the Council of *Trent*, according to the Petitions and deſires of the Clergy and Nobility: That as to the Article of the ſaid Petitions, which requir'd the Obſervation of the King's Oath at his Coronation, to which the ſaid Clergy and Nobility had refus'd to add the Reſervation of the Edicts, notwithſtanding the King's earneſt Deſire and Command, and all the oppoſitions made by the Gentlemen of the *Reform'd* Religion; Deputed into the Chamber of the Nobility, his Majeſty would be pleas'd to declare that the ſaid Coronation Oath did not regard the *Reform'd*; and to give them full aſſurances that whenever he ſhould anſwer the Articles of the ſaid two Chambers, he would reject the propoſition of publiſhing the Council, and make ſuch a Declaration as was neceſſary about his Coronation Oath. That ſuch Eccleſiaſticks as were of the King's Council, and others who were juſtly ſuſpected by the *Reform'd*, might abſtain from the Tryal and Cogniſance of the Affairs of the *Reform'd* depending before the ſaid Council. That the Eccleſiaſticks of *Bearn* might not be admitted into the Council of the Country, into which the Biſhops of *Oleron* and of *Leſcar*, together with a Canon of the ſaid place, had lately endeavour'd to introduce themſelves: That the Promiſes made in the King's Name at the Aſſembly of *Rochel* by *Rouvray* one of the Deputies General, about the Terms of *Pretended Reform'd Religion*, and the Toleration of Provincial Councils might be put in Execution. That in the new ſettlement that ſhould be drawn of the Places of ſurety, they ſhould imploy thoſe that were diſmantl'd in the Provinces that had the *Loire* on the North: That the King would be pleas'd to declare the Office of *Berger* vacant, by reaſon of his being turn'd Catholick, and to oblige the ſaid *Berger* to deliver it up to him, in order to beſtow it upon a Perſon of the *Reform'd Religion*, according to the Edict; by reaſon that it was one of the Six

Councellors

1615.

* *The Commons.*

1615. Councellors Places created by the Edict in the Parliament of *Paris*, in order to be injoy'd by the *Reform'd*: That the Sum granted by his Majesty for the Sallary of Ministers, might be augmented and better paid for the future: That the Governors of the Places of surety, might be chosen by the King upon the Nomination of the Churches: That the Nomination of the Deputies General might be restor'd upon the former settlement; insomuch that the Assembly should only be oblig'd to Nominate two which should be accepted of by the King, instead of six out of which he was to take his Choice: That the Places of surety might be left to the *Reform'd* for the space of Ten Years longer: That his Majesty would be pleas'd to continue the Protection of the Soveraignty of *Sedan*, in the same form, and upon the same Conditions his Predecessors had Embrac'd it: That the King's Council might be reform'd: That a stop might be put to the Proceedings of the Soveraign Council of *Bearn*, against the Deputies of that Country who assisted at the Assembly at *Grenoble*; since no Prosecutions were ever made against the Bishops of the Country, for meeting at the General Assemblys of the Clergy of *France*: They offer'd Reasons upon this Article, and alledg'd the Example of the last Estates General, in which a Deputy of *Bearn* assisted in the Chamber of the Clergy: And that of the Assembly of the Clergy then sitting at *Paris*, into which the Bishop of *Oleron* was deputed. They maintain'd that this Rigour had never been practis'd against the Deputies of *Bearn*, that had assisted in other Assemblies; and they cited the Example of the late King, who being but King of *Navar* and Soveraign of *Bearn*, had assisted in Person at such Assemblys: That the Country of *Bearn* might be allow'd to summon a National Synod in their Turn, like the other Provinces; and finally, that the King would be pleas'd to have a regard to the Prince of *Conde*'s Demands.

Answers. The Particular * *Cahier* receiv'd a pretty favourable
* *Petition.* Answer: And though there were several Articles in the General Petition which the Court could have wish'd the Assembly had not inserted in it, because they related to the Government, the Reformation of which did not belong to them,

them, yet they anſwer'd it: But it was only by making plauſible Illuſions paſs for a ſolid Satisfaction. The Court had made fair Promiſes at the Aſſembly of *Rochel*, in order to its Diſſolution, which were forgotten, as ſoon as ever it was diſſolv'd, ſo they promis'd many things upon theſe new * *Cahiers*, which they never deſign'd to perform: They accepted the good Intentions of the *Reform'd*, about the Independence and ſafety of Kings; obſerving nevertheleſs that it was an Affair which did not belong to the Aſſemblys. They promis'd to make a more exact Inquiry into the Death of the late King. They declar'd that the *Reform'd* injoying the benefit of the Edicts were not compris'd in the Coronation Oath. They granted that the Eccleſiaſticks ſhould withdraw out of the Council, whenever the Affairs of the *Reform'd* ſhould be treated of there. They refus'd to allow their Religion any other Title than that which was contain'd in the Edicts: But they drew a Form of Atteſtation which Miniſters might uſe, to atteſt the Religion of ſuch as ſhould ſtand in need of it. It was conceiv'd in theſe Terms; *I Miniſter of the Church Eſtabliſh'd in ſuch a Place according to the Edict, do hereby certifie, that ſuch a one is a Member of the ſaid Church*, &c underneath which a Notary was to add, *Before Us*, &c. *has appear'd ſuch a Miniſter, above Nam'd, Living at*, &c. *who has acknowledg'd the Writing and Signing of what is above written, and that it contains nothing but the Truth*, &c. The *Reform'd* Advocates, were allow'd in ſpeaking of their Religion, to Name it by the Title ſpecify'd by the Edict, inſtead of calling it *pretended Reform'd*. They promis'd the Creation of a new Office, to ſupply the place of *Berger*. They continu'd the Protection of *Sedan*. They granted that the Deputies of *Bearn* ſhould be allow'd to aſſiſt both at the Eccleſiaſtical and Political Aſſemblys of the *Reform'd*, which ſhould be allow'd by the King. But they gave no favourable Anſwer to the other Articles that related to that Principality; nor to thoſe that mention'd the Augmentation of the Sums granted for the Salary of Miniſters; or the Nomination of Governors and Deputys General, and the keeping of the Places of ſurety. So that at the bottom, that which was granted had more appearance than effect in it; whereas they refuſed whatever was moſt important and moſt ſolid.

1615.

* *Petitions.*

1615. These Answers were made on the 12th of *September*: And the Deputys to whom they had been partly Communicated, acquainted the Assembly that they had no reason to be satisfy'd with them. Their Reasons were that the Jesuits Preach'd at Court, and declar'd openly that the Marriages which the Court was going to Accomplish, had only been resolv'd upon in order to Extirpate *Heresticks*; and that when Complaints were made to the Chancellor about it, he barely answer'd, That there was no heed to be given to what the Jesuits said, since they did not Govern the State; which was no satisfactory answer to Persons who were sufficiently Inform'd of the Power the Jesuits had over the Consciences of Soveraigns and their Ministers. The Assembly was also very much troubl'd to find that though the * *Cahiers* were Answer'd, yet the Deputys were not dismiss'd, their Journey being daily put off under some pretence or other, which gave them reason to believe that the Court design'd to amuse them, to prevent their forming any Resolutions before the King's Departure from *Poitiers*, where the Princess his Sister remain'd long and variously Sick. Finally to get rid of their Importunity, upon their earnest desire that the Answers to their *Cahiers*, which they were assur'd were favourable, might be deliver'd to them, they were told that the King would send them to the Assembly by *Frere* Master of Requests. This *Frere* had been sent to *Grenoble*, to observe the Motions of the Assembly, and to be directed in all things by *Lesdiguieres*. But when the Deputies departed from the Assembly to go to the King to present their *Cahiers* to him, *Frere* left *Grenoble* at the same time, to give the Court an account of the State in which he had left Affairs there. He pretended that the design of his Journey was to dispose the Council to give the Assembly satisfaction about their Demands: But the Deputies soon discover'd that his Intentions were very different from it, and that he inspir'd the Court with the Delays and fair words they were amus'd with. The Truth is that *Lesdiguieres* had order'd him to assure the Queen of his good Intentions, and to let her know that she might safely continue her Progress, without troubling her self about the Resolutions of the Assembly.

The Answers of the Court give no satisfaction.

They amuse the Deputies.

* *Petitions.*

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This Answer convinc'd the Deputies that the Court design'd to pay them with Illusions as they us'd to do; and the precaution that was us'd to send the Answers to the * *Cahiers* they had brought by a Man who had his dependence on the Court, to be deliver'd by him to the Assembly it self, made them sensible that they design'd to use the *Reform'd* at *Grenoble* as they had done at *Saumur*; and that *Frere* would be order'd not to deliver the said Answers till after the Nomination of the Deputys General, to Command the Assembly expresly to break up, and to Authorise the Inferior Number against the Plurality of Voices, in case they should refuse to Obey. However the Court being inform'd that this way of proceeding might be attended with ill consequences, finally comply'd with the earnest Sollicitations of the Deputys, and deliver'd the said Answers into their Hands. But that did not cure the evil, since they found that nothing was granted them that could be looked upon as a favour, and that only such things were left to the *Reform'd* as could not be taken from them. The keeping of the Places of Surety indeed was allow'd them for six Years longer; but it was visible that the Court did it more by Compulsion, than out of good Will, because they could not help it; besides they were of opinion that their Demands were but reasonable in desiring it for Ten Years, at a time when so many just reasons of fear render'd the renewing of their Sureties so necessary. The Assembly being inform'd of the Proceedings of the Court by their Deputies, remain'd under the same Apprehensions: And lest *Lesdiguieres* should second the Commission of *Frere* by his Authority, they resolv'd to remove from a place in which that Lord had an absolute Power, and kept an Awe upon them, which look'd very like Slavery. They soon discover'd that it was in vain to expect any Protection or favour from him; and that his Engagements with the Court upon the Account of his Grandeur, surpass'd his Affection for the publick good, and that which in Justice and Conscience he ought to have had for the *Reform'd* Religion. All his Councils, all his Prudence, all his Intrigues only tended to divide the Members of the Assembly; and all the Demonstrations of his Good Will, were reduc'd to this Con-

1615.

The Deputies Communicate their Sense to the Assembly.

* *Petitions or Addresses.*

Lesdiguieres keeps a Power over them.

1615. clusion, That they ought to Obey, and to leave the Management of Publick Affairs to the King's Council. But the *Reform'd* seeing the Conclusion of an Alliance, of which they were persuaded that the secret Articles oblig'd the Court to oppress them, look'd upon such an advice, to be Just like that of suffering their Throats to be cut, without defence.

The Assembly removes to Nimes.

Thus the Assembly, which for some time had had a mind to come out of Captivity, resolv'd absolutely upon it, when they were inform'd that *Frere* was to come back from the Court along with the Deputies: And having sounded the Intentions of the City of *Nimes* by St. *Privat*, who reported to them that they would be very well receiv'd there, they resolved to remove thither. *Lesdiguieres* being inform'd of their Design, endeavour'd to break it by Remonstrances, in which he imploy'd all his Cunning: But he obtain'd nothing but Thanks for his good Will; and the very next Day the Deputies prepar'd themselves for their Departure. He was extremely nettl'd at their expressing so little regard for his Reasons; and perhaps the more yet because it would show that he had been too lavish of his Promises to the Court, and that he had not so much Credit among the *Reform'd* as he pretended. So that in the first heat of his Anger, he resolv'd to stop the Deputies, and caus'd the Gates of the City to be shut; and *Chaufepié* a Minister, one of the Deputies of the Province of *Poitou* was stopt at one of the Gates as he was going out, only with an intention to take the Air. But after he was cool'd a little, and had reflected on the Consequences of that Violence, he consider'd that his best way was to allow what he could not hinder; and to cause the Gates which he had order'd to be shut inconsiderately, to be open'd again. He only forbid the Deputies of *Dauphiné* to follow the others; and acquainted the Court with the Departure of the Assembly.

Against his Will.

On the other hand, as soon as the Deputies came to *Nimes*, being desirous to Justifie their Conduct, they acquainted the Court that they had been forc'd to remove from *Grenoble*, upon the Account of a Contagious Distemper which began to Reign there, of which even some Members of the Assembly were Dead. The Deputies that were sent with

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these Excuſes were receiv'd and us'd as favourably as if the Court had not been in the leaſt concern'd at their Eſcape out of the conſtraint into which ſuch a Man as *Leſdiguieres* might have kept them. They ſeem'd to approve the Reaſons of the Aſſembly, and acquainted *Leſdiguieres* that he would do well, to ſuffer the Deputies of his Province to follow them. This ſeem'd to be done on purpoſe to expreſs a perfect conſent to the Removal of the Aſſembly: But the real Motive of it was, to have People there, who not daring to diſoblige *Leſdiguieres*, would of neceſſity follow his Inſpirations and Orders; and would ſerve for Spies to give him a faithful Account of all Tranſactions there. Moreover in Order to put the Aſſembly in a place where they might have no more Liberty than they had at *Grenoble*, the Court Reſolv'd to remove them from *Nimes*; and Order'd *Frere* to tranſfer them to *Montpellier*. This ſeem'd to be done for the Intereſt and Honour of the King, to the End that the Aſſembly, which was only Lawful by his Permiſſion, might ſeem to receive from him the appointment of the place where they might continue their Deliberations. But the ſecret Motive of the Council, was that *Montpellier* was at the diſpoſal of a Lord, from whom the Court expected as great ſervices as from *Leſdiguieres*. It was *Chatillon*, Grand Son to the Famous Admiral. That Conſideration, and his own Merit had acquir'd him a great deal of Credit among the *Reform'd*. He was of a Mild Temper, and was an Enemy to Troubles and Confuſion, but he had not the Zeal of his Grand-Father for the *Reform'd* Religion, in which his only Son was ſo ill Educated, that he did not tarry for his Father's Death to turn Catholic. Moreover he was Ambitious; and the Court knowing his Foible on that ſide, flatter'd him with the hopes of a Marſhal's Staff, which was given him ſome years after, as a Recompence for his having abandon'd the Affairs of the *Reform'd*. So that he was a Man like *Leſdiguieres* in two Reſpects; Firſt in holding a great Rank among the *Reform'd*, and Secondly, in being acceſſible to Hopes and Rewards. The *Reform'd* ſtill confided in him, as they made it appear ſeveral years after it, by Intruſting him with their Affairs in 1615.

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1615. the Circle of the Lower *Languedoc*. There had been an Example not long before, how much he was lik'd on both sides The Government of *Aiguemortes* having been taken from *Rambures*, the *Reform'd* had made great Complaints about it; and the Court not being inclin'd to restore it to him, whatever Promises they had made about it, by Reason that they were desirous to maintain *Bertichères* in that Post, whom the Churches were not pleas'd with, they were oblig'd to agree upon a third Person to keep the Place, until the Case were decided. *Chatillon* was propos'd: The Court accepted of him, and the *Reform'd* agreed to it. But soon after that, in Order to put a stop to the Jealousies which the Enterprises of the Court upon divers places belonging to the *Reform'd* might Create in them; *Rambures* gain'd his Cause and was Restor'd.

The Assembly mistrust the Lords.

The Assembly had not as yet laid aside the Confidence the *Reform'd* had repos'd in *Chatillon* till then, but they had already a general diffidence of the Fidelity of those Eminent Persons, who only know how to Obey Sovereigns, and who never joyn with their Inferiors, unless it be to Command them; who never unite the Interests of their Party to those of their Fortunes, and who look upon the Services of the People, and the Recompences of Kings as things that are equally due to them. They had Learnt at *Saumur*, that the *Reform'd* Lords were capable of promoting their private Interest, at the Cost of others; and that the common Cause may become the sport of their Ambition, and of their Intrigues. Those diffidencies were increas'd at *Grenoble*, from whence the Assembly departed very much dissatisfy'd at the Behaviour of *Lesdiguieres*: Therefore they refus'd to put themselves in the Power of another, who might put them to the same hardships, and so remain'd at *Nimes*; pretending, that they were afraid of displeasing *Lesdiguieres*, by putting themselves at the Discretion of *Chatillon*; as if they design'd to show, that they confided more in the one than in the other. However, those two Lords us'd all their endeavours to hinder the Assembly from joyning with the Prince of *Conde*: And as they had Creatures among them; they delay'd the Conclusion of the

Lesdiguieres and Chatillon are ingag'd in the interest of the Court.

the Treaty a long while. The Prince of *Conde* tempted them both to joyn with him, and ſent ſome Gentlemen to them, with Reaſons and Offers to perſwade them. But it was to no purpoſe, becauſe they expected greater and more ſpeedy advantages from the Court, than they could poſſibly expect in following the Prince, who had not manag'd his Affairs well, and who ſeem'd almoſt reduc'd to the neceſſity of ſubmitting to the Mercy of the Court. 1615.

The Duke of Candale Embraces the Reform'd Religion.

But an unexpected Accident broke all their Meaſures, and made them loſe the Fruit of their Intrigues and Pains in the Aſſembly. The Duke of *Candale*, Eldeſt Son to the Duke *d'Eſpernon*, being diſſatisfy'd with his Father, from whom he had endeavour'd to take the City and Caſtle of *Angouleme*, threw himſelf into the Party of the *Reform'd*, and Embrac'd their Religion publickly at *Rochel*. They receiv'd him with great Demonſtrations of Joy, and of greater hopes for the future. They gain'd one of the moſt conſiderable Houſes in *France* by it: The Example of it might prove Fortunate, and invite other Perſons of Quality to do the ſame: So that they omitted nothing to expreſs their Reſpect and Eſteem for him. The Aſſembly of *Nimes*, paid him great Honour, and made him General of the *Cevennes*, and gave him ſo great an Authority over them at the very firſt, that he broke through all the Oppoſitions of *Chatillon* and *Leſdiguieres*, and made them Reſolve to declare themſelves in favour of the Prince. But that was all the Good or Ill he did, while he was *Reform'd*. The Duke his Father was not Tractable in point of Religion. He had begun to hate the *Reform'd* from the time of his being in favour with *Henry* the III. It ſeem'd to be one of the Proprieties of their Religion, to be expos'd to the hatred of Favourites; perhaps, becauſe they were not ſo willing as others, to bend their Knees before thoſe Idols, which the Capricio of Princes, or of Fortune Rais'd above them; and that they complain'd highly of the profuſions that Ruin'd the State, to Inrich thoſe Objects of an unruly Favour. I will ſay nothing in this place, of the Cardinal *de Tournon* under *Francis* the I. Of the Conſtable of *Montmorency*, under *Henry* the II. and under his Chil-

His Loyalty.

The Reform'd are hated by the Favourites.

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1615. dren; of the Duke of *Guise* Father and Son under the same Kings, and under *Henry* the III. But at least the Dukes of *Joyeuse* and of *Epernon*, Favourites to that last King, had ever expres'd an invincible Aversion towards them: And under *Lewis* the XIII. the Marshal *d'Ancre*, and the Constable *de Luines*, show'd the same Passion to destroy them. But besides this General Reason of Hatred against the *Reform'd*, he had another which was Personal, because they suspected him having had a Hand iu the Death of *Henry* the IV. Some look'd upon him as an Accomplice to the Conspiracy which succeeded so fatally against the Person of that Prince: And those who spoke with most Modesty about it, made no scruple of saying, that sitting next to the King, he might easily have warded the second Stab that was given him, had he been so pleas'd: So that, whenever the *Reform'd* mention'd the Revenging of the late King's Death, and the making of an exact Enquiry after those that had a Hand in it, he was in the Right to take the thing upon himself, and to believe that they aim'd at his Head. Therefore the Duke being inrag'd to see his Son ingag'd in the Religion and Party of the *Reform'd*, took so much Pains and Care, display'd the Marks of his Tenderness, and of his Anger so properly, made Use of Hope and Fear with so much Art and Power, imploy'd the Promises and Illusions of the Court so effectually, that his Son Embrac'd the Roman Communion again, with as much Levity as he had quitted it; so that after some years Travel in most parts of *Europe*, not forgetting to Visit *Rome* and *Italy*, he return'd into his Fathers Favour again.

*The Duke d'*Epernon *hates them Mortally.*

During these Transactions, the Treaty between the Assembly and the Prince of *Conde* was agreed upon, and Sign'd on the 10th of *November*. After the usual Preamble before all such Acts, containing Protestations of only taking Arms for the King's Service, against those who Abuse his Name and his Authority, and of having no design to depart from their Allegiance: The Treaty imported, that the End of that Union was, to provide for the safety and Preservation of the King's Person: To make an exact Inquiry after all those that were concern'd in the Death of *Henry* the IV. To hinder the Publication

The Treaty of Union between the Assembly and the Prince of Conde.

lication of the Council of *Trent*, as a thing which derogated from the King's Authority, the Rights of the Crown, the Liberties of the *Gallick* Church, and the Edicts of Pacification: To oppose the ill Consequences which the Marriages concluded with *Spain*, might produce: To Reform the Council, in removing from the Government such as were mention'd by the Remonstrances of the Parliament: To provide for the Performance of the Edicts, Declarations, Letters, and Briefs Granted to the *Reform'd*; and to see justice done to the People of the Principality of *Bearn*: To restore such to their Imployments as had been, or should be dispossess'd of the same upon the Account of their Religion: To hearken to no Treaty unless by a mutual Consent; and not to abandon each other, until they had receiv'd satisfaction upon all their demands. The whole concluded by a Promise of keeping a constant Correspondence together; and to impart to one another all the Resolutions, and Advices that might be taken for the Publick Good. 1615.

Nevertheless, the Assembly had intermix'd some Articles, which limited the Princes Power in some Measure. They retain'd the direction of the Forces, and Sums the *Reform'd* were to furnish, by the Authority, and with the Commissions of the Prince, who should deliver them in Blanc; and be receiv'd by none but persons belonging to the Assembly. They also reserv'd to themselves the Power to dispose by way of Commission, by Letters Patent from the Prince deliver'd to them in Blanc, of all Places, and Governments, Offices of Judicature and of the Public Revenues, which should become vacant during the War: And they oblig'd themselves to cause those Commissions to be Converted, if possible, by a Peace, into Warrants for Life. They desired, That provisions should be made for the safety of the Provinces that should be the Theatre of the War; either by yielding to them some of the Places they were in hopes to Conquer; or by giving them others instead of those they might lose. They added, That the Prince should not be allow'd to make any Innovation in the places belonging to the *Reform'd*; That such among the *Reform'd* as should be oblig'd to quit

1615. their Habitations upon the Account of the War, ſhould be receiv'd for their ſafety into Places held by the Prince or his Adherents, and that they ſhould injoy the free Exerciſe of their Religion in the ſame, as alſo in the Armies in which they ſhould have Forces; and that thoſe Refugies ſhould injoy the Eſtates of thoſe that ſhould quit the Places Conquer'd by the Prince, or that ſhould be turn'd out for refuſing to Obey him.

Which revives the Princes Party.

The Prince promis'd every thing, becauſe his Affairs were in an ill Poſture, and that in caſe the *Reform'd* had fail'd him, he would have been forc'd to fly out of the Kingdom, or to ſubmit to the Pleaſure of the Court. Tho' the Queen had a good Army and was very well ſerv'd, yet ſhe was frightned, when ſhe was told at *Bordeaux*, that the Prince was happily got out of ſo many Defiles and Rivers, and that the Royal Army Commanded by the Marſhal *de Bois Dauphin* had not been able to ſtop his paſſage, and that he was coming to tarry for him in the Way to his Return. She had yet leſs Reaſon to deſpiſe him, when ſhe found that the *Reform'd* were joyn'd with him, Reinforcing his Army by the Duke of *Soubiſe*'s Forces; and aſſiſting him in other Places by conſiderable diverſions. The Duke of *Sully* himſelf imbrac'd that Party after many Irreſolutions, and increas'd the Prince's Army by his Forces, by his Friends and by the Towns he poſſeſs'd in *Poitou* and elſewhere: But that was the only Action in which he ſhew'd ſome Reſolution, from the time of his Diſgrace at Court until his Death. The Duke of *Rohan*, who was neither well Attended, nor well Obey'd, Seiz'd upon the Town and Caſtle of *Leitoure*; by the Intelligence he held with *Fontrailles*; which neither the Duke of *Guiſe*, who Commanded the Royal Army in thoſe Parts, nor yet the Political Aſſembly of the Upper *Languedoc* that was held at that time, in the Neighbourhood thereof, but refus'd to meddle with thoſe Differences, notwithſtanding the earneſt ſollicitation of the General Aſſembly, could prevent.

Letters, Declaration which confirms the Edict &c.

The Court being exactly inform'd of whatever paſt in the Aſſembly at *Nimes*, receiv'd a particular Account of what they had done in favour of the Prince of *Conde*; ſo that they had

had time enough to prepare a Declaration upon that Subject, which gave the *Reform'd* a fair pretence to remain quiet in their Houſes. It appear'd the very ſame Day the Treaty was Sign'd between the Prince and the Aſſembly: As if the Kings Intelligence had been ſo Critical, as to know before hand the day on which it was to be concluded; or that chance had order'd the Minute for the Remedy, at the very hour of the Diſeaſe: The main End of the ſaid Declaration was to keep thoſe of the *Reform'd*, within the bounds of their Allegiance, who were not yet departed from it; and to bring back ſuch as had joyn'd themſelves with the Male-contents; and to render thoſe inexcuſable who ſhould refuſe to lay down their Arms, after having been earneſtly invited to it. Therefore the Declaration was very full; and all the pretences that could ſerve to excuſe the Reſolutions of the Aſſembly were refuted in it, with a great deal of Art. They inlarg'd at firſt upon the King's Kindneſſes, and the care he had taken, as well as the Queen his Mother, to cauſe the Edicts to be obſerv'd; and to remedy the infractions thereof: Therefore they alledg'd, that the *Reform'd* ought to have kept within the Bounds of their Allegiance out of Gratitude, and in remembrance of the favourable Uſage they had receiv'd from the Late King; Eſpecially, at a time when the King's Minority ought to Excite the Virtue, Courage, and Fidelity of his good Subjects to maintain the Authority which God had given him, as the Baſis of every Man's ſafety, as well as that of the Publick. In the next place, they complain'd that this way of proceeding of the King, had not produc'd the Effect that was expected from it upon all people; That ſeveral ſided with the Prince of *Conde*, ſome through Ambition, and a furious deſire of raiſing their own Fortunes by the diſorders and ruin of the State; Others out of ſimplicity deceiv'd by the falſe Impreſſions which they had receiv'd from turbulent Perſons; who endeavour'd to perſwade them that they would be perſecuted, unleſs they put themſelves in a Poſture of defence; telling them that there were ſecret Articles in the Treaty of the Marriages with *Spain*, which contain'd a Conſpiracy to drive them all out of the Kingdom, or to ex-

1615.

After a very Argumental Preface.

1615. terminate them. They ſaid that this Impoſition, or ſurpriſe that was put upon them, render'd their Fault excuſable, and made them fitter Objects of Pitty than of Chaſtiſement. In the next place, they endeavour'd to prove, that this Terror was vain, becauſe thoſe Marriages were concluded by the ways of Honour, as it's uſual among great Princes; from whence it follow'd, that *Spain* could not require Conditions of the King, which would have made Deſarts and Sollitudes in the Kingdom; which the King did confeſs muſt have prov'd the conſequence of ſuch an *Unjuſt and Cruel Uſage towards the Reform'd*, as it was Publiſht by ſome, with an ill deſign. They added, that nothing had been done with an ill Intention, in promoting of thoſe Alliances; that all had been Communicated to the Late Count of *Soiſſons*, to the Prince of *Conde*, and even to the Duke of *Bouillon*, who were preſent in the Council in which thoſe Affairs had been deliberated; and that they did not oppoſe it; That the ſaid Marriages had not created the leaſt Jealouſies, or Suſpicions in other Sovereigns, after they had been inform'd of the King's good intentions; yet that ſome People would needs perſwade the World that he was ſo inconſiderate, as to conſent to make *France* the Theatre on which that Bloody Tragedy was to be Acted, and to decide the difference of Religion by Arms; tho' nothing could be farther from his thoughts, ſince it was his Opinion, that the deciſion of that Controverſie ought to be left to God, who would at his own time Uſe the beſt Remedies to Reunite all Chriſtians to the Catholic Church, which the King look'd upon to be the beſt, and in which he was reſolv'd to Live and Dye. After which they prais'd the Zeal and Loyalty of thoſe that had refus'd to take up Arms againſt the King; who had on the contrary offer'd their Services to him, and had reſiſted the Sollicitations and Threatnings of the others. They cry'd up the Number and Quality of thoſe Loyal Proteſtants, among which there were conſiderable Lords, Gentlemen, Cities, Communities, and even Places of ſurety. They likewiſe Exagerated the Rebellion of the others, who had harden'd themſelves againſt thoſe Examples; who endeavour'd to debauch

bauch the Peaceable from their Allegiance; endeavouring to perſwade them, that they would be forc'd to take up Arms at laſt, or expoſe themſelves to Ruin, by ſuffering thoſe to periſh that had taken them up already; which his Majeſty hoped would not prevail upon thoſe Loyal Perſons. Finally, thoſe Aſſemblies were Styl'd Unlawful and Conventicles, which favour'd the taking up of Arms, as being compos'd of ſuborn'd Perſons, who without Order or Power, and often againſt the Commands and Orders of their Superiors adher'd to the propoſitions of the Factious, for their own Ends to the prejudice of the Worthy Perſons of their Religion. This long Preface was followed by a Declaration from the King, That he would not impute the Faults of ſome particular Members to the whole Body; for which Reaſon he confirm'd all the Edicts, ſaying, That they had been obſerv'd till then; Commanding at the ſame time, that in caſe they had been infring'd in ſome Places, it ſhould be forthwith Remedy'd. Secondly, in conſideration of the Fidelity *of an Infinite Number* of the *Reform'd*, among which there were Perſons of great Quality, who deſerv'd ſingular Marks of his Affection, he pardon'd all thoſe who had taken up Arms, and that they ſhould enjoy the benefit of the Edicts as well as the others, provided they return'd to their Allegiance, within a Month after the Publication of his Declaration in the Bayliwicks: That they ſhould declare the ſame at the Regiſtry of the next Court within their Precinct, and reſtore the Places they had taken in the ſame Condition, in which they were before thoſe Troubles; which being done, and they not relapſing into a New Infraction, he would take them under his Protection, and grant them a full Pardon for all that was paſt. Finally, he condemn'd as diſturbers of the publick Peace, all thoſe who ſhould perſiſt in the Rebellion after the expiration of a Month; he depriv'd all the Cities and Corporations of all the Favours, Immunities and Privileges that had been Granted them; and did forbid all Governors, and Lieutenants General to let them injoy the Liberties mention'd in the Edicts; which they ſhould render themſelves unworthy of by perſevering in their Revolt. 1615.

This

1615. *Effect of the Declaration.*

This Declaration produced the Effect of all other Declarations of that kind, That is, It left every Body in their former Opinion. Thoſe who had not taken Arms, either becauſe they had no proſpect of ſafety in it, or becauſe they expected more favour from the Court than profit by the War, remain'd quiet for the moſt part. Thoſe who had taken them, only laid them down by a Treaty. Many refus'd to Ingage in it for fear of a greater evil, or out of ſimplicity, imagining all the Words of an Edict to be ſo many Truths. Nevertheleſs thoſe who did reflect on the Intrigues begun againſt them by *Spain*, ſo many Years before the Death of the late King; upon the Propoſitions that had been made to him ſo often to deſtroy the *Hereticks*; upon the Maxims that were introduc'd in the Council ſince his Death; upon the Paſſion of thoſe who were intruſted with the Management of Affairs; upon the Projects form'd by the Clergy, in the Eſtates, and in the Aſſembly that ſucceeded them; upon the Diviſions the Court had ſown among *the Reform'd*; upon the Illuſions wherewith they had paid all their Demands; in a word, upon all the Proofs they had receiv'd of the Ill will of the Council, and of all the Catholicks towards them: Thoſe I ſay did not ſuffer themſelves to be deluded by the Specious Arguments of the Declaration: And the Remembrance of the Enterview, for which under the Reign of *Charles* the 9th. the ſame place had been choſen for the ſame Powers, who had now had a new Meeting there, under pretence of the Exchange of the Princeſſes, created no ſmall Jealouſies in them. A Queen of the ſame Name; the like Conjuncture of Affairs; a ſtrict Alliance with a Crown that was an Enemy to their Religion, gave them cauſe to fear that ſomething was concluded there againſt them, according to the Bloody Maxims which the Duke of *Alva* had then inſpir'd to the Council of *France*. It is reported that the *Reform'd* Miniſters being prejudic'd by thoſe Suſpicions Preach'd in ſundry places, that Perſecution was at hand. The Catholicks on their ſide expreſs'd their Zeal a little too much; and ſpoke publickly of a War of Religion, as if it had been reſolv'd upon. The Sermons of the Jeſuits were particularly Animated by the ſame Spirit that is obſerv'd in their

private

rivate Converſations; and divers marks appear'd in ſundry 1615.
laces of the Notions they inſpir'd their Penitents with at
heir Confeſſions. And yet it is moſt certain that Religion
vas not the real Motive of that War. It was a pure Affair of
tate, into which none but the Lords on the ſide of the *Re-*
form'd did ingage with a ſmall number of their Creatures;
he People, ſeveral intire Provinces, and almoſt all the Cities
emain'd within the bounds of their Allegiance. So that the
Declaration ſpoke the Truth upon this Subject, in ſaying that
he greateſt number of them remain'd Peaceful and Loyal.

The Reform'd diſarm'd at Bourdeaux.

But the King's return to *Bourdeaux*, after the exchange of
he Princeſſes, and the Declaration of the Aſſembly of *Nimes*,
n favour of the Prince of *Condé*, were attended with very
l Conſequences. Although the number of the *Reform'd*
here was very inconſiderable compar'd to the Catholicks, and
oreover moſt of them Merchants, whoſe Genius and Pro-
eſſion is not inclin'd to War, the Sheriffs thought fit to diſarm
hem after the King's Departure. This Precaution only ſer-
ed to fling them into a ſtrange Conſternation and Deſpair.
hey fancy'd that the Catholicks had a deſign to be rid of them
y a Maſſacre; and that their Arms were only taken from them
o diſpatch them the ſooner. The *Reform'd* had already been
s'd ill in ſeveral parts of the Province, but particularly at
Mas d' Agenois, where they had been accus'd of favouring the
leſigns of the Duke of *Rohan*, and to have held Intelligence
with *Calonges* one of his Captains, in order to deliver up the
lace to him. From whence they concluded that the *Reform'd*
eing every where ſuſpected of holding a correſpondence with
he Prince of *Condé*, according to the Reſolution of their Aſſem-
ly, their Enemies would make uſe of that pretence to exert a
houſand Violences againſt them: And that it was not ſafe for
hem to remain without Arms at the Mercy of ſo Mutinous and
ſo Seditious a People, as thoſe of *Bourdeaux* were. Therefore the
Conſiſtory being aſſembled at *Begle*, the uſual place in which
hey perform'd the publick Service of their Religion, about a
League diſtant from the City, reſolv'd to diſcontinue the ſaid
Exerciſe, for fear of expoſing the whole Church to a Maſſacre,
which would be eaſily executed they being all Aſſembled toge-
ther.

The Conſiſtory diſcontinue the Publick Exerciſe of their Religion.

1615. ther. The Service of the said Church was perform'd at that time by two Forreigners, *Cameron* and *Primrose*, Learned Men full of Zeal and of great Credit, who seconded the Resolution of the Consistory. But there were two Advocates of the Parliament among the Elders, call'd *Saint-Angel* and *Auvergnat*, who oppos'd it, and us'd their utmost Endeavours to hinder it. Nevertheless the Authority of the Ministers prevail'd. Whereupon the said Advocates, whither out of fear of losing their Practice, in case they should consent to a Resolution which show'd a diffidence of the sincerity of the Court; or whether they held any secret Intelligence there; or lastly whither they design'd to distinguish and set a value upon themselves by some extraordinary proceeding, accus'd the Consistory before the Parliament, and represented the said discontinuation of the Exercise of their Religion as a very odious Enterprize tending to fill the Minds of People with Alarms and Jealousies, as also very injurious to the Magistracy, that had taken the *Reform'd* under their Protection, and had promis'd them a Guard for the safety of their Assemblies. The truth is, that the said Resolution struck a Terror every where: And the People supposing that the Consistory had powerful Reasons to fix upon that Expedient, look'd upon this proceeding as a sign that they did not confide in the Protection promis'd by the last Declaration. And that there was no relying on that Phantasm of the Publick Faith, so often violated.

Two Advocates declare it to the Parliament.

1616. The Parliament receiv'd the Deposition of the two Advocates; and on the 5th of *January* of the following Year, they made a Decree, Commanding the *Reform'd* to continue the said Exercise as they were wont to do at the usual place, on pain of being Punish'd as Criminals of leze Majesty. But they did not think it safe to Obey; since that being depriv'd of Arms to defend themselves, they would be expos'd to the Mercy of Friends and Foes, both at the place of their Worship and by the way. They did not think the Guards that were promis'd them sufficient to defend them against the Troops that serv'd the Prince, or those that were in Arms for the King, or the Seditions that the Indiscreet Zeal of the Catholicks might excite against them. But then they were afraid

The Parliament arrests the Continuation of the Exercise of the Reform'd Religion.

fraid of expoſing their Miniſters to the Indignation of the Par- 1616.
liament by their Diſobedience. Therefore they thought fit to
remove them from the City to ſecure them; and accordingly
they did ſend the one to *Tonneins* and the other to *Royan*: So
that the ſaid *Reform'd* of *Bourdeaux* having no longer any Mi-
niſters to perform Divine Service, had a lawful pretence by
their abſence to diſcontinue the ſame and to keep at home.
But after the Peace was made, the Church having recall'd
their Miniſters, and reaſſum'd their former Exerciſes of Religion,
the Conſiſtory Aſſembled as they us'd to do; and the firſt thing
they did, was to call the two Advocates to an Account for
what they had done in that Affair. *Saint-Angel* was more ob-
ſtinate and paſſionate than the other, who hearken'd to Rea-
ſon, and at laſt ſubmitted to the Cenſures of the Conſiſtory
at the Requeſt of his Friends. So that all the Indignation of
that Aſſembly fell upon *Saint-Angel*, who would never ſub-
mit. But before he was abandon'd by his Companion, the
Conſiſtory cited them both to appear before them, according
to the forms preſcrib'd by their Diſcipline. *Saint Angel* had
alledg'd in order to excuſe his oppoſing of the two Miniſters,
that the Diſcontinuation of the Publick Exerciſe of their Re-
ligion, would prejudice the Right granted by the Edicts, to
which the Church would ſeem to renounce, by interrupting
the courſe of the Aſſemblies. But when he found himſelf
preſs'd by thoſe that brought the Citation of the Conſiſtory to
him, he concluded that they would laugh at his Pretence, in
caſe he ſhould appear, and that they would lay ſome Morti-
fying Cenſure upon him. For that reaſon he refus'd to obey
the ſaid Citation; and in order to ſecure himſelf and his Col-
legue againſt the Cenſure, he appeal'd to the Parliament: But
he did it with ſo much Violence and Inconſideration, that he
expoſed himſelf to the utmoſt Degree of Publick Indignation.
He accus'd the Miniſters of High-Treaſon there; and upbraid-
ed them with their Foreign Extraction: He endeavour'd to
repreſent them as Men infected by the Maxims of their own
Country; according to which they made no difference be-
tween Abſolute Authority and Tyranny. He complain'd of
the Elders that had Cited him, without leaving him a Copy

The Conſiſtory cites both the Advocates after the Concluſion of the Peace.

They appeal to the Parliament.

1616. or Act of the Citation; as if he had been ignorant how different Eccleſiaſtical Formalities were among the *Reform'd* from Civil Proceedings. He publiſh'd the Speech he made to the Parliament, when he preſented his Petition; and the Miniſters reply'd to it, by Printed Apologies, in which he was ſeverely us'd. His Requeſt was granted; and the Conſiſtory order'd to ceaſe their Proſecution. Whereupon the Miniſters enter'd their Proteſtation, and appeal'd to the * Party-Chamber which was then at *Nerac.*

* *A Chamber compoſed of Catholick and Proteſtant Judges.*

The Conſiſtory ſuſpends them publickly from the Communion

In the mean time as the recourſe *Saint-Angel* had had to the Parliament, and the Prohibitions he had obtain'd were eſteem'd contrary to the Liberty of Exerciſing the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, which was granted by the Edict of *Nantes*, the Conſiſtory did not think themſelves oblig'd to ſuſpend their Proceedings: They Condemn'd the Advocates to a publick Suſpenſion of the Communion; and the ſaid Judgment was pronounced againſt them the very next Day after the ſignification of the Order they had obtain'd from the Parliament. They were treated in the Act of that Cenſure, as Contemners of God, Rebels to the Conſiſtory, and Diſturbers of the Peace of the Church. This Affront tranſported *Saint-Angel* beyond all meaſure: And whereas at that time he ſtill drew *Auvergnat* after him, they appeal'd from that Judgment as an Abuſe; they preſented new Complaints to the Parliament; call'd the proceeding of the Conſiſtory Illegal; deſir'd a Decree againſt *Cameron*; and leave to inform againſt the Authors of that Affront; that the Secretary of the Conſiſtory might be oblig'd to produce the Books in which they enter'd their Acts, the better to know what they had done. They obtain'd all: The Secretary was proſecuted to produce the Books: And after all the Delays and Evaſions he could contrive, he was finally oblig'd to produce them at the Regiſter-Office of the Parliament. *Cameron* was Cited, and appear'd to demand a Removal: About a Month was ſpent in theſe Tranſactions, without regard to the Removal demanded by the Miniſters: A Decree was given conformable to the Deſire of the Advocates: The Cenſure was revers'd being Abuſive; the Conſiſtory was commanded not to uſe the like Proceedings

A ſevere Decree.

Proceedings for the future; *Cameron* was Condemn'd to a ſmall Fine: And becauſe *Saint-Angel* had the Impudence to complain that he went in danger of his Life, he was receiv'd under the Protection of the Parliament, and was allow'd to Inform againſt thoſe that had threatned him. Yet though the Decree was ſo favourable, he was allow'd no Coſts. 1616.

Du Sault, Advocate-General, ſpoke in that Affair in Terms which require my giving an Abſtract of his Diſcourſe in this place, becauſe it ſhows a Paſſion without bounds, and without the leaſt Moderation, in which he proceeded ſo far as to alledge things as Matters of Fact, which were ever deny'd by the Miniſters; and to maintain as Infallible Maxims, Propoſitions which are oppoſite to Common Sence. This was his Character in Affairs of Religion; and he has given proofs of that unruly Paſſion to his very Death. He open'd the Cauſe from its firſt Original; and affirm'd that upon *Saint-Angel*'s Requeſt the Miniſters were ſummon'd before the Council-Chamber; in which they clear'd themſelves by Oath of any Intention to leave the City; that they promis'd to continue their Preaching at *Begle*, although there were no Body to hear them; That the Court at that time did Command them not to retire from *Bourdeaux*; that they were receiv'd under the King's Protection; that the Sheriffs were orde.'d to guard them ſafely both in going or coming, and the Miniſters injoyn'd to produce the Witneſſes they had of the Threatnings made againſt them. The Miniſters maintain'd the clean contrary; that they had promis'd nothing, far from Swearing any thing; that they made no Reply when the pleaſure of the Parliament was declar'd to them. That their ſilence was not of the Nature of tho e which could be Interpreted as a Conſent, ſince it was forc'd, and that it was impoſſible for them to ſpeak without Tranſgreſſing the Reſpect that was due to the Deputies of the Parliament, and without expoſing themſelves to the hazard of being ſeiz'd, by declaring that they could not Obey. They ſaid alſo, that the ſafeguard that was offer'd them was not ſufficient: That the putting of them without Arms into the Hands of the Sheriffs, who were only attended by Catholics in Arms, was to expoſe them to the

The Advocate-General Paſſion.

The Miniſters diſown the things alledg'd by the Advocate-General.

1616. Mercy of those that occasion'd their Fear; That tho the said Guards had not been compos'd of suspected Persons; yet they were not capable to defend them against all the Parties they might chance to meet in their way; That *St. Angel* himself being more frightned than the rest, cry'd out in a full Assemb y, when the said Convoy was propos'd, *and who shall secure the Guards?* Intimating, that they were not capable to secure others from a Danger, they could not avoid themselves.

Absurdities After divers Reflexions upon the Course of the Proceedings, *Du Sault* pretended that *Cameron's* Appeal was not allowable; by reason, that it was a Case in which the Government was concern'd. He said, that the End of the Suspension pronounc'd by them, which was suppos'd to be in order to the Amendment of those that were Condemn'd to it, was a meer Chimera; that the said Judgment was an Attempt against the Authority of the Court; That it was a manifest abuse of Censures contrary to the Holy Decrees; which was a very absurd Observation, from an Advocat General against the *Reform'd*, who did not trouble themselves to observe in their Discipline what he call'd *the Holy Decrees*, which are the Canons of the Roman Church, and the Decrees of the Popes. Nevertheless, it was upon that weighty Observation he laid the stress of his Argument, to prove that this was a Case reserv'd to the Parliament, as an abuse tending to interrupt the Course of a Lawful Proceeding. He Added, contrary to the Faith of the Edicts, and contrary to the Common Practice, that the Benefit of Appealing to the * Party-Chambers was not allow'd to Foreigners; and he pretended, that the Parliament had often adjudg'd it so: Which might be true, without being Just; by reason that the said Parliament, notwithstanding that it was Just to preserve and allow those Chambers the Extent of Jurisdiction that was Granted them by the Edicts, did nevertheless lay hold of all occasions to dispute it, and to incroach upon it by a thousand Attempts.

* Chambres Miparties, *in which the Judges were half Catholicks and half Protestants.*

Ridiculous Pretensions In the next place *du Sault* coming to the Merits of the Cause, endeavour'd to prove that neither the Consistory, nor *Cameron* had any Right to Excommunicate, having neither

ther Juriſdiction, nor Orders: And the better to inhance this groſs pretenſion, he added that the Liberty of Conſcience which the *Reform'd* profeſs, diſpences every one of them from all Laws and Cenſures, either of theirs or of the Roman Church; and that their Diſcipline extended only on ſuch as were willing to ſubmit to it. He added with the ſame Spirit, that their Suſpenſion was not the Suſpenſion of a Sacrament, becauſe their * Communion was not a Sacrament: And whereas *Auvergnat* had acknowledg'd his Fault, and ſubmitted to the Conſiſtory; he affirm'd that his Submiſſion did no wiſe prejudice *St. Angel* whoſe Suſpenſion contain'd an intollerable Error, being pronounc'd againſt a Man who had done no ill; who had done nothing but what was good; who had done nothing but what he was oblig'd to do, in acquainting the Court with the Reſolutions of the Conſiſtory. After which he cited the 35th of the particular Articles of the Edict; and affirm'd, as if he had never read it, that the ſaid Article allow'd Miniſters to be Sued, and Cited in Caſes, in which the King or State were concern'd: From which he concluded that this was the Caſe, ſince the Conſiſtory proceeded againſt a Man, and would Cenſure him, for applying himſelf to the Court. In this he committed at leaſt two Faults equally Groſs and Malicious: The one in corrupting the ſence of the Article, which mentions nothing of proſecuting the Members of a Conſiſtory, in caſes in which the King or State are concern'd; but exempts them from being call'd as Witneſſes before Juſtice, to depoſe what has been reveal'd in their Companies or Aſſemblies, by ſcandalous Perſons that are Summon'd there, or by the Elders and others of which they are compos'd, unleſs in Caſes in which the King, or State are concern'd. The other in applying the ſaid Article to *St. Angel*, who had only drawn the ſaid Cenſure upon himſelf by a ſpightful Calumnious Accuſation, which he had prefer'd to the Parliament againſt the Miniſters; tho not Ignorant at the ſame time, that in caſe he had a juſt cauſe of Complaint againſt them, and ſufficient Reaſons not to apply himſelf to the Aſſemblies and Synods, he ought at leaſt to have ſummon'd them before their

1615.

* Cene.

1616. their proper Judges, and to have made his Application to the Party-Chamber. This may serve as an Example, to show how disaffected Parliaments knew how to abuse the Edict: And it is easie to Judge by their unjust Explications of it, and their manner of applying it, how they perform'd the Execution thereof.

It was upon these Foundations the Decree was given, and that after the usual Informations, *Primrose* and *Cameron* were Summon'd Personally; and that for non-appearance, the citation was converted to an Order for Imprisonment, and that after the usual delays they were Cited to appear within the space of three days. They were not Idle on their sides during these Rigorous proceedings: But in Order to stop the Violence of a Parliament, which the *Reform'd* were ever Jealous of, they apply'd themselves to the King, from whom they obtain'd a Decree, with a Warrant to Summon St. *Angel* before the Council, within the space of six Weeks; injoyning the Ministers also to appear there; together with Suspension of all the Proceedings in the mean while. As for St. *Angel*, he got nothing by this extraordinary way of proceeding: And while he Tormented the Ministers of *Bourdeaux*, by Wranglings, and Disputes which did not permit them to Publish his Suspension, another Minister did it for them. *Hesperien* came to Preach at *Begle* and publickly pronounc'd the said Censure. In the mean time this Affair cool'd in the Council; and time having freed the Ministers of this Trouble, they continu'd their Functions in the Church of *Bourdeaux*, from whence *Cameron* was remov'd about two years after, to be Professor in Divinity at *Saumur*. However the Parliament being dissatisfy'd, at their not having been able to obtain their Ends of them in the preceding Affair, omitted none of the occasions that offer'd themselves to Trouble them: I will relate one Example of it, and no more. Ths following year, some Persons accus'd of Pyracy, being put into Prison, were deny'd a removal to the * Party-Chamber, under pretence that the Privilege of the Edict did not extend to Pyrates. Perhaps other Judges would have us'd them with less severity than that Parliament, that had

A continuation of the ill Will of the Parliament.

**Chamber-Mipartie in which the Judges are part Catholics, and part Protestants.*

had ever ſignaliz'd it ſelf, by Violences againſt the *Reform'd*, who were look'd upon by them, as Guilty and Convinc'd of what ever was laid to their Charge. But the ſaid Parliament retain'd their Cauſe, and Condemn'd them to Death. They ſubmitted to it with ſo much Conſtancy, and receiv'd it with ſuch Signs of Chriſtian Reſignation, that *Cameron* thought himſelf oblig'd to Honour their Memory with a ſhort Relation of what paſt at their Death. It was a kind of Reflexion upon the Parliament, to Write a Book in Praiſe of Perſons who were Condemn'd to a ſhameful Death by them. Moreover there were ſome ſtrokes in it, which reflected directly upon them, becauſe the *Reform'd* thought that they had Violated their Privileges. Therefore they reveng'd themſelves upon the Work, until an occaſion offer'd it ſelf to be Reveng'd on the Author; and the Book was Condemn'd to be Burnt Publickly by the Hang-Man. 1616.

A Falſe Decree of Inrollment of a Declaration againſt the Prince.

After the Prince of *Conde* had taken Arms, the Court did not fail to Proclaim him a Rebel, and to publiſh the uſual Edicts in ſuch Caſes againſt him and his Adherents. The Parliament of *Paris* to whom the ſaid Declaration was ſent refus'd to paſs it; by reaſon that the Prince had too many Friends in that Senat, and that the Pretence of his Arms was grounded on the ſame Abuſes, that had occaſion'd the Remonſtrances of the Parliament, which were ſo ill receiv'd. So that after diverſe Conteſtations, the Plurality of Voices declar'd againſt the Verification of the ſaid Declaration; and a Decree was made upon that Subject, by which the Court declar'd, that they neither *could*, *nor ought* to Regiſter the ſame. The Party which follow'd the inſpiration of the Court and of the Favourites, caus'd the Words *nor ought* to be omitted out of the Extracts of the Decree which were Publiſh'd. And ſoon after it they had Credit enough, to forge another Decree of Inrollment without any Exception, which was found in the Regiſter, in the room of the firſt. We may eaſily imagine, that this bold Falſification of a Solemn Decree, in a Caſe of ſuch conſequence, was highly reſented. It created great diſputes among the very Members of the Parliament, who proceeded on both ſides to invectives and

1615. and Proteſtations. The Prince reſented it highly, as he had reaſon to do; and being at that time in a better Condition to ſpeak than he had been at firſt, he complain'd of it by a Declaration full of the Marks of his diſpleaſure. He took occaſion from thence to make New Demands; one of which was to puniſh thoſe that were concern'd in the Falſification of the Decree.

Propoſitions of peace. Nevertheleſs, when all things ſeem'd to be in the greateſt Confuſion, they were diſintangl'd all of a ſudden; and a Peace was talk'd on before the end of the Year. The Queen having gain'd her ends, by the King's Marriage, Judg'd a Peace neceſſary to injoy the Fruits of that Alliance, to diſarm and divide her Enemies, and to maintain her Authority and her Creatures. On the other Hand the Prince ſeeing the Marriages were accompliſh'd, and that his Arms would prove ineffectual in that point, finding himſelf moreover ſufficiently formidable to make an advantagious Peace, forgot his Promiſes and Treaties of a ſudden, and only thought of clearing his own Affairs. The Duke of *Vandome* who declar'd himſelf, and rais'd Arms for him in *Bretagn*, and the Duke of *Nevers* who likewiſe rais'd Men without declaring himſelf, render'd him the more conſiderable: The one by ſeconding him by a Potent Diverſion; and the other, becauſe he had the power to do it, in caſe the Court refus'd to buy his Forces at his own Rate. The moſt obſtinate were ſenſible, that it was impoſſible to diſſolve the Marriages, not yet conſummated indeed, by reaſon of the infancy of the Parties, but Celebrated with all the Forms, for the performance of which *France* and *Spain* had interchangebly given Hoſtages. Had the Infanta of *Spain* been receiv'd in *France*, *Spain* had a Daughter of *France* in their Power, on whom they might Revenge themſelves. Thus all things inclin'd to a Peace; and Public good ſeldom being the True Motive, but the pretence of Princes, it was the thing that was leaſt thought on during the Treaty. The very Aſſembly of *Nimes* ſent Deputies to the King, to beſeech him to grant a Peace to his Subjects; and thoſe Deputies were receiv'd as if the Court had had no reaſon to complain of thoſe that ſent them.

The

The Truth is, That they were not look'd upon as Depu- 1616.
ies from a General Aſſembly; becauſe it was not held in a
lace allow'd of by the King, and that the Court was unwilling
o look upon their Reſolutions as thoſe of all the *Reform'd*,
f which a conſiderable Number diſown'd them. Thoſe
Deputies preſented Letters to the King from the Aſſembly,
n which they juſtify'd their Conduct in Terms which
how'd that they did not think it Criminal. Thoſe Let-
ers were Pathetick and Eloquent. The Apology they
ade for the *Reform'd* was grounded upon the juſt fear they
ad conceiv'd, ſeeing the Diſtempers of the State increas'd,
e Remedies rejected, the Remonſtrances of the Prince of
onde and of the Parliament, hardly taken into conſideration.
Ve have ſeen, ſaid they, *in the ſaid Letters, your Sovereignty*
iſputed, and brought into queſtion, the Independency of your
own undecided; ſo that, We whoſe Subſiſtance, next unto
od, depends on the firmneſs of your Scepter, had Reaſon to
ink it high time to look about Us, when we found that En-
avours were us'd to ſhake the very Foundations of it. Soon
ter continuing to alledge the Reaſons that had oblig'd them
Arm: *We have ſeen*, added they, *Armies Rais'd on all*
rts, and have heard ſeveral ſpeaking the very ſence of their
earts, preſaging the Felicities of Your Majeſties Marriage, by
e Deſign of our Ruin; as if that Alliance were to be Ce-
ented by the Blood of your moſt Faithful Subjects, which we
ncluded they would no longer defer to ſpill, than till their
ractices on our Patience had open'd a way for them to do it.
hey added to thoſe Complaints of the Threatnings againſt
hem, the Contempt that had been expreſs'd towards the
ſſembly; the Refuſal of an Anſwer to the * *Cahiers* that
ere preſented at *Tours*; the removing of the moſt conſide-
le among the *Reform'd* out of their places; the advance-
ent of their greateſt Enemies. They deſir'd the King to
pply proper Remedies to all thoſe hardſhips, which he
mſelf might reap the Chief Advantages of. They excus'd
e Refuſal of the Aſſembly to repair to *Mompellier*, by the
me Reaſons that had induc'd them to remove from *Grenoble*, which his Majeſty had been pleas'd to approve of,

* *Petitions or Addreſſes.*

1615. namely, that they did not injoy their full Liberty there. They also declar'd that the Assembly had hinder'd those of the Lower *Languedoc* from taking Arms which the Dukes of *Monmorency* and of *Vantadour* could Witness for them. After which they concluded with the usual Protestations of Obedience, and with hopes that for the future they should have more favour and Justice done them.

The Lower Languedoc remains peaceable.

It is most certain, that the lower *Languedoc* had no share in the Troubles, whither it were that it proceeded from the care of *Lesdiguieres*, who had taken his Measures with *Alincourt* Governor of the *Lionnois*, and with the Dukes of *Monmorency* and of *Ventadour*, to preserve that and the Neighbouring Provinces in quiet; or that the Assembly were desirous for their own safety to hinder the War from breaking out so near them; or finally, whither a reciprocal fear had oblig'd both the *Reform'd* and Catholicks to remain in quiet. It is no wonder that two Enemies who do not know one another sufficiently to know the weak side of each other, or that know one another too well to despise each other, should remain in Peace, notwithstanding the opposition of their Interests, by reason that they mutually dread each other. *Berteville* who was one of the Deputies that brought those Letters, made a Speech to the King partly suitable to the substance of the said Letters. The King answer'd, That he was willing to grant his Subjects a Peace without the Intercession of any Body. The reason of this Answer was, that the King of *England* was desirous to have a hand in this Treaty. That Prince had promis'd the Prince of *Condé* a considerable Supply before the beginning of the War: But whereas he was not much inclined to Arms, and that a Controversy pleas'd him better than a Battle, he contented himself with the Quality of a Mediator. The Prince of *Condé* desir'd that the *English* Ambassador might assist at the Conference. The Marshal *de Bouillon* also desir'd it. The Assembly of *Nimes* was of Opinion, that the Treaty would be more solemn and solid, by the Mediation of a Forreign Prince, out of respect to whom all Promises would be better kept. But the King's Council would allow no Mediator; being sensible that he who interposes in that Quality be-

The King of England offers his Mediation for a peace.

The Council of France refuses the said Mediation.

between the Soveraign and his Subjects; deprives him com- 1615.
monly of the acknowledgement and merit of what he grants
at the requeſt of another. Therefore the Ambaſſador was
only allow'd to come to the Conference as a Witneſs: The
Prince of *Condé* and his Adherents agreed to it; but King
James neither got much Honour by it, nor the Cauſe he de-
ſign'd to Favour, much Advantage.

Loudun was pitch'd upon for the place of the ſaid Conference, 1616.
which was open'd on the 10th of *February*. The King's *Conference and Peace of Loudun*
Commiſſioners repair'd thither; and the Prince of *Condé* gave
notice to thoſe of his Party to do the like, or to ſend Deputies
But he troubled himſelf no farther with their Inte-
reſts, than was juſt neceſſary for the advantage of his own.
The *Marſhall de Bouillon* found his account in it, by reaſon
that the Court was willing to favour him ſo much, as to o-
blige him not to renew the Troubles. The Dukes of *Roban*,
and of *Sully* got nothing by it. Nay, the firſt was neglected
to that degree, that he was not ſo much as ſummon'd to appear
at the Conference, in which he came without being Invited
thither. But it was not long before he ſhow'd the Prince of
Condé, how ſenſible he was of that ſlight. The Duke of *Sully*
contributed conſiderably towards the Concluſion of a Peace;
and it would have been very difficult to have perſwaded the
Reform'd to it without him. Yet he was never the more fa-
vourably us'd for it in what related to his own particular Af-
fairs; and he received no manner of favour beyond the Ge-
neral. The *Reform'd* were not mention'd until all the reſt
were ſatisfy'd; after which the Prince of *Condé* obtain'd ſome
things for them, leſt he ſhould ſeem to forſake them quite, af-
ter having receiv'd ſo proper and ſo neceſſary a ſuccor from
them. But the Court did not forget their old Maxim, which
was to grant them nothing but what they could keep in ſpite
of them; and to favour them as little in the reſt as poſſibly
could be.

The Conferences laſted about three Months at *Loudun*, du- *The removal of the General Aſſembly to Rochel.*
ring which time the Aſſembly of *Nimes* obtain'd leave of the
King to remove to *Rochel*, to be nearer to the place of the Treaty.
Thus from a Conventicle which was look'd upon as particu-

1615. lar, disown'd by the rest, and unlawful, it became a General, Authoriz'd Assembly. The Prince of *Condé* fell dangerously sick during these Delays. His Illness chang'd the face of Affairs; and Projects were forming already of what was fit to be done, in case he should die. The Queen who seem'd to be most concern'd in that Accident, because the Prince was the only Person who could dispute her Authority, nevertheless dreaded the Death of her Enemy, because she foresaw that it would break of the Treaty of Peace; which would expose her and her Creatures to new Dangers, and the State to new Confusions. So that the Prince's Recovery was look'd upon on both sides as equally advantageous to all; and the fear of his Death had dispos'd every body to put an end to those Tedious Conferences. He became more tractable himself while he thought he should Die, and thought he was oblig'd in Honour and Duty to end a War before his Death, which he had occasion'd: He persisted in the same Sentiments after his Recovery, being desirous of rest. The most difficult having made their Conditions, the Assembly of *Rochell* only remain'd dissatisfy'd. *Sully* undertook to prevail with them to receive the Conditions his Majesty was pleas'd to grant them. In order to which he repair'd thither with the *English* Ambassador, who joyn'd with him in order thereunto. The Assembly was better united than they had been at *Nismes*: And whereas their Resolution of joyning with the Prince of *Condé* had only been carry'd by two Voices, their Opinions prov'd more uniform about the Sureties they thought necessary for the execution of the Treaty of Peace: So that *Sully*'s undertaking prov'd pretty difficult. Nevertheless he succeeded in it, because he omitted nothing that could perswade, making use of Reasons, of Authority, and even of Money, which often proves the most convincing of all Arguments. He prevail'd with the Assembly to send Ten Deputies to *Loudun* with a Power to accept the Conditions that had been agreed upon with the King's Commissioners. However they only granted them that Power, on Condition that they should have leave to continue their Session until the Verification of the Edict were past; That the Armies should be actually Disbanded; That *Tartas* should

The Assembly sends Deputies to Loudun.

should be restor'd to them; which place the *Reform'd* pretended had been taken from them by Surprize: and that Commissioners should be dispatch'd forthwith; to put the Edicts in Execution in the Provinces. 1616.

Disingenuity of the Court.

But *Sully* at his return, far from receiving Thanks for his pains, was disown'd for having ingag'd so far in the Prince's Name; and in order to show that he had done nothing without Authority, he was oblig'd to produce his Instructions. The Reason of this disavowal was that the Court would not consent to the Continuation of the Assembly after the Conclusion of the Treaty. However that difficulty was remov'd by obtaining leave for the Assembly to remain at *Rochel* until a time prefix'd; and that the said delay should be imploy'd by them in the Nomination of Deputies General. *Sully* drew an Instrument upon that Subject, which was at first approv'd of by all Parties only altering a few words. Moreover the Assembly sent a new Power to their Deputies to Authorize them to approve it: After which the King's Commissioners retracted, and would alter the Instrument in several things. This Game was play'd twice or thrice: *Sully* was disown'd, and then own'd again in what he did: The Writing was agreed to and alter'd so often, that those who were imploy'd about it had no longer any Patience. The Reason which made the Commissioners so difficult, is that the principal Persons being satisfy'd, the Court had a mind to use the Assembly haughtily, and to oblige them to receive what they would give them with submission. They were sensible that the Lords would not renounce the Advantages they obtain'd, to better the Condition of the People.

The Assembly is almost compell'd to accept a Peace.

Finally the Prince being inform'd by *Sully* of the Difficulties which delay'd the Conclusion, put an end to them like a Prince who consider'd no body but himself. He whisper'd something to *Villeroy*; and soon after did the same to *Sully*: After which he declar'd that *Villeroy* had granted what was desir'd; and at the same time he Sign'd the Treaty, without allowing any body time to answer him. This abrupt Conclusion vex'd the Deputies of the Assembly extreamly; but they could find no Remedy; They discover'd by several Instances that

1616. that it was a design'd thing, to oblige the Assembly to receive whatever Conditions the Lords had thought fit; and that they had only been desir'd to send Deputies out of Formality. On *Tuesday* Morning before they had Sign'd, even before their having given their Consent to what the others had concluded, Orders were sent to the Minister who was in his Pulpit, to acquaint the People that the Peace was made, and to exhort them to return God thanks for it. This made those murmur, who knew that there were difficulties undecided; and made them judge that it was a forc'd Peace, which they were obliged to accept of for fear of falling into greater Inconveniences. And indeed the *Marshal de Bouillon* himself forgot the Interests of the Common Cause, because he had secur'd his own. He Exclaim'd higher than any Body against the Assembly, though they had only follow'd his Motions. He declar'd that he would look upon those to be Enemies to the State, who should refuse to sign the Peace. Moreover he was accus'd of having ingag'd himself to the King's Commissioners by writing to March against the Assembly, and to make War against them, in case they should disown what their Deputies had done, or should continue their Session beyond the Term granted to them. The Duke *de la Trimouille* his Nephew who was Young and Easie, and who did not tread long in his Father's Steps, did the same in Imitation of his Uncle. But the *Marshal de Bouillon* design'd thereby to show, that he was the Moving Spirit of the Party; that his Advice was sufficient to incline them to War, and his Threatnings to make them accept a Peace. The Assembly gave him no cause to proceed to Extreams against them: They submitted to the Treaty; they did Nominate Deputies General: And *Berteville* to whom the Marshal had given hopes of obtaining that Deputation, was Elected according to his Promise; *Maniald* was joyn'd with him: After which the Assembly Dissolv'd it self, without staying until the time that was granted them.

Edict of Blois. This Treaty was thus publish'd, and Intitl'd, An Edict given at *Blois* in the Month of *May*. It contain'd 54 Articles, among which those that had a relation to the Publick Good were soon Converted into Illusions, by the turn of Affairs that follow'd

follow'd ſoon after. Moſt of them only contain'd ſuch things as are commonly imploy'd in general Pardons. The Third Article was in favour of the *Roman Catholick* Religion, which was to be reſtor'd in all Places where their Worſhip had been Interrupted during the Troubles. Their Miniſters were maintain'd in the Liberty of their Functions; in the Injoyment of their Eſtates; and in the Poſſeſſion of their Houſes, of which the Reſtitution was order'd. The Fourth was a weak Injunction to make Inquiries into the Death of the late King, under pretence that the King was inform'd that his Officers had been remiſs in it, notwithſtanding their having receiv'd expreſs Orders about it from the Queen, both by word of Mouth and in Writing; and the King promis'd to Write to all the Biſhops of the Kingdom, to cauſe the Decree of the Council of *Conſtantia* to be publiſh'd in their reſpective Dioceſſes, which ſpeaks of the Life of Kings and Soveraign Princes. The Fifth revers'd a Decree of Suſpenſion of thoſe which the Parliament of *Paris* had given in favour of the Independency of Kings, provided that ſuch things as were Imported by thoſe Decrees ſhould remain unperform'd, which had not been put in execution yet; which related to the Aſſembly of the Princes and Officers of the Crown with the Parliament, in order to the Reformation of the State. That is, the King revers'd thoſe Decrees in Terms which ſeem'd only to reverſe the Suſpenſion of them. The Sixth preſuppoſing that the Court had gone a great way in anſwering of the * *Cahiers* of the Eſtates General, promis'd that they would proceed in it without any Diſcontinuation. The King ingag'd himſelf by the Seventh to Examine the Article of the * Third Eſtate: But he did not oblige himſelf to paſs it into a Law. The next Imported that the King would give no more conſiderable Places to Foreigners: But he deſtroy'd the ſaid Promiſe at the ſame time, reſerving to himſelf the Power of beſtowing them on ſuch, under the pretence of ſingular Merit, or of great Services. Some others follow'd theſe in Courſe which ſeem'd to be uſeful to the State; but were couch'd in Terms as Illuſory as the preceeding. The Fourteenth confirm'd the Edicts and all that related to them. The next Created a new

1616.

* *Remonſtrances and Demands.*

* *The Commons.*

Office

1616. Office of Councellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, to be given to one of the *Reform'd* in the room of that of *Berger*, who had only chang'd his Religion on condition that he ſhould not be diſpoſſeſſed of the ſaid Office. The Sixteenth reſtor'd the free Exerciſe of the *Reform'd* Religion, in all places where it had been Interrupted upon the account of the Troubles. The Seventeenth allow'd the Proceedings of the Prince of *Conde*, and of his Adherents both Catholicks and *Reform'd*: Even of thoſe who compos'd the Aſſembly of *Nimes*, which was at *Rochel* at the time of this Edict. The Twentyfourth only related to *Rochel*. The Forty ſeventh ordain'd the Reſtitution of the Places which had been ſeiz'd by the Adherents of the Prince: And whereas *Tartas* had been taken by Surprize from the *Reform'd*, the King order'd the preſent Reſtitution of the ſame, before they ſhould proceed to the Reſtitution of the others. But in order to puniſh the People, as it is common for the folly of the Great ones, the King re-eſtabliſh'd ſome old Impoſitions which he had occaſion for to pay the Peace he was oblig'd to buy.

Private Articles. There were alſo private Articles, which were no leſs important than the General ones. The laſt promis'd 1500000 Livres to the Prince of *Conde* and the Lords of his Party. The Court had no mind they ſhould be ſeen by the Parliament, for fear of Contradictions. Therefore they were ſent to them Seal'd up; and the 53 of the General Articles, was very poſitive in ordering them to be put in Execution. The Firſt maintain'd the *Gallick* Church in its Liberties. The Second diſown'd the purſuit of the Clergy for the publication of the Council of *Trent*; and promis'd that it ſhould have no Effect. The Third excepted *Leitoure* from the Article about the Reſtitution of Places; becauſe there was a Diſpute between *Fontrailes* and *Angalin* about the Captainſhip of the Caſtle. The Diſpute was begun before the War; which was the reaſon that *Fontrailles* favour'd the ſurpriſing of the ſaid place by the Duke of *Rohan*, who turn'd out his Competitor. He made a ſhift to maintain himſelf in it until the year 1620, and then only quitted it upon good Terms. In the mean while, the Article Imported that

until

until the decision of the Dispute, the King would depolit it into the Hands of an Exempt of his Guards, or some other *Reform'd* Officer. The Fourth regulated a very particular Affair. *Villemereau* Councellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, and *le Maitre*, one of the Masters of Accounts of the said Court, had embrac'd the *Reform'd* Religion. The Courts which they belong'd to, had hinder'd them from Exercising their said Imployments upon that Account. The *Reform'd* took it very much to heart; and seeing that *Berger* did not lose his place, tho' he was turn'd Catholick, they pretended that the others ought not to be us'd worse, for embracing the *Reform'd* Religion. The Catholicks urg'd, that the Number of *Reform'd* Counsellors was Limited to Six by the Edict; and that therefore *Villemereau's* place ought to be taken from them; or at most that they could only pretend to keep it in compensation of that of *Berger*. The *Reform'd* on the other Hand, pretended that the Edict only Limited the Offices they were to have of necessity; but that it did not bar their Access to all others, which they were declar'd capable of by the Edict. So that *Berger's* place could not be taken from them without injustice, since it was one of the Six allow'd them by the Edict; nor yet, that of *Villemereau*, which he had not render'd himself incapable of according to the Edict, by turning to their Religion. This Article decided the thing in their behalf; which was the most considerable point in favour of them in the Treaty; thereby gaining a New Office in the Parliament, and another in the Chamber of Accounts, which is one of the most considerable Courts of the Long Robe. 1616.

The Fifth confirm'd the Exemption of the * *Tailles*, which had been Granted to Ministers, by a Declaration of the 15 of *December* 1612. which had not been Verify'd. The Seventh abolish'd the Remembrance of the Sedition of *Milhau*; and put the Catholicks under the Protection of the *Reform'd* for their Safety. The Eighth did the same about the Affair of *Beleſtat*, and put the *Reform'd* under the Protection of the Catholicks. The Tenth restor'd the place of Master of the Ordinance to its former extent, in favour of the Duke

* *A Land Tax and heavy Imposition upon the Peo-ple.*

1616. of *Sully*, from whom they had retrench'd something of it to Vex him. The other Articles contain'd some favours Granted to some particular Persons. Moreover, the *Reform'd* also obtain'd a Brief for an augmentation of 30000 Crowns for the keeping of their Garrisons, and for the Sallaries of their Ministers, besides what the King had already allow'd them more than his Father.

Inrollment and Modifications of the Edict.

The Verification of that Edict was not delay'd long. The Court of Aids pass'd it on the 8th of *June*; but with several Modifications; Principally upon the 14 of the General Articles, and the 15 of the Private ones. The Parliament did not do it until the 13, after reiterated Remonstrances. They Modify'd the 14th Article and the following, which they declar'd should be no President for the Future. That which stopt these two Courts in the 14th Article, was not the Confirmation of the Edicts which they had so often Verify'd: But the Briefs that were mention'd in it, which being unknown to them, gave Cause to suspect that the King promis'd immense Sums in it to the *Reform'd*. They oppos'd it so much the more Vigorously, by reason that they were not Ignorant that Kings often make such Gifts, in hopes that they will have no Effect. It costs them nothing to make such Grants, by reason that they are sensible that they will not pass in the Courts in which the Letters of it are to be Verify'd. But in this occasion, the Queen was willing the thing should pass, by reason that she was desirous to expect a more favourable Conjuncture, to retract her promise. This was an Edict, like to those in which nothing is refus'd; which they are resolv'd to keep no longer, than while they may revoke them with safety. In the mean time the Parliament and the Court of Aids refus'd to pass those Briefs, without examining the Contents, or Use of the Sums which might be mention'd in them. The Parliament made great Oppositions to the Article which related to *Villemereau*; and the *Reform'd* were never fully satisfy'd upon that Subject; because a War was declar'd against them before it was determin'd. The Chamber of Accounts did not Verify the Edict, until the 28th of the Month; and as to the Article about *le*

Maitre

Maitre, they ſaid, that before he ſhould be allow'd to injoy the Benefit of that Article, he ſhould clear himſelf of ſome things he was accus'd of; as it had been ordain'd by the Chamber, by a Decree of the 23d of *March*. Thus an End was put to the War; and the State beheld the Renovation of a Peace, of which the Sweets prov'd as Short as Flattering 1616.

The End of the Fourth Part.

THE HISTORY OF THE Edict of NANTES.

VOL. II. BOOK V.

The Summary of the Contents of the Fifth BOOK.

A Declaration upon the Coronation Oath. The Prince Authorizes himself at Court. The Queen puts him into Prison, which occasions great Disturbances. The Reformed make themselves Masters of Sancerre. A Declaration upon the Edict of Peace. The Duke d' Epernon makes War against Rochel. Privileges of that City. Pretences

tences of the Duke. Rochel *has recourse to the King, and makes an Ill Defence. The Duke retires after reiterated Orders. Importance of his Enterprise. The Circle Assembles at* Rochel, *and summons a General Assembly: Which is not approv'd of by every Body. The Deputies of the Circle are ill receiv'd at Court. Reasons to prove that the Assembly is necessary. Extremities to which the Male-contents are reduc'd. The King's Temper. The Original of the Fortune of* Honoré Albert de Luines. *Some question'd whither he was Noble Born. Character of his Confidents. Death of the Mareschal d'Ancre. Alteration of Affairs, and confirmation of the Edicts.* Luines *Marries into the House of* Rohan. *The Assembly of* Rochel *deputes to the King, and receives an order to break up. They obey and resolve to protect the Churches of* Bearn. *Their* * Cahiers. *National Synod of* Vitré. *Deputation to the King. Letters to the General Assembly, and their Answer. The Churches of* Bearn *and of* Auvergne *disturb'd. The Count of* Sancerre *commits Hostilities against the City. The Churches of the Province of the Country of* Foix, *and those of* Provence *ill us'd. Leave given to Ministers to assist at Political Assemblies. Places of Bailywicks establish'd but not exactly. Rogueries committed by the converted* Moors. *The Bishop of* Lucon *retires from the Queen. The Jesuit* Cotton *out of favour,* Arnoux *succeeds in his place. A Sermon Preach'd at Court by him. The Answer of the Ministers of* Charenton, *to an Information exhibited against them. Writings on both sides. The Bishop of* Lucon *Writes against the Ministers. Assembly of the Clergy. The Bishop of* Macon's *Speech. The* Jacobins *turn'd out of* Mompellier. *They refuse to admit a Jesuit Preacher there. The State of* Bearn *ill represented. The Effect of this Speech. A Decree Authorising the Jesuits to Preach at* Mompellier. *A Decree of restauration of the Ecclesiastical Lands in* Bearn. *Reunion of that Country to the Crown; which is oppos'd by the Estates,* La Force *and* Lescun. *Deceit of the Court. A Dissertation upon this matter: Discontinuation of Hommage: Inconveniencies of the Dis-union, and Advantages of the Re-Union. By whom the Union is pursued. Motives of the Oppo-*

* Petitions and Remonstrances.

Opponents, and their answer to the Dissertation. Publication of the Edict of Re-union. The Clergy obtains the Decree of restauration of Church Lands, which declares, That the Deputies have been heard, and the Writings seen. Subtilty of the Clergy. A Violent Speech. The Bearnois *endeavour to ward the Blow. Remonstrances of* Lescun. *Libels. The State of Religion in* Bearn. Lescun *obtains only Words. Those of* Bearn *persist in their oppositions. Writings in favour of them. Why the Clergy refus'd to take the reimplacement themselves. An Answer to the Writing of the* Bearnois. *The Sequel of the Answer. Injustices against the* Reform'd *throughout the whole Kingdom. Enterprizes upon the Cities of Surety. The free Exercise of Religion hinder'd in sundry places. Injustices of the Parliaments. Jesuits. Burials. Answers to the* * Cahiers. *Illusory Remedies.*

* *Petitions or Addresses.*

WHILE the Prince of *Conde* was still uncertain whither he should go to Court there to gather the Fruits of the Peace: The Queen who was unwilling he should have the honour of procuring some Advantages to the *Reform'd*, from whom he had receiv'd such good Services, granted them a Declaration suitable to the Answer the King had already given to their * *Cahiers*, about his Coronation Oath. It imported that though the King had sufficiently evidenc'd his Intentions, by the Confirmation of so many Edicts, nevertheless being inform'd that some *Reform'd* still entertain'd Suspicions, by reason of what was happen'd between the Deputies of the Nobility in the Estates General, he was still willing to give them farther Proofs of his good Will towards them; and in order to remove all their Scruples about the Propositions made in the Estates; he declar'd that it had never been his Intention to include in his Coronation Oath those of the *Reform'd* Religion, who liv'd in the Kingdom under the benefit of the Edicts, Secret Articles and Declarations given in favour of them: And that in order to their better observation for the future, he confirm'd them a-new. This new Edict was dated the 20th of *July*, and was verify'd within a few Days after. 1616.

* *Petitions, or Demands.*

But

1616. But the Publick Tranquility did not remain long undisturbed: And the very Conditions on which it was obtain'd gave an occasion to renew the Troubles. The Prince of *Conde* had bethought himself, during the Treaty of Peace, to make two new Demands, after all the rest were granted to him, which gave the Queen a great deal of Vexation. The one was, That the Queen should take from the Marshal *d' Ancre*, with whom the Duke of *Longueville*, Governor of *Picardy*, could not agree, whatever he had left in that Province. The other was, To grant him to hold the Pen in the Council, which was the power of Signing the Decrees of the Council, the Weekly State of the Finances, and the Accounts of the Exchequer: That is, he desir'd an Authority, which would be so much the greater in the Affairs of the State, the Quality of first Prince of the Blood, being joyn'd to that of first Minister. The Queen had Spies at *Loudun*, which had given her an account of those Propositions of the Prince; before *Villeroy*, who had engag'd himself to obtain the approbation of that Princess, had acquainted her with it. She thought that those Novelties had been Inspir'd to that Prince by that Minister, who had been favourable to him all along in the Treaty; as if he had design'd to Imploy his Credit against the Marshal *d' Ancre*, who design'd to ruine him. But as soon as he had spoken to the Queen, she immediately granted the Prince new favours, though she had expres's'd a great deal of Repugnancy to it to her Confidents. The Reason of that Moderation was, that *Villeroy* hinted, That in case the Prince should make an ill use of that Power, contrary to the Queen's Intentions, it would be in her Power to secure him whenever she thought fit. Nevertheless this Expedient, which the Queen improv'd so well soon after, did not reconcile *Villeroy* with the Marshal *d' Ancre*, who put him out of favour in a short time. However he was restor'd to his Places again, as soon as that Favourite was Dead; but he did not live long to injoy them. The Prince coming to Court, after some Delays, soon saw a Croud of Courtiers attending on him, and even the Marshal himself bowing before him, to secure himself against the Publick Hatred. The Queen seem'd at first cordially recon-

The Prince Authorizes himself at Court.

cil-

il'd to him, and the Prince of *Conde* who was ſatisfy'd with the degree of Authority he had obtain'd, ſincerely deſir'd on is part to live in good underſtanding with her: Inſomuch that e took the Marſhal *d' Ancre* into his Protection at the Queens equeſt, and promis'd to ſecure him againſt all Inſults. But hat occaſion'd ſo many Complaints and Reproaches againſt im, from thoſe who had aſſiſted him during the Wars, nd who were all Enemies to the Marſhal, that he choſe ra- her to retract the Protection he had promis'd him, than to ſe ſo many Certain and Uſeful Friends, for one Man, who as odious to the whole Kingdom. Whereupon the Marſhal as oblig'd to remove from the Court, and to retire into s Government of *Normandy*. The Queen was extreamly ncern'd to ſee her Authority fallen to that degree, that it as not in her Power to maintain the deareſt of her Crea- res, without the Aſſiſtance of the Prince: But it receiv'd a nſiderable Addition, when ſhe found her ſelf at the Mercy a reconcil'd Enemy; for whom the whole Court had al- oſt abandon'd her. Therefore, according to the Advice, which ſhe had receiv'd the Overture from *Villeroy*, ſhe t him in Priſon. This Enterpriſe as bold as unexpected, ould have been greater, and perhaps would have ſecur'd e Authority of that Princeſs for a long time, had ſhe dar'd reſolve three or four days ſooner, to ſeize the other three incipal Heads of the Cabal with him, who were all come conſiderately to expoſe themſelves to be ſeiz'd upon. But e durſt not undertake it, not being prepar'd for it; and ereby ſhe loſt the benefit of the Prince's Impriſonment; reaſon that the others having reflected on their preceding prudence, expos'd themſelves no longer as they had done; hat at the firſt Notice they receiv'd of the Prince's Priſon; ey all made their eſcape as well as they could; that they ok up Arms again for their common defence, and that ey never laid them down, until the Marſhal *d'Ancre's* eath, and the Queens Retreat had chang'd the State of ffairs.

1616.

The Queen puts the Prince of Conde in Priſon.

In the mean time this Impriſonment occaſion'd great Alte- tions. The Inhabitants of *Paris* reveng'd it upon the

Which occaſions great diſturbances.

1616. Houſe and Rich Furnitures of the Marſhal *d'Ancre*, which the Queen ſuffer'd to be pillag'd for three days together, for fear of exaſperating thoſe Riotors by oppoſition. The *Reform'd* did riſe in divers parts; and dreading that Affair would be attended with general Conſequences, which might bring all thoſe into Queſtion, that had been concern'd in the laſt Troubles; they took ſome meaſures to avoid being prevented. This firſt Act of Authority done in the King's Name ſince his Marriage, renew'd all their Former Fears; and taught them to judge by what had been undertaken againſt the firſt Prince of the Blood, after a Solemn Treaty, what the Court might be capable of doing to the Prejudice of the Edicts, againſt odious people, whoſe Ruin had been Sworn for ſo many years. Among other things which thoſe diffidences put them upon Acting, they made themſelves Maſters of *Sancerre*, a City that had been Famous ever ſince the long Siege and cruel Famine they endur'd under the Reign of Charles the IX. They lookt upon it as one of the Places of Surety, and had poſſeſs'd it as ſuch, under the Title of * Marriage with that of *Thouars*. But the Count of *Sancerre* Lord of the Place, animated with the ſame Spirit as all the other Catholic Lords, who had made ſundry ſuch undertakings in divers places, being unwilling to leave his City in the Power of the *Reform'd*, had found the way to re-eſtabliſh himſelf in it, and to get the upper hand there. Count de *Marans* his Eldeſt Son lived there, in order to keep all things in the State his Father had ſettl'd them: But the Inhabitants turn'd him out, alledging, that ſince the ſaid City had been ſurpris'd from them, they had a right to retake it. Moreover, the only thing in debate in this Affair, and in all others of the ſame Nature, was barely the Guarding of the ſaid places. They neither diſputed the Revenues, nor Rights of Fief with the Lords; but they pretended, that there ought to be no Garriſon ſettled by them in the ſame, and that thoſe kind of places were to be left to the Guard of the Inhabitants. The Affair was carry'd before the Council, which at any other time would undoubtedly have favour'd the Lord againſt the City, becauſe their deſign was to make the *Reform'd* loſe their

The Reform'd *ſeize* Sancerre.

* *Places that were annex'd to others.*

heir places of Surety, beginning first by those of Marriage, 1616.
nd by such as they held against the Inclination of the Ca-
holic Lords. But the Court had other Prospects at that
ime. They were unwilling to increase the Party of the
Male-contents by vexing the *Reform'd*. Therefore they depos-
ed the City and Castle of *Sancerre* into the hands of the Inhabi- *Declaration upon the Edict of Peace.*
nts, to be Guarded by them, until farther Orders: For which
etters Patent were Granted to them. The same reason induc'd
hem to publish a Declaration on the 30th of *September*, which
onfirm'd the Edict of *Blois* and the Treaty of *Loudun*. The
retence of it was, that all the Lords who had left the
Court, after the Imprisonment of the Prince of *Conde*, had
nly done it out of Fear that they design'd to revoke it:
nd they added farther, as if it had been certain that they
d had no other reason for it, that they had assur'd the
ing of their good Intentions; and had express'd to him
ith Respect, that they only desir'd to live in quiet. All
is was Invention, and it only tended on their part to
ke their time and measures: And the Queen made use of
with great Policy to perswade distant Provinces, that the
ffairs were in a fair way of Accommodation; and there-
y to destroy the Correspondencies that might be form'd there
gainst her Authority. The Duke of *Sully* who was come
ck to Court again after the Peace, and who was call'd to
ouncil, was against that Declaration, which he neither
ok'd upon to be sufficient to bring back the Male-contents,
r Honourable for the King; because that the Lords who
ere gone would have time to shew the falsity of what it con-
i'd, before it could make such Impressions in the Provin-
s as the Queen desir'd: But the Court was in hopes of the
ntrary, having so often experienc'd the Credulity of the
eople, that they did not question, but they would be de-
ded by those specious Protestations.

The Duke *d'Epernon* was one of those, the Marshal *d'An-* *The Duke d'Epernon make War against Rochel*
e was Jealous of, because his haughty Humour did not per-
it him to humble himself before him. Therefore, seeing
s Enemy recall'd to Court, and more in favour than ever;
e Old Ministers turn'd out, and the Queen's Creatures put

1616. in their Room; the Bishop of *Lucon* Secretary of State; and *Mangot* Keeper of the Great Seal, he was afraid lest the hatred of the Favourite might prove prejudicial to him. He resolv'd to put himself in a posture of defence, in case any should dare to Attack him: But his Pride not allowing him to joyn with the other Male-contents, because he could not have the Chief Command among them, he was forc'd to seek another pretence to take up Arms. *Rochel* afforded it to him. He pretended, that important City was one of the Dependencies of his Government. The City on the contrary pretended an immediate dependence from the King; not to be oblig'd to suffer any Souldiers but their own Inhabitants; or to have any Governor but their Mayor, whom they Elected yearly. Their Pretence for it was, that having formerly been under the Power of the *English*, they had voluntarily submitted to *France* on that condition. The Truth is, that the most Ancient Historians confess, That *they obtain'd so many Privileges, and such advantagious Conditions, that they tended as much to put them at Liberty, as to change their Master.* The only Objection against them was, that having been taken since by the *English*, and afterwards retaken by the *French*, they were no longer to be consider'd in the State in which they were put by the first Treaty, but as having receiv'd new Conditions, when retaken by force by the Kings of *France*. The Duke *d'Epernon* made use of that Pretence: And the Council also us'd the same, when they resolv'd to ruin the Power of that City, which so many Privileges daily increas'd. But they reply'd, that the Inhabitants had not violated their Treaty, when the said place was taken by the *English*; that having only been forc'd to submit to a Superior Power, without Fraud or Treason, at a time when the King was not in a Condition to succor them, they had not forfeited their first Conditions; that the *English* after the taking of it had left them their Privileges; That the *French* not having retaken it by Storm, and against the Will of the Inhabitants, could not deprive them of them; that the City had contributed towards its return under the *French* Dominion, both by the Affection the Inhabitants had preserv'd

Privileges of the said City.

preſerv'd for it, and the little Aſſiſtance they had given the *Engliſh*; Whereby it was evident, that they had loſt nothing by being reſtor'd to the Power of their Lawful Sovereign; and that they were reſtor'd to it with their former Advantages. They added, that the Kings of *France* had confirm'd all their Privileges, ſeveral times ſince their being retaken; and moreover had augmented them by New Conceſſions: Whereupon they laid a great ſtreſs upon what happen'd to *Lewis* the XI. a Prince who having oppreſs'd the Liberty of his Kingdom in many things, was not of a humour to do that for a City that had loſt her Freedom, which did not belong to it by an evident indiſputable Right. He made his Entry in *Rochel* on the 24th of *May* 1472. He Swore before *Gaubert Cadiot* who was Mayor of the Place, to preſerve all the Privileges of the City, which are all ſet down in the Act. The King was upon his Knees before the Crucifix during the Ceremony, and oblig'd himſelf to ſuccor the City in caſe of need, even with his Perſon, and to Death *incluſively*. We may ſay, that the ſaid Oath is the moſt perfect Abridgement of the Fundamental Obligation of a Sovereign towards the Preſervation of his Subjects. After this Oath was taken, the Mayor *Cadiot* took the Oath of Allegiance to the King in the behalf of the whole City. 1616.

The Duke's Pretenſions.

This did not hinder the Duke *d'Epernon* from taking up Arms, under pretence to force the ſaid City to pay him thoſe Devoirs they refus'd him; and to obtain ſatisfaction for ſome Injuries he pretended to have receiv'd from them. He complain'd, that the *Rochelois* had ſurpris'd the Caſtle of *Rochefort*, which he pretended to be in his Government, and that they had put a Garriſon in the ſame. He Publiſh'd a very ſevere Manifeſto, and full of Invectives againſt the *Reform'd* in General; and at the ſame time march'd againſt *Rochel* with 6 or 7000 Men, and committed ſome Spoils about it. The City did not expect thoſe Acts of Hoſtility; whither they thought that the Duke would not dare to proceed to an open War againſt a City that was Powerful of it ſelf, aud ſeconded by all the *Reform'd* Party; or whither they expected a ſpeedy Relief from

1617. from the adjacent Provinces in case of being attack'd. This was the Reason that they were unprovided, that they made an ill defence; and that the World beheld with Astonishment that formidable City, which had been attack'd in vain by so many Kings, reduc'd to suffer the Incursions of a Private Person, without being able to free the Estates their Inhabitants possess'd in the Country from the Pillage of his Souldiers. Their Recourse was to the King, to whom they made their Complaints against the said Duke: And whereas the Court was otherwise imploy'd at that time, and that they were desirous to see the Duke lay down his Arms, those Complaints were hearken'd unto, and the Duke was order'd to leave the *Rochelois* in Quiet. However, he did not desist at first. *Boiſſise* who was the first that was sent to him, could not prevail with him to give over his Enterprise; and was even constrain'd to throw himself into *Rochel*, to acquaint the Inhabitants that the King disown'd the Dukes proceeding, and to give them leave to take up Arms for their defence: Which however, could not hinder him from being suspected of double Dealing. *Vignols* being sent sometime after him, to renew the same Orders to the Duke, found him better dispos'd. The Duke, properly speaking did not lay down his Arms: But he withdrew his Forces from the Territories of the *Rochelois*; and his Excuse for his so easily granting what was desir'd of him at that time, was that he was sufficiently Reveng'd by the devastations he had committed. He Writ very boldly to the King to excuse his Enterprise, considering that he was a Man who had much to fear, and who was not belov'd.

Rochel applies it self to the King and makes an ill defence.

Importance of his Enterprise.

The Glory of that Expedition has been mightily cry'd up in the History of his Life; and that Exploit mention'd in it, as if it had been the first Cause of the Siege, Cardinal *de Richelieu* laid before the said City; because, *say they*, That the success he obtain'd in that small War, made the Court sensible, that since they could not defend themselves against the Forces of a private Person, it would not be impossible for the King's Forces, taking a favourable occasion to reduce them to reason. But the Truth is, that the said Action is

too

too much Honor'd in it. It neither anſwer'd the Noiſe the Duke had made, nor the Threatnings of his Manifeſto. He ought not to have laid down his Arms, without having firſt diſmantled that Proud City, and made it a laſting Monument of his Vengeance, and of his Power. Nevertheleſs, all this dwindled to the Pillaging of Peaſants, and deſtroying of the Eſtates of ſome private Perſons: Which a Band of Thieves might have done as eaſily as a Regulated Army. After which, he retir'd home, having only ſeen the Walls of the City at a diſtance: Very well pleas'd to cover his Retreat with the King's Authority, who had laid his Commands on him to lay down his Arms. Therefore, the *Reform'd* had ſome Reaſon to turn the ſaid Expedition into Ridicule, and to relate in the form of extraordinary News, That *the Duke* d'Epernon *had made his Entry before* Rochel. 1617.

But during this ſmall Trouble, *Rochel* having implor'd the Suceor and Council of their Neighbours, Aſſembled the Circle, according to the Regulation made at *Saumur*; that is ſome Deputies of the Provincial Council of five Neighbouring Provinces, to deliberate about the means to repel the Duke *d'Epernon*. Thoſe Deputies obſerving great Marks of a good underſtanding between the Duke *d'Epernon* and *Vignolles*, and little or no Effect of what had been promis'd; being moreover diſſatisfy'd about the Conduct of the Court, which gave good Words, but came to no performance; ſuffer'd themſelves to be perſwaded by the Marſhal *de Bouillon* to do ſomething extraordinary, in order the better to mollifie the Court and the Duke *d'Epernon*. The Ducheſs of *Bouillon*, who ſeconded her Husband pretty well, paſſing in thoſe parts, under pretence of going to *Turenne* by his Order, ſollicited thoſe who had a reſpect for him ſo powerfully, that the Circle reſolv'd to Convene a General Aſſembly at *Rochel* for the 15th of *April*; and that they ſent Deputies to the King, to ask his Leave in order thereunto. The Marſhal had a great intereſt in that Affair. As he was one of the Male-contents, who had made a New League againſt the Marſhal *d'Ancre*, he had been declar'd a Criminal of State; and

The Circle aſſembles at Rochel.

And Convenes a general Aſſembly.

1617. and according to the Maxims of the Court, he was none of the leaſt Guilty, ſince that beſides his Religion, and his being Eſteem'd the *Primum Mobile* of that Cabal, it was very well known, that he endeavour'd to ſtrengthen his Party abroad, when he requir'd Money and Men. Therefore, he was alſo deſirous to make an Intereſt at home, to the end, that in caſe his other Meaſures ſhould fail, he might at leaſt be able to make his Peace, or to ſave his Perſon, by the Credit of a General Aſſembly.

This Convocation did not pleaſe every Body. Many thought it unneceſſary, becauſe the Court promis'd to ſee Juſtice done to *Rochel*, and that in Effect, the Duke *d'Epernon* began by degrees to perform what he had promis'd, and not executed. They added, that it would be dangerous; that it would diſpleaſe the King, who ſeeing it form'd at a time when the Troubles began to be renew'd in his Kingdom, would think that it was held againſt to his Service. They ſaid, that it was conven'd contrary to the Settlements, which did not allow a Province which had no Grievances to deſire it. They endeavour'd particularly to inſinuate, that *Rochel*, upon whoſe particular Account it was deſir'd, would abandon the reſt of the *Reform'd*, as ſoon as they had receiv'd ſatisfaction from the Court. Theſe were the ſentiments of thoſe who preferr'd Tranquillity to all things; and eſpecially of the *Reform'd*, who liv'd in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, who commonly were more inclin'd to Timorous, Slow Councils, than to bold precipitated Reſolutions. But the others reply'd, that if the King had receiv'd ill Impreſſions concerning the deſigns of thoſe who deſir'd the Aſſembly, it was neceſſary to remove them by the good Reſolutions they ſhould take in it; that a General Aſſembly being capable to reunite all People to the deſire of a Peace, was the beſt expedient that could be taken to procure it, and above all to obtain it from the King's Clemency, by moſt humble Supplications; that nothing was done contrary to the Settlements, conſidering the Juſt Cauſe of Complaint they had; that the ſtrongeſt of all Laws, in a time of Confuſion and Diſorder was Neceſſity; and that *Rochel* would

would not abandon the common Cauſe, for the particular Offers that were made to them. 1617.

However, the Deputies of the Circle were not well receiv'd at Court; from whence they departed without obtaining the permiſſion they deſir'd. Beſides, the uſual reaſons the Court had to dread Aſſemblies, they had ſome that were particular for this. The Troubles were ſo great every where, that they could not Authoriſe a General Aſſembly, without being guilty of Imprudence; by reaſon, that whatever ſide they inclin'd to, they were capable to give the upper hand to the Party they ſhould Embrace; and perhaps form one apart, which might take the advantage of the Weakneſs of the others. It was generally believ'd, that the Duke of *Vendome* deſign'd to put himſelf at the Head of the *Reform'd*; and it was publickly diſcours'd, that he kept a Man on purpoſe at *Rochel*, to Treat in his Name with the Aſſembly. There was no time to make *Rome* reliſh that Permiſſion, the Council of which had taken ſuch an Empire over that of *France*, that they regulated all their proceedings. The Queen had been oblig'd to give the Cardinal *de Joyeuſe* ample Inſtructions before the Aſſembly of *Saumur*, to excuſe the favour ſhe had Granted to the *Reform'd* upon the account of Neceſſity; either in confirming their Edicts by a Solemn Declaration; or by allowing them to Aſſemble at a time, when they could draw ſuch advantages by their Union. It would have been difficult to uſe thoſe Reaſons at preſent, which might have paſs'd for good at that time, becauſe they could not have been inſiſted upon, for fear of diſcovering the Weakneſs and Confuſion of the Government. The ſhorteſt way was to refuſe the permiſſion deſir'd by the Deputies of the Circle, in hopes that thoſe who did not approve that Aſſembly, would have Credit enough, to perſwade the reſt to have patience. Nevertheleſs, that Refuſal aggravated matters inſtead of ſuppreſſing them; and it did not hinder them from inviting the Provinces to ſend their Deputies to *Rochel* on the appointed day, ſo that as they perſiſted in the Reſolution to hold the Aſſembly without leave, in caſe they could not obtain the conſent of

The Deputies of the Circle are ill receiv'd at Court.

1617 the Court, they thought fit to Publiſh their Reaſons about it.

Reaſons to prove that the Aſſembly is neceſſary.

Therefore they Publiſh'd a kind of Manifeſto, in which they obſerv'd, that people were in Arms every where; that the two Parties, who aim'd to deſtroy each other, pretended equally the King's Service; which might occaſion the Ruin of the State, and of the Churches, unleſs a diſtinction were made a what the Real Service of the King conſiſted, in order to ſide with that; that particular Perſons, apt to divide themſelves, according to their Intereſts and Inclinations, were not proper Judges to decide that Queſtion; that its General Aſſembly was more capable to do it; that the Edicts of *Nantes* and of *Loudun* were daily violated as to what related to the Churches; that the Deputies General having made their Complaints to the King about it, without having obtain'd the leaſt Redreſs, there remain'd no way to Remedy the ſame, but by a General Aſſembly; that the Commiſſioners promis'd by the Court in the Aſſembly, which was held at *Rochel* at the time of the Treaty of *Loudun*, had not been in the Provinces, or at leaſt, that whatever was favourable to the Catholicks having been Executed long ſince, nothing had been perform'd of thoſe things which were advantagious to the Churches; that the Court had refus'd the ſo often promis'd Creation of two Offices of Maſters of Requeſts for the *Reform'd*; that a Fort had been demoliſh'd in one of the Suburbs of *Gergeau*, in Order to render that Town of Surety Uſeleſs to the Churches, and to deprive all the *Reform'd* between the *Seine* and the *Loire* of a ſecure Retreat; that they had refus'd to put a *Reform'd* Governor in *Sancerre*, according to *Henry* the 4th's Promiſe; that *Fontrailles* having promis'd to go to Maſs, provided he were maintain'd againſt *Angalin* in *Leitoure*, which render'd him incapable of Commanding there, becauſe it was a Place of Surety, of which the Governour ought to be a Proteſtant, his Propoſition had been heard, and that *Angalin* was not re-eſtabliſh'd, altho the Change of Religion of his Competitor had remov'd all the difficulties of that Affair; that the Parliament of *Paris* had ſuppreſs'd the Place of *Condrai*, which

which was one of the Six allow'd by the Edict to the *Reform'd*, under pretence of that of *Villemerau* which they had gain'd; which ſhow'd, that they would not admit them without diſtinction into Imployments; that *la Ferté Vidame* had been taken by Surpriſe from the *Vidame of Chartres*, a *Reform'd* Lord, at whoſe Charge a Garriſon had been put into it, tho' he had never been ſuſpected, nor a Rebel; and that no regard had been had to his Petitions; that the *Switzers* of the *Reform'd* Religion that were Quarter'd at *Poitiers*, had been forbidden to go to Church; which was look'd upon as a ſtep to do the ſame to the *Scots* and *Switzers* of the Guard; that inſtead of protecting the Duke of *Bouillon* againſt the Arch-Dukes, he had been declar'd a Criminal of State; which alone requir'd a General Aſſembly, in Order to conſult about it: That the Council had reſolv'd the reunion of *Navar*, and of the Principality of *Bearn* to the Crown, to have a pretence to introduce the Edict of *Nantes* there, contrary to the Edict of *Loudun*, and that which had been Publiſh'd in conſequence thereof; that the ſaid Union was attended with ſeveral Inconveniencies; *Viz.* that the Miniſters, and the Colleges would be depriv'd of their Subſiſtance; that the Preſidentſhip in the Eſtates of *Bearn*, would be given to the Biſhops; that *la Force* would be depriv'd of the Government, and his Son of the Survivorſhip; that the Garriſon of *Navarreins*, an important City, provided with Canons, and Munitions would be disbanded, and that the ſaid City would thereby remain expos'd to the Surpriſe of the *Spaniards*. They added to all this, conſiderations upon the Enterpriſe of the Duke *d'Epernon* againſt *Rochel*; and from all thoſe Subjects of Complaint, concluded that the Aſſembly was neceſſary to redreſs them. 1617.

Extremities to which the Male-contents are reduc'd.

Thoſe Reaſons were ſo much the ſtronger, by Reaſon that the Court had been inform'd of thoſe Injuſtices by the Petitions of the Deputies General, who had not been able to obtain an Anſwer to them: Another Conſideration likewiſe, made them exceedingly more weighty. The Party of the Male-contents was reduc'd almoſt to the utmoſt Extremity. They had but one Town left; and the Duke of *Mayenne* was Beſieg'd in *Soiſſons*, and no longer in a Condition to defend

1617. himself, had he been vigorously press'd. They were afraid, that the Marshal *a' Ancre* after this, being Proud of their Defeat, and moreover an Enemy to the *Reform'd*, would inflict a Punishment upon them for the Resolutions taken at *Nismes*, which had reduc'd him upon the very Brink of the Precipice. But his unexpected fall remov'd the pretence of those Terrors. When Fortune seem'd to have plac'd him, above the reach of his Enemies, a Tragical End was preparing for him, by means which he never could foresee, nor prevent. The King was hardly minded at Court. He was young, and of a Weak Constitution. He Lov'd Hawking and Music, and pass'd his time in those little Amusements, leaving the sole Authority of the Government to the Queen his Mother. He was nevertheless Jealous of his Power even to Excess, though he neither understood it, nor could injoy it. During the whole Course of his Life, he never could exert it himself, nor suffer it into the Hands of another. It was equally impossible for him, not to raise his Favourites to a vast degree of Power, and to endure them when Possess'd of that Grandeur to which he had rais'd them himself. By making them Rich, he put them in a State to displease him. The Excess of his Complaisance for them, was as it were the first degree of his Hatred: And I question, whither an Example could be found in his History of any Favourite, whose Death, or Ruin he was concern'd for. But his Sentiments were conceal'd in his own heart: And whereas he only Communicated them to few, those who are of Opinion, that there is always a Mystery in the Conduct of Princes, accus'd him of a Black and profound Dissimulation. To say the Truth, the reason of his silence was, that he neither confided in himself, nor in others; and that he had a great deal of Timorousness and Weakness. Most of those who have spoken of him, acknowledge that he had Courage; and that he did not lose his Judgment in danger; that he lov'd and understood War; that he was a good Scholar; but that he was not capable of Reigning.

The King's Temper.

Original of the Fortune of Honore Albert de Luines.

There was a Man about him, whom no body was Jealous of, because his parts were too mean to be fear'd. He was

was ſuffer'd with him as a Man, who amus'd him with the pleaſure of Hawking, which thoſe who had the Authority were very well pleas'd to ſee him imploy'd about, to the end that they might do what they pleas'd. They ſay, that this Man begun to inſinuate himſelf into the King's Favour, by a preſent he made him of two * Wary Angles, taught to Fly at ſmall Birds in Hedges. This Animal is not much larger than a Sparrow, and is naturally addicted to peck others, and to keep them from his Neſt: So that Application and Care may eaſily form him for that ſmall War; to which he is naturally inclin'd. This Preſent Inchanted the King, who took a great deal of Pleaſure to ſee thoſe little Birds imitate thoſe of a higher Flight. They diverted him at all times. In Rainy Weather he made them fly in his Chamber, or in ſome Gallery. He affected to go often to Maſs to the Capuchins; their Houſe being conveniently Seated to afford him that pleaſure; by reaſon, that his way thither was through the *Thuileries*, a Royal Garden, in which he met with Birds, which he caus'd to be taken by thoſe Wary Angles. He had a little Net ſet up at the End of the Hedge, into which thoſe Birds being thus purſued, never fail'd to Intangle themſelves; and he took abundance of pleaſure to ſee them pluck'd by thoſe little Animals, which he often carried himſelf upon his Finger, with Bells and Varvels like Hawks. And leſt that Pleaſure ſhould fail him ſometimes for want of Birds, he caus'd abundance to be taken and bred, which he never ſet free again, but to be taken by thoſe Wary Angles. Whereas the Reader may perhaps never find in any other Book, which were the beginnings of the greateſt Fortune that ever a Subject was rais'd to: I thought I might make this digreſſion to oblige him. 1617.

* *Pigriſſeches.*

The Perſon I am ſpeaking of was *Luines*, a Man almoſt unknown, and even during whoſe Favour, ſome queſtion'd whither he was born a Gentleman. It is certain at leaſt that he was very Poor: And 'tis reported, that when he came firſt to *Paris* with *Brantes* and *Cadenet* his two Brothers, they had but one Cloak amongſt them, which they wore by turns, two of them remaining at home while the other

It has been a queſtion'd whether he was a Gentleman

1617. other was in the City, or at Court about their common Affairs. No Body thought him capable to perſwade the King to any thing but the Pleaſures of Hawking: But they were miſtaken; and *Luines* having found the Aſcendent he had over the King's Mind, made uſe of it to deſtroy the Marſhal *d'Ancres*. Whither he were put upon it by the Male-contents who had gain'd him; or whither he were Animated by the *Spaniards*, who dreaded the Marſhal's growing ſo Powerful, as to have no longer occaſion for them; or whither he deſign'd to raiſe his Fortune upon the Ruins of that Wretch, he took the advantage of the King's Foible which he knew; and ſtuff'd his Head with Jealouſies and Vexations, againſt thoſe who abus'd his Authority and Treaſure. Three Men ſerv'd *Luines* in that deſign: *Deagean* a Suttle, Violent and Ambitious Man, who was firſt Clerk to *Barbin* the Queen's Creature, betray'd his Maſter, and came every Night to give the King an Account how they play'd with his Power. *Marcillac* an inconſiderable Perſon, who Traffick'd for his Service, ſeconded in the day time by his Diſcourſe, what the other had advanc'd. *Deſplans*, a Souldier in the Guards, had a ſhare in the ſaid Conſpiracy. *Deagean* was the only Man of Parts among them: But he had too much Genius for *Luines*, who in order to be rid of him, bounded his Fortune to a Place of Preſident in the Chamber of Accompts of *Grenoble*, where he ſent him to reſide, under pretence of watching the Conduct of *Leſdiguieres*. The King being perſwaded by thoſe Agents of *Luines*, who among other things, never fail'd to acquaint him with the Murmurs of the People againſt the diſorders of the Government, was at a Loſs which way to rid himſelf of his Wardſhip. He had a mind to Fly to *Meaux*, there to Summon his Subjects from all Parts to his Aſſiſtance. Some propos'd to him to go to the Parliament upon ſome Pretence; and there to cauſe the Marſhal to be ſeiz'd in his Preſence, and to give an Order for his Tryal. But *Luines* either Dreading the King's Weakneſs, or the Queen's Authority, choſe to have him Seiz'd in the *Louvre*. The King gave Order to *Vitri* to do it, who apparently had receiv'd ſecret Orders from *Luines* about it, to whom the

The Character of his Confidents.

King

King having ſent him back again, to know his Pleaſure, he carry'd the thing farther than it was deſign'd. He caus'd him to be kill'd on the 4th of *April*, under pretence that he had leave ſo to do, in caſe he made any reſiſtance. Yet he made none, but only expreſs'd his Aſtoniſhing by ſome Words, when *Vitri* acquainted him that he was his Priſoner. But this Action of *Vitri* was juſtify'd, and that Service made him a Marſhal of *France*. 1617. *Death of the Marſhal d'Ancre.*

The State of Affairs was quite Alter'd by that Death. The Queen being penetrated with Grief, was depriv'd of all Authority. Her Creatures loſt their Places; thoſe ſhe had remov'd from Court were recall'd: The Male-contents ſubmitted themſelves; and the King Granted them a General Pardon in the Month of *May*, in which acknowledging that they had only taken Arms for their ſafety, againſt the Inſolent, Violent and Pernicious deſigns of the Marſhal *d'Ancre*, who imploy'd the King's Forces contrary to his Intention to ruin them; that after his Death, they return'd immediately to their Allegiance, and that they had implor'd his Pardon very ſubmiſſively, he revok'd the Declaration that had been given againſt them, Aboliſh'd the remembrance of what was paſs'd, confirm'd the Treaty of *Loudun*, and the Edict of *Blois*, and Order'd that all his Subjects, as well Catholics as *Reform'd* ſhould live in Peace, under the Benefit and Authority of his Edicts. After which the favour of the New Favourite was exerted againſt the Miſerable Remains of the Marſhal's Family, even to Inhumanity. His Lady was Executed for pretended Crimes, of which ſhe was found Guilty, more upon the Account of the hatred of the Public, than by any ſolid Proofs. *Luines* was Adorn'd with his Spoils, and ſaw himſelf ſo great all of a ſuddain, that he was Aſtoniſh'd at his own Fortune. He made uſe of his Authority in a manner yet more Odious than the Marſhal *d'Ancre*, whom, to ſay the Truth, he neither ſurpaſs'd in Birth or Merit. His Favour was only for himſelf; he injoy'd it amidſt Seditions, and Civil Wars; and he ingag'd himſelf into Foreign Cabals, to the great detriment of his Country. *Alteration of Affairs.*

1617. I must also add, that in order to maintain his Credit, he Marry'd the Daughter of the Duke *de Mombazon*, of the House of *Rohan*. This perswaded the Duke of that Name, that he would be consider'd by that Favorite, who was Honour'd by his Alliance. But the Duke being come back to Court, after the Treaty of *Loudun*, had reconcil'd himself sincerely to the Queen, who had receiv'd the Excuses he made to her about his taking Arms very favourably. All that he had obtain'd by the Treaty was the assurance of the Government of *Poitou*, provided he could obtain the Duke of *Sully's* Demission; because there was an Article in the Edict which promis'd expresly that the King would Grant no more Survivorships. When he had obtain'd the Demission, he was oblig'd to come to Court in Person to obtain his Letters Patent for the same. He did it boldly enough, tho he thereby expos'd himself to the Mercy of Persons, of which some hated him Mortally; and the others were very Faithful. Nevertheless, it prov'd to his Advantage; and the Queen gave him his Patents, which the change of Affairs hinder'd him from injoying. Yet notwithstanding, he apply'd himself to the Service of that Princess with so much Fidelity, that he made an End of Ruining himself at Court; and that far from drawing an advantage by the Alliance of that New Favorite, he created an irreconcileable hatred between them. It will be necessary to know the particulars which were the Motives or occasions of the following Wars.

Luines *Marries into the House of* Rohan

During these Transactions, the Deputies of the Provinces that were Invited to *Rochel*, were got thither for the most part; and that Assembly created equal Jealousies on all sides by reason that the State being divided into several Parties, no body knew which they would joyn with. But the Marshal's Death, and the Queen's Exile having appeas'd the Troubles the most specious Reasons of the Assembly were remov'd. They sent Deputies to the King upon this unexpected alteration, to Congratulate the recovering of his Authority. Those Deputies did not see the King, who refus'd to treat them as Deputies

The Assembly of Rochel *sends Deputies to the King.*

Deputies from a Lawful Assembly: But after that the Answer he sent them was not disobliging. The King refer'd to hear them when the Assembly should be Dissolv'd; they were desir'd to behave themselves as good Subjects ought to do, when they have something to desire of their King; to draw their *Cahiers*: To separate forthwith; and to retire into their respective Provinces: That upon that Account the King would favour them in all things that were reasonable and just. Therefore they broke up at the return of their Deputies, according to the Advice of the Wisest, who remonstrated to them with a great deal of Vigor, That it behov'd them to show by that mark of Obedience, that they did only Assemble when they had just reasons to fear; but that they dissolv'd of themselves as soon as ever those fears were dissipated. They inserted an Article in their *Cahiers* which related to the Churches of *Bearn*, desiring that no Innovations might be made in that Principality, either in Church or State. But they show'd yet better how much they concern'd themselves in the Affairs of that Province, by an Act they made, which oblig'd all the Churches to assist those of that Province, *in case of Oppression and Necessity, by some Alteration of the State, either in the Ecclesiastick or Politick part*, if those Churches implor'd the assistance of those of *France*. They order'd the Provinces of the Upper *Languedoc*, and of the lower *Guyenne*, to Assemble by their Deputies with those of that Soveraignty, if necessary, to endeavour to prevent their being oppress'd. They writ to the great Lords to Intercede for the *Reform'd* of *Bearn*, and they exhorted all the Councils of the Provinces to recommend them to the Deputies General. The Affection they express'd for those threatned Churches prov'd useless: And the King's very Answer to the Article which spoke in their behalf, destroy'd by one word which was Inserted in it on purpose, all the hopes of their being favourably us'd. The King promis'd to preserve all his Subjects of the Country of *Bearn*, both Catholicks and *Reform'd* in the Possession of their *Ancient* Privileges; and to maintain Peace and Union there as among the other Subjects of his Realm. The Equivocation

1617.

And receives an Order to break up

* *Petitions and Demands.*

They obey and resolve to protect the Churches of Bearn.

1617. of the word *Ancient* was a plain Argument, that the Council design'd to look upon the present State of *Bearn* as a Novelty: And to restore the Catholicks there to all the Advantages they had lost, by the attempt they had made against their Lawful Queen.

Their Petitions. The Assembly Inserted in their * *Cahiers* some other important Articles; *viz.* Concerning the Exemption of the Ministers, and the Declaration given upon that Subject, which the Court of Aids still refus'd to verifie; the Necessity of *Reform'd* Associates for the Instruction of Criminal Causes; the discharge of certain Offices which were impos'd upon the *Reform'd*, tho' they thought they could not Officiate them without wounding their Consciences; concerning the Privilege of *Reform'd* Magistrates and Officers, not having discharg'd their Trust in their Offices, to be prosecuted in the Chambers of the Edict, and before no other Judges; and several others, to which they receiv'd Specious Answers; but without Effect. Besides all these Articles there was an Instruction which they charg'd the Deputies General with, to beg of his Majesty to put the Prince of *Conde* at Liberty. This was the only effect produc'd by the Sollicitations of the Princess his Mother, who was at *Rochel*, and who endeavour'd to oblige the Assembly not to break up before they had obtain'd his Deliverance. Nevertheless they were oblig'd to give over that pursuit, because the State of Affairs was not dispos'd towards it, and that the new Favourite was not in the least inclin'd to put a Prince at Liberty, who would soon get the better of him in the Management of Affairs.

National Synod at Vitré. While the Assembly was still in being, the National Synod assembled on the 18th of *May* at *Vitrè*. The Principality of *Bearn* had obtain'd leave in the preceeding Synod to Convene it: But all things were alter'd since that time; and that which was lookt upon then to be useful towards the preservation of that Province, seem'd to be of ill consequence against their Privileges, as soon as it was known that the Council did propose to re-unite it to the Crown. In submitting to the same Discipline with the other Churches of the Realm, they seem'd to act against their own pretensions, that they could

ould not be ſubjected to the ſame Laws with the reſt of the 1617.
Kingdom; and by making but one Body Eccleſiaſtick
ith the reſt of the *Reform'd*, they afforded a reaſon to ſay
hat it was not inconſiſtent with their Privileges, to be united
o the other Provinces depending of the Crown, as part of one
nd the ſame Body Politick. Thoſe Reaſons were approv'd
f. The Synod excus'd them from ſubmitting to the Diſci-
ine of the other Churches, and to the National Synods, du-
ng the preſent Conjuncture. But they allow'd the Deputies
f that Country to aſſiſt at their Deliberations, and to give
heir Votes, unleſs ſome of them deſir'd the contrary. So
hat they appear'd in that Aſſembly as Deputies not of ſubject
hurches, but of Churches that were Ally'd by the Commu-
ion of the ſame Doctrine.

Deputation to the King.

Immediately after the Overture of the Synod, they deput-
d four Perſons to the King, with Letters fill'd with the uſual
ubmiſſions and Proteſtations of Obedience and Loyalty.

Letters to the General Aſſembly; and their Anſwer.

hey alſo writ to the Aſſembly of *Rochel*, to give them an
ecount of what they had done; and to expreſs their Inten-
on to remain in perfect Union with them. The Anſwer of
he Aſſembly was made in the ſame Terms; and moreover
ontain'd an Article, by which they demanded of the Synod
he Contribution of certain Sums for the General Affairs. This
ontribution, which was to be rais'd out of the Sums granted
or the Sallaries of the Miniſters, appear'd dangerous as to the
onſequences of it: but whereas there was Money due to them,
nd that the Conceſſions of the Treaty of *Loudun* had made
he Churches pretty eaſie, they would not refuſe all, and
ranted ſomething at the Requeſt of the Aſſembly. In the
ean time the Deputies were well receiv'd at Court; and
ame back to the Synod with Anſwers capable to ſatisfie them,
had fair words been ſufficient to redreſs the Evils they com-
lain'd of. The King writ very obliging Letters by them, in
which he prais'd the Loyalty of the *Reform'd*, and gave them
ſſurances of his Protection for the future; and to maintain
whatever was promis'd by the Edicts, in caſe they perſever'd
in that Conduct.

1617. That would have been very well, if while they were exhorted to be Loyal, the Court had not at the very same time labour'd openly by a thousand Vexations and Injuries to tire their Faith and Patience. Besides the dread which the Prosecutions of the Clergy created among the Churches of *Bearn*, those of *Auvergne* were also very much tormented. They had not as yet been able to injoy the benefit of the Edict there peaceably, by reason that the Catholicks had oppos'd it. There were potent Families in that Province who were altogether inclin'd to a League, and who thought it a point of Conscience to hate the *Reform'd*, and to Persecute them without Mercy. They us'd them Cruelly in all respects; and the *Reform'd* were not in a Condition to resist them, because their Number was inconsiderable. The Court might easily have put a stop to those Violences, had they been well inclin'd; but it is easie to judge of their Disposition in that respect, by the little care they had taken to redress the Wrongs done to the *Reform'd* of that Province: The Synod gave express Orders to the Deputies General, to make earnest Sollicitations to obtain a redress for those Afflicted Churches; and to press the Court to send Commissioners thither, in order to regulate those long Differences by some Decisive Decree: which had already been desir'd often to no purpose.

The Churches of Bearn and Auvergne disturb'd.

The Count of Sancerre exerts Hostilities against the City.

Moreover the War continu'd between the City of *Sancerre* and the Count *de Marans*; who did the Inhabitants all the harm he could. He proceeded on his part to Surprises, Outrages, and Assassinations: And he was accus'd of having lately caus'd Captain *Bouchard*, in whom the City repos'd great Confidence, to be Murther'd. So that the City had two great Affairs in hand; the one to preserve their Privilege of being a City of Surety which was disputed, and the other to defend themselves against the Hostilities of the Count. As they had a greater Extent of Ground than Riches, they were soon drein'd by the great Expences they had been oblig'd to make; and they could not hold out much longer, without being assisted. Therefore they had recourse to the Liberalities of the Synod. The Churches of the Country of *Foix* were reduc'd to the same Misery of late Years. They were forc'd from Juris-

Churches of the Country of Foix

ſdiction to Juriſdiction, about the Quality of Places of Sure- 1617.
y: which the Cities in which they perform'd the Exerciſes
f their Religion had had till then; So that they had troubles
pon that Queſtion in the Parliament, in the * Party-Cham-
ers, and in the Council of State. This was a ſubtilty of the
ouncil, either to weaken the *Reform'd*, by taking from them
veral Towns they held by that Name, the Title, or Quali-
y of which was diſputed by their Enemies upon divers pre-
nces; or to put them upon ſome deſperate Reſolution, by
heſe Proceedings, in order to have a plauſible occaſion to
mplain of their Behaviour. For that reaſon the Court af-
ected, whenever they renew'd the Permiſſion of keeping
em to ſlip in ſome Equivocal Terms in the Briefs; to the
d that being favour'd by that Ambiguity, they might ſay,
at thoſe they deſign'd to take from them were not compris'd
the ſame.

* *In which the Judges were part Catholicks and part Reform'd.*

Provence was alſo expos'd to great Vexations. The *Re-*
rm'd were very much divided there; and the Catholicks
ook an occaſion from thoſe Diſcords which they themſelves
ad ſown, to do them all manner of Injuſtices. That Pro-
ince overwhelm'd the General Aſſemblies and the National
ynods, with Complaints, which the Members of one and
he ſame Church brought in there againſt one another: And
he Deputies of thoſe Different Parties, often mutually
iſputed the Right of their Deputation. Nevertheleſs
here were ſo few Churches in that Province, that they
ere not able to furniſh the Number that was neceſſary to di-
ide it into two Aſſemblies; and that it had been propos'd
ome times to annex them to thoſe of *Dauphine*, to make but
ne Synod of them. So that their own weakneſs render'd
heir Union the more neceſſary, by reaſon that they weaken'd
hemſelves ſtill the more by their Diviſion. The Synod re-
ommended all thoſe Affairs to the Deputies General; and did
ot forget the Edict of Exemption which the Miniſters had
een amus'd with for five Years together, without their De-
uties having been able to get it into their hands, to purſue
he Verification of it, which the Court did not preſs in the
leaſt.

And thoſe of Provence ill us'd.

The

1617. The Synod allow'd Ministers to assist at Political Assemblies, which had been forbidden by the former Synods. The reason of it was that those who had given an occasion to make that Prohibition being either Dead or Revolted; and the Discontents of the Duke of *Bouillon* being cool'd, there was no reason to exclude the Ministers from those Assemblies, in which they might sometimes prove useful by their Zeal and Prudence. But the Synod at the same time desir'd the Political Assemblies to Exempt the Ministers from Deputations to the Court; whither it were that they look'd upon themselves as Persons that were odious to those that Govern'd; or whether they thought the Intrigues of the Court not suitable to the Profession of the Evangelical Ministry; or whether they thought that as they were Persons dedicated to Preach the Truth, it was not fit to Expose them to the Temptations, which till then, had render'd the Air of the Court so fatal to Men of their Character. The Synod also Nominated four Deputies to assist at the General Synod the States General of the *United Provinces* did propose to Assemble, to determine the Disputes of the *Arminians*, which were call'd *Remonstrators*; and of those who call'd their Doctrine a Novelty, which were call'd *Counter-Remonstrators*, or *Gomarists*. But the Council of *France* did not approve that Deputation, as I will relate in another Place.

Permission given to the Ministers to assist at Political Assemblies.

Moreover it appears by the Acts of the said Synod, that until then the settlement of the * Places of Bailywicks had been made with little Exactness. They had sometimes been desir'd in Places that were so inconvenient, that they had built no Churches in them. The Truth is that the Catholicks had not as yet bethought themselves to maintain, that the Right of performing the Exercise of the *Reform'd* Religion in those Places, was lost by a Prescription of some Years. Therefore the *Reform'd* were Allow'd to resume the use of them when they pleas'd, notwithstanding their having left them as it were in suspence for some time: And sometimes also they Transferr'd the said Privilege from one place to another, by a kind of Concession, which the Commissaries, or Judges of the said Places did not refuse to Authorize by their Ordinances. Thus *Tingri* being

Places of Bailywicks establish'd with little Exactness.

** Towns or Villages in which the Publick Exercise of the Reform'd Religion was to be perform'd in the said Bailywicks*

being given for a Place of Bailywick in the Province of *Champaigne*, that Right remain'd long without Effect; by reason that *Lorrain*, in the Neighbourhood of which the said Town was setled, and from whence it was hop'd that the *Reform'd* would repair thither to hear Sermons, could not furnish a sufficient Number of People to maintain a Church there. Therefore the Synod being unwilling to lose that Considerable Right, order'd it to be Transfer'd to *Langres*, where there was more likelyhood of forming a Considerable Church. 1617.

Rogueries of the Converted Moors.

It likewise appears by the same Acts, that some *Moors* being Invited to remain in *France*, upon the account of the Edict the late King had Publish'd on their Behalf, when they were turn'd out of *Spain*, stopt in the Places that had been assign'd to them. Though the Edict only allow'd such to remain in the Kingdom as should embrace the Catholick Religion, yet several of them Embrac'd the *Reform'd*. But wherefore for the most part those that remain'd were only such as had nothing to carry away, it was not Conscience that inclin'd them more to one side than the other: It was only a prospect of subsisting one way or other. As their Conversion was on Intereſt, it soon degenerated into Publick Roguery. The poor being neglected in the *Roman* Church, wheras the *Reform'd* had the Reputation of assisting them with more Order and Charity, all the Beggars turn'd Converted *Moors*; and running from Church to Church to surprize Alms, they reduc'd the Consistories and Synods to take measures to secure themselves against this sort of Plundering. The Catholick Zeal did not murmur at that time to see the *Reform'd* Religion prefer'd to the *Roman*: And they did not envy this Honour to the *Reformation*, because they could not deprive them of it without Expence. The same Zeal being refin'd in our Days, has not been able to endure things to remain upon the same foot; they chose rather to let the *Jews* and *Mahometans* remain in their Errour, than to permit them to embrace Christianity by Embracing the *Reform'd* Religion. However these pretended *Moors* being very troublesome to the Churches, the Synod I am speaking of resolv'd to apply proper remedies to it. They order'd People to Watch the Conduct of these *Converts*,

and

1617. and to take certain Precautions, by giving them Testimonials to prevent those Impostures.

The Bishop of Lucon *retires from the Queen.*

During these Transactions *Luines*, who knew the King's Easiness by Experience, suffer'd no Persons of any Genius to be near his Person, nor any of those who had had any Ingagements with the Queen. The Bishop of *Lucon*, so famous since under the Name of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, was one of the Creatures of that Princess, and one of those whose Wit and Parts were most capable to inspire Jealousie in a Favourite. Therefore *Luines* was so far from suffering him to live at Court, that he would not so much as allow him to remain with the Queen. The Bishop being sensible that he was obnoxious, remov'd out of the Kingdom: But yet being unwilling to give over his hopes altogether, he retir'd to *Avignon*, where he thought himself secure under the Pope's Authority. Nevertheless the better to remove all manner of Suspitions, he feign'd to renounce Politicks, and to apply himself for the future in things more suitable to his Profession. In order to which he took up Controversie, and Writ against the *Reform'd*; taking an occasion so to do from the Affairs I am going to relate. *Luines* also remov'd from the King *Cotton* the Jesuit, who had been all along ingag'd in the Queens Interest, and who endeavour'd to perswade the World, that this sudden Retreat from the Court was only the effect of his disgust of the World, though it was only the effect of a very Mortifying Disgrace. But *Luines* put in his room a Man of the same Society, who being oblig'd to him for his Promotion, seem'd to him a fit Instrument to manage the King's Inclination to his Advantage. But he was cruelly deceiv'd; and this Villain paid him for his good Will, like a true Jesuit: So that he also was forc'd to retire at the end of some Years. Thus the King left the Management of his conscience as well as of his Kingdom to the discretion of his Favourites; and changing his Affection according to their Pleasure, he allow'd them to Reign into the most secret parts of his Confessions and of his Thoughts. This Jesuit was *Arnoux*, known at Court by Conferences and Sermons, which had gain'd him some Esteem. Amongst the Sermons he was most noted for, he Preach'd one at *Fontainbleau*

Disgrace of Cotton *the Jesuit.*

Arnoux succeeds him.

A Sermon Preach'd at Court by him.

Bleau before the King, in which he attack'd the Confeſſion of Faith of the *Reform'd*, and maintain'd that the Paſſages cited in the Margin were falſely alledg'd. This Accuſation could not fail of being taken notice of, in a Court in which there were abundance of Officers and Lords who did profeſs the *Reform'd* Religion. So that upon the Diſputes occaſion'd by the ſaid Sermon, the Jeſuit who had not advanc'd this Propoſition with an Intention to retract it, gave a Memoir of the Falſities he pretended to obſerve in the ſaid Quotations to a *Reform'd* Gentleman who deſir'd it; and the ſaid Gentleman gave it to *Du Moulin*. 1617.

The Miniſters of Charenton's Anſwer.

The Miniſters were not as yet reduc'd to ſuffer every thing without making a defence: Moreover they were firm and vigorous in their Repartees; and particularly when they met a Jeſuit in their way they never fail'd to ſpeak of the Merits of his Sect. Therefore *Du Moulin* who had a Sprightly Wit, a fruitful Imagination, a heart full of Zeal, and who, as it has been own'd by his very Adverſaries, did Write with as much Politeneſs as Force and Eaſe, was not long before he Anſwer'd the Jeſuit, having firſt Conſulted *Montigni*, *Durant*, and *Meſtrezat* his Colleagues in the Miniſtry. They gave it the Title of, *Defence of the Confeſſion of Faith of the Reform'd Churches of* France, *againſt the Accuſation of* Arnoux *the Jeſuit*, &c. which they Dedicated to the King. They mention'd with ſome Vigour in the Dedication the Services the *Reform'd* had done to the State; and they us'd the Jeſuits in it, in the ſame manner as all Perſons of Honour had us'd them till then. They did not forget the laſt Eſtates held at *Paris*, and the Controverſie that had been mov'd there concerning the Independency of Kings, who, they ſaid, had loſt their Cauſe by the Faction of the Clergy. *Arnoux* and the Jeſuits being nettl'd at this Letter, caus'd a great deal of Noiſe to be made about it: So that almoſt as ſoon as the Book appear'd they inform'd againſt the Work, againſt the Author, and againſt the Printer. The Lieutenant Civil, or Common Judge having firſt taken Cognizance of it, that Affair was ſoon after remov'd before the Parliament, which occaſion'd a Diſpute in point of Juriſdiction between the Great Chamber.

Againſt whom Informations are given.

1617. and the Chamber of the Edict: The first pretended to retain the Cause, as being a Civil Cause; and the last would have it Try'd before them, as being an Affair of Religion. This Contestation was determin'd by a Decree of the Council, bearing Date July the 20th, which refer'd the Cause to the King: And within a fourth Night after it, another Decree was made, in which the King forbad the Dedicating of any Book to him without his express leave; suppress'd that of the Ministers, forbad the reading of it, or to keep it, under certain Penalties; and order'd the Provost of *Paris* to Prosecute the Printer.

Pamphlets on both sides.

This Decree dictated by the Jesuits, only serv'd to set a greater value upon the Book. Divers Pamphlets were dispers'd on both sides upon that Subject; among which there was one which acknowledg'd *Arnoux* the Jesuit to be the Aggressor, and that pretended that it was a Crime in the Ministers to have dar'd to defend themselves. So that according to the Maxims of that Writer, the Condemnation of the Ministers could only be look'd upon as an Oppression of Innocence, so much the more Unjust that though those who had been attack'd had been punish'd, the Aggressors had not so much as receiv'd a slight Reprimand. It was against this Book of the four Ministers that the Bishop of *Lucon* resolv'd to Write. He insisted particularly upon their Letter, and endeavour'd to prove, that they had fill'd it with falshood. He made all his Efforts to justify the last Estates: But he did it by Reasons which he knew to be false better than any Body; which most of those that had been concern'd in what past, there could easily have convinc'd him of. That manner of Writing was an effect of his fear. It was the Stile that best pleas'd the Jesuits, whom that Bishop was then as loth to offend, as he despis'd them since, when he found himself in a more prosperous Fortune.

The Bishop of Lucon *Writes against the Ministers.*

Assembly of the Clergy.

About the time the Synod was at *Vitre*, the Clergy was Assembled at *Paris*, and vigorously prosecuted the Project they had form'd in the last Estates in Order to the Ruin of the *Reform'd*. The Bishop of *Macon* made a Speech to the King on the second of *June*, at the Head of the Deputies of that Body:

The Bishop of Macon's *Speech.*

Body: And it is eaſie to Judge by the Style of it, that the Catholicks were no longer inclin'd to uſe the *Reform'd* equitably. He call'd the *Reform'd Monſters*, and compar'd their Church to *Agar*, ſtyling it a *Concubine*. He acknowledg'd that the Clergy diſſembled with them, and only Tollerated them for the ſake of Peace. He maintain'd that the Catholick Churches were happier under the *Turks*, where the free Exerciſe of their Religion was allow'd, than in thoſe Places where the *Reform'd* were Maſters. His Complaints were grounded particularly upon Three Points. The firſt was, that the Biſhop of *Mompelier* having been deſirous to introduce Reform'd *Jacobins* into the Monaſtery the Friars of that Order had in the ſaid City, by the Conſent, as he ſaid, of the Old ones, of the General of the Order, and by the Authority of the Parliament of *Thoulouſe*, the Inhabitants inſtead of allowing that Alteration, had not only refus'd to receive the New ones, but had turn'd the Old ones out of the City. But the Biſhop did not ſay what had induc'd the Inhabitants to do it. The Biſhop of *Mompelier* had for a long while occaſion'd continual diſorders and diſputes there, and had offended the *Reform'd* by the boldneſs of his Enterpriſes. Whither it were then, that they were afraid that theſe New Friars, under pretence of an Auſtere Reformation, might be indued with a more ſeditious Spirit, and conſequently more capable to ſecond the ſaid Prelate in his deſigns; or whither it were that remembring the Original of that Order, which had Signaliz'd it ſelf from its firſt Formation, by a thouſand Maſſacres, and who had acquir'd the Government of the Inquiſition in *Spain* by ſuch Qualifications, they were afraid theſe New comers might introduce this Spirit of Fury and Cruelty in *Mompelier*, and might have ſecret Inſtructions from their General tending to that End; Whither, I ſay, it were for the firſt, or laſt of theſe Conſiderations, the *Reform'd* refus'd to admit ſuch Gueſts. They involv'd the Old ones with the New, by reaſon that the one having given their Conſents to the Introduction of the others, it was evident by that, that they were animated by the ſame Spirit. 1617.

Jacobins turn'd out of Montpelier.

They refuſe to ſuffer a Jeſuit Preacher.

The ſecond cauſe of Complaint was, that the ſame People had

1617. had refus'd to ſuffer a Preacher in their City, whom the Biſhop had pitch'd upon to Preach there in Advent and in Lent. The Governour had undertaken to obtain their leave for it; and after having us'd Perſwaſions he had imploy'd Commands. But the reaſon the *Reform'd* urg'd was that the ſaid Preacher was a Jeſuit, and that the Members of that Order endeavouring to imbroil every thing where ever they came; it was but juſt to keep them out of Cities, in which the *Reform'd* had ſo much Intereſt to hinder Seditions and Diſorders. It was ſo evident that the Jeſuits only ſought to introduce themſelves in thoſe Places, to Plot ſomething againſt the Repoſe of the *Reform'd*, that apparently their Reaſons could not fail of being underſtood and approv'd of by all thoſe who were not prejudic'd by Paſſion. Moreover, there was a General Reaſon, which oblig'd the *Reform'd* to oppoſe all the Alterations the Catholicks endeavour'd to make in the Places of Surety; which was, that one of the Conditions granted with the Places of Surety, imported that no Innovations ſhould be made there. So that the Biſhop of *Mompelier's* Enterpriſes were Unjuſt; ſince they were two important Innovations, the one to introduce a New Reform of Friars into that City, and the other to call a Preacher thither of a ſuſpected Society, which had no right to ſend any. Yet the ſaid Biſhop was *Fenouillet*, for whom *Sully* had obtain'd the ſaid Biſhoprick, as I have related elſewhere.

The State of Bearn *falſely repreſented.*

The Third Complaint was the Uſe that was made in *Bearn*, of the Eſtates that did formerly belong to the Eccleſiaſticks. He ſpoke about it in the moſt Violent terms; as if it had been a Horrid Sacrilege, to apply to the Uſe of the *Reform'd* Churches Eſtates which had been ſo lawfully confiſcated and taken from thoſe that did formerly poſſeſs them. To move pitty the more, he deſir'd that Maſs might be re-eſtabliſh'd in above one hundred Pariſhes of that Principality, affirming with as much boldneſs, as if he had ſpoken the Truth, that out of thirty perſons there, there were five and twenty Catholicks. This was notoriouſly falſe; and I need not give a farther Proof of it in this place, than that in our Days after the Alteration of Religion, occaſion'd in that Province by

by Oppreſſion during the Civil Wars; by the Eſtabliſhment of ſeveral Monaſteries, that had ſeduc'd many Families; by whatever the Art, Violence, Promiſes and Threats of the Catholicks, and the Inconſtancy and Weakneſs of the People had been able to contribute towards it, there ſtill remain'd more *Reform'd* there than the Biſhop calculated by his Speech. Of about 33000 Families which Inhabited in *Bearn*, there were reckon'd about ſeven thouſand of them profeſſing the *Reform'd* Religion Ten years ago. But the Clergy ſeldom leave their Affairs imperfect, when after having put them in a pretty good condition, they only want an Impoſture to make an end of them. 1617.

Nevertheleſs, this Speech prov'd effectual; and the Turn he gave to his Remonſtrances was very well reliſh'd by the Court, which was reſolv'd to ſatisfie him, even before he had been heard. He had the boldneſs to ſay, that he did not deſire his Majeſty to croſs the Seas, to drive the Enemy of the Chriſtian Name out of the *Eaſt*; but only that he would be pleas'd to reſtore an intire Liberty to ſome Catholick Churches of his Kingdom, which he pretended were oppreſs'd by the Injuſtice of the *Reform'd*. This was the Character of that Prelat's Eloquence, that he fill'd his Diſcourſe with little Alluſions, among which ſome happen'd to be well apply'd. That which he made in this Place, alluding to the Cruiſado's undertaken to Conquer the Holy Land, and particularly to that of a Prince of the King's own Name, who was Canoniz'd in recompence of his having ruin'd his Kingdom, by thoſe Wars beyond Sea, flatter'd the King agreeably, who aſpir'd to imitate his Predeceſſor. Beſides, the Tacit Compariſon he made of the *Reform'd* that injoy'd Eccleſiaſtical Eſtates in *Bearn*, with the *Mahometans* Poſſeſſors of thoſe Places, to which an Ignorant Zeal leads ſo many Pilgrims, pleas'd all thoſe who were prejudic'd againſt the *Reform'd* with a Blind hatred, and already reſolv'd to Sacrifice them to the Paſſion of the Clergy. So that the Biſhop did not fail to obtain part of what he deſir'd.

The Effect of that Speech.

A Decree was made by the Council of State, on the 10th of *November* following, which allow'd the Catholics of *Montpelier*

A Decree authoriſing the Jeſuits to Preach in Montpelier.

1617. *pellier* to have Jesuit Preachers, and such others as the Bishop should think fit to send thither: Declaring that the King by his Briefs never design'd to deprive the Catholicks that inhabited in such Cities as were held by the *Reform'd*, of the Liberty of having such Secular, or Regular Preachers as the Diocesan should think fit to call thither: which was said by way of Interpretation of the Answers the King had given to * the *Cahiers* of the *Reform'd* in 1611. and 1612. which they made use of to keep the Jesuits out of the Places of Surety. The truth is that this Interpretation was Contradictory to the Answer: But they began to introduce a certain Policy into the Council, which makes a sport of the Credulity of the People, and which finds a way to destroy the most formal Laws, and those that are most clear, under pretence of Interpreting them. This singularity was also observ'd in the said Decrees, that the King did not so much as order the said Preachers to observe the Edicts, and to abstain from such Terms in their Sermons as might give Offence. Neither did the said Decree prove sufficient to Introduce the Jesuits into considerable Places; and the *Reform'd* oppos'd the said Innovation, as long as possible they could.

* *Petitions, or Addresses.*

A Decree of Restauration of the Ecclesiastical Estates that had been formerly confiscated in Bearn.

But the Bishop's Speech had a more speedy and greater effect, as to what related to the Affairs of *Bearn*. They obtain'd a Decree of Restauration, which gave a beginning to the Civil Wars, which only ended by the so long and so earnestly wish'd for Ruine of the *Reform'd*. Therefore I will enlarge a little upon this Subject, tho' there are some things in it which seem to be beyond the bounds of my Chief Design. In order to which I will repeat in this place, that the Affairs of *Bearn* had been very much discuss'd in the Chamber of the Clergy during the Session of the last Estates; and that their Deputies had chiefly demanded two things, of which the one tended to the other, and serv'd as a Degree to arrive to it: The first was the Re-union of the Principality of *Bearn* to the Crown: The second the Restauration of the Ecclesiastical Estates, which had been Confiscated about threescore Years before by the Authority of Queen *Jane*. The Council resolv'd to begin by the Re-union, as being that which admits

dmits of the most plausible Reasons, and which concern'd no body particularly. Nevertheless the *Bearnois* judg'd other. wise of it; and being perswaded that the Clergy only stir'd it, for their own advantage, or to oblige the Court in one hing, in order to obtain other favours from it in Recom- ence, they us'd their utmost Endeavours to ward that blow hich they believ'd to be fatal to the Liberty of their Coun- y. *La Force* was their Governor, a Man of Sence and ourage, who had Noble Places, and a great deal of Experi- nce; and who was much better pleas'd with being Governor f an Independent Principality, which was only considerable y its Soveraignty; than with a small Country which would e inconsiderable, being once mix'd with the other Provinces hat were United to the Crown. Therefore he did not fail to epresent the Consequences of that Affair to the *Bearnois*, and o second their Endeavours with great Courage and Vigour. e was nevertheless accus'd of having only been difficult to sa- sfie in that matter, to make himself the more considerable; nd that his only aim in opposing the Court was to be Indem- ify'd for what he was to lose by that Alteration.

1617.

Re-union of that Country to the Crown; which is oppos'd by the Estates.

La Force.

But there was another Man of great Authority in *Bearn* in hom the *Reform'd* who were the strongest there, repos'd a reat deal of Confidence. It was *Lescun* a Councellor in the overaign Council of the Country; a Sprightly, Resolute, igorous Man, who had Courage, Learning and Eloquence: nd the *Bearnois* held him in great Veneration for that gene- ous Love for his Country, and for the Publick Good, of which ve find no more Examples, unless it be in Ancient Histories. he Court on the contrary made him pass for a Factious Tur- ulent Person: And took a pretence to make him perish as a erturbator of the Publick Peace, by reason of the Undefati- gable Zeal he expres'd for the Welfare of his Religion, and f his Countrey. It is by those Rigors that all those who have im'd at Despotick Power, have stifl'd in all Hearts the Seeds of that Vertue, which was formerly the Noblest Character of he Hero's: Those were us'd by them as Criminals of State who look'd upon a Man of Honour to be oblig'd above all things to preserve the Privileges of his Countrey: And they

And Les- cun.

were

1617. were sensible that Men would lay aside that greatness of Soul formerly so much Reverenc'd, finding it only attended with Disgrace and Misfortunes: And that all such would be sent to the Gallows, or to the Block to whom Antiquity would have rais'd Triumphal Arches and Statues. This *Lescun* was depos'd to the Council, after the Clergy had caus'd the *Bearnois* to be summon'd there to be present at the Tryal of the Restauration of the Ecclesiastical Lands they pretended: But he was imploy'd at the same time in the Prosecution of both those Points; and he was amus'd long at *Paris*, without being expedited. Finally whether the Court was asham'd to try those Affairs in his presence, and that they were at a loss about his Titles, Remonstrances, and Reasons; or whither they were not as yet fully resolv'd about it, at a time when the Kingdom was threatned with a thousand other Troubles, he was sent back again: And to remove all manner of suspition of their designing to try the business after his departure, they return'd him the Pieces he had produc'd; and they made a Verbal promise to him that they would not end those Suits without first giving him notice of it, and without hearing him.

Deceit of the Court.

Nevertheless they broke their Word to him: And in the sequel they made use of the Writings he had produc'd, as a pretence to say that they had heard his Reasons and seen his Papers. Therefore at the beginning of *December* in the Year 1616. in order to prepare People to receive the Edict that was publish'd some Days after it, they put out a pretty fine Dissertation, upon the particular Question of the Re-union of *Bearn* to the Crown. It presuppos'd that the said Re-union had already been made before by *Henry* IV. When he did re-unite *Navar* by a solemn Edict, in the Month of *July* 1607. the general Terms of which extended the same Re-union to all the Estates that did belong to him, before the Crown fell to him: So that the thing in Debate was not properly the Re-union of *Bearn*; but, to put the said Re-union which was already made in Execution. The Author of it pretended that it was granted upon Right, and confirm'd by several Examples; That King's did contract a kind of Marriage with the Kingdom that fell to them; That the Re-union of their

Dissertation upon this matter.

their other Estates with that Crown, was as a Gift which they were oblig'd to make to it upon the account of that Marriage, which became part of that Crown; That several Kings before *Henry* IV. had done the like; and that the Case of *Bearn* was the same. And as one of the main Reasons the *Bearnois* alledg'd against those Examples, was that they only related to moving Estates, and such as paid Hommage to the Crown of *France*; whereas *Bearn* was an Independent Principality; They refuted this Pretension by a long Chain of Contrary Proofs. The first was drawn from the Ancient Division of *France*, whereby it appear'd that *Bearn* had been part of the Kingdom of *Aquitain*. The second was taken from the Privileges the *Bearnois* possess'd in *France*, where they were reputed Natives; and were not oblig'd to take Letters of Naturalization, to injoy the Prerogatives of *Frenchmen*. The third was grounded upon the Prince of *Bearn*'s having paid Hommage to the Kings of *England*, Dukes of *Aquitain*; That the same Princes had often appeal'd from the Judgment of their Barons to the Parliament of *Guyenne*, and from thence afterwards to *Paris*; That by some Passages of the fifteenth Book of the Registers of *Innocent* III. it did appear that the Duke of *Aquitain* had Commenc'd a Suit against the Vice-comte of *Bearn*, as a Lord to his Vassal. They alledg'd for the fourth, That the said Principality had been sometimes under the Jurisdiction of the Parliament of *Thoulouse*; and they added finally, That when the Lords of that Country had refus'd to pay Homage for it, War had sometimes been declar'd against them to constrain them to do it. 1617.

Suspension of Homage.

They granted that there was a Prescription of many Years in favour of the *Bearnois*: But then they said, That it could be no Plea for them, by reason of this Despotick Maxim, That no Prescription can avail against the Rights of the Crown, which are sacred, and can never be Alienated. A Maxim very opposite to Natural Right, which ever prejudges in favour of Liberty; and which wills that Servitude should be Establish'd by great Titles, but that they should be Abolish'd by short Prescriptions. Moreover they grounded the Nullity of the said Prescription, upon

1617. its proceeding from the Suspension of the Rights of *France* in favour of a King of *Navar*, who having been depriv'd of part of his Dominions, and reduc'd to retire with all his Court in *Bearn*, had not been prosecuted for the said Hommage, upon the account of his Zeal for the Service of *France*, for fear of adding Affliction to the Afflicted. They deny'd that ever the said Province was Infranchis'd by *Charles Martel*, as they pretended. They alledg'd the Example of the Re-union of *Bretagne*, which had been done notwithstanding the pretensions of the People who thought their Country Independent of the Crown; and who had formerly given the Name of * *Mauclerc* to one of their Dukes, Nam'd *Peter*; because that not understanding his Rights, he had acknowledg'd himself a Vassal of *France*: So that they claim'd a Right, deriv'd from an Injustice committed against the *Brittons*, even contrary to the Articles of the Treaty made with them when *Charles* VIII. Marry'd their last Dutchess, to do the same to the *Bearnois*. These are the Maxims of those who pretend to change the Nature of things by saying, *I will have it so.* What they have done once, whither justly, or unjustly, becomes an Example for the future; and whereas they have done it maugre the Complaints and Murmurings of the Parties concern'd, they have acquir'd a Right of doing the same as often as new Occasions offer themselves.

* *Ill Clerk.*

Inconveniencies attending the dis-union; and Advantages of the Union.

In the next place they endeavoured to prove, That the withdrawing of *Bearn* from the rest of the Crown would be liable to a Thousand Inconveniencies; that considering what had happen'd to *Navar*, by the Invasion of the *Spaniards*, who had Usurp'd it from a Prince who was too weak to defend it, every body ought to desire to see *Bearn* Incorporated in a State potent enough to defend it; That its situation at the Foot of the Mountains which serve for a Barrier to the two Kingdoms, requir'd to be united to that on the side of which it was seated. Moreover that they had no Intentions to ruine the Privileges of that Principality, nor to meddle with the Soveraignty of their Laws; That it was necessary to create a Parliament there not as in a Conquer'd Country, to keep them within the Bounds of Obedience: but to honour it as

s a Country in which *Henry the Great* was Born; That there were many Examples in Antiquity of Honours done to places hat were remarkable by the Birth of great Princes; That it was neceſſary to preſerve the old Laws and Cuſtoms of the *Bearnois*; and to diſmember ſome Lands that were under the Juriſdiction of the other Parliaments, in order to afford a larger Extent of Juriſdiction to that which ſhould be Created in *Bearn*. They added to all this, great Elogies of *Marquemont*, Arch-Biſhop of *Lyons*, who had ſeconded this Propoſition in he laſt Eſtates. They repreſented that Re-union as very advantagious for the whole Kingdom of *France*, which would hereby be freed on that ſide of forcing Incurſions; and for he Country of *Bearn* it ſelf, who would become a ſharer in he Glory and Happineſs of the reſt of the Kingdom. Finally n order to render the *Reform'd* Odious, as if the Oppoſition id only proceed from them, and from a Spirit of Faction, he Author ſpoke of that Re-union, or Conjunction as of a hing which the *Bearnois* earneſtly deſir'd; and he begg'd it f the King in their Names in very preſſing Terms. 1617.

By whom the Re-union was pretreated.

Nevertheleſs the *Bearnois* in general were very diſtant from hat Thought; and the major part of the Catholicks concurred with the *Reform'd* in the Deſign to prevent that Important Innovation. There were none but the Clergy ſeconded y the Houſe of *Grammont*, which was at odds with *La Force*, nd ſome others either too Credulous, or prejudic'd by Bigotry, or ſuch as expected to raiſe their Fortunes by ſuch an lteration, who further'd that Enterprize. No body was ignoant that the Clergy were the Authors of the aforeſaid Diſſertation; and none look'd upon them to be ſo well inclin'd to the ublick Good, as only to deſign the advantage of others. Moreover there was ſomething very ſingular; in that the deſign of that Re-union had been Inſpir'd by the Council of *Spain*, which endeavour'd it with all their might: Imagining erhaps that thoſe People who are naturally hot and preſumtuous would never ſuffer their contractual Laws to be Violated, without taking up Arms to maintain them: Or that the *Reform'd* Churches of *France* would never behold the ruine of hoſe of that Province without renewing the Civil Wars. It is

1617. most certain at least, that during the delays of that Affair, *Spain* did powerfully excite the Council of *France*. They furnish'd the Reasons and Proofs which were alledg'd against the pretensions of the *Bearnois*, and which were visibly taken out of the Titles of Convents, or *Spanish* Historians; out of the Registers of *Barcelonna*, the Archieves of the Metropolitan Church of *Tarracona*, and other places. Several Libels which were dispers'd upon that Subject, which seem'd to be Printed at *Avignon*, were nevertheless brought from *Spain*. It was easily prov'd by the way by which they were brought; and even without that it was easie to judge at the first reading, that *Spain* had a hand in them. The Stile of the *League* was apparent in them, which in all their Writings mention'd the King of *Spain*. One of those Libels, after having admonish'd the King not to suffer himself to be perswaded out of it, added these Words. *What would the Prince of the Church say? What would the Catholick King say? What would the Emperor say?* Which sufficiently shew'd that those Forreign Powers had a hand in it.

Motives of the Opponants.

Persons of Judgment easily saw, that the Promises of preserving the Rights and Privileges of that little state were nothing but an Illusion: Since the method they observ'd to effect the said Re-union violated their most Essential Rights; which consisted in not being members of another Body, but to be a Body a part, although in the Hands and under the Authority of the same Master. Besides, according to the Constitution of that Principality, no Law could be made there, nor reverst unless by the Approbation of the Prince and the Estates: Whereas the Prince would make that Re-union, like an absolute Master, contrary to the desire, and in spite of the opposition of the People: which was properly to trample upon the Law, which they call'd Fundamental and Contractual. As for the *Reform'd* they were very sensible that the Council would not stop there; That this first step was only a Tryal, to reduce the *Reform'd* Religion in *Bearn*, on the same Terms as it was in the rest of the Kingdom. The Policy of our Days would not allow such Countries as were not united to the Crown

Grown at the time of the Edict of *Nantes*, to injoy the Pri- 1617.
vileges of that *Edict*, becauſe they could not be deſign'd to be
comprehended in it at that time: But yet under *Lewis* XIII. it
would needs have it, that at whatever time the ſaid Re-union
was made, it was ſufficient to introduce the *Roman* Religion
there according to the Edict, in the ſame Splendor in which
it was thereby Eſtabliſh'd elſewhere. So that the *Reform'd*
of *Bearn* ſeeing Religion and Liberty were equally concern'd
in that Affair, omitted nothing to Ward a blow which would
occaſion the ruine of both. Whereupon their Enemies up-
braided them as being guilty of a very ſhameful, or very Cri-
minal Inconſtancy, in having formerly deſir'd their Churches
to be United to thoſe of *France*, in order to make but one
Body in the National Synods, and in the General Aſſemblies;
whereas they now expreſs'd ſo much Repugnancy to become
Members of the ſame Body Politick with the reſt of the King-
dom. But that Reproach did not move them, by reaſon that the
ſaid diverſity of Sentiments had been produc'd by the
diverſity of Conjunctures. They had deſir'd to be United with
thoſe Churches, in order the more to engage themſelves in the
Communion of their Doctrine: And they oppos'd the Union
of their Country to the Crown, as a thing which would ſerve
to introduce the General Oppreſſion of their Conſciences and
of their Perſons.

Therefore they anſwer'd the Diſſertation I have already *And their Anſwer to the Diſſertation.*
mention'd, applying themſelves more to deſtroy the Conclu-
ſion, than to refute the Arguments one after another; which
were compos'd of thoſe kind of Probabilities, which become
Demonſtrations in the Cauſe of the ſtrongeſt; but yet which
do not hinder People in point of Politicks to be ready to main-
tain the contrary, when their intereſt requires it. This Pam-
phlet under the Name of a Gentleman of *Navar*, maintain'd
that the greateſt Princes had ever been pleas'd to preſerve the
Titles of their Ancient Poſſeſſions, as Monuments of the
Grandeur of their Predeceſſors; That ſome of them ſtill re-
tain'd the Titles of Kings of *Jeruſalem*, and Princes of *Antioch*;
That *Henry* III. himſelf after having loſt the Crown of *Poland*,
had kept the Title of it; That the Republick of *Venice*, tho'

de-

1617. depriv'd of the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, would not suffer the Arms of that Soveraignty Carv'd upon a Column before the Church of St. *Mark* to be ras'd out; That those who were least favour'd by Fortune took as many Titles as they had Castles. That those who propos'd the Re-union of *Navar*, and of *Bearn* to the Crown, seem'd on the contrary only to be desirous to extinguish the Title of King of *Navar*, as if it were inconsistent with that of King of *France*; that though it were true that according to the General Acceptation of the World the greatest draws in the least, yet that it did not follow that the Glorious Name of *France* should Abolish that of *Navar*, and reduce the State of it into a Province by destr ying their Rights and Privileges; That it lessen'd the Authority of Kings to change their Kingdoms into Provinces; That the Triple Crown of the Popes, and the Thiara of the Kings of *Persia* show'd sufficiently that it is an honour to wear several Crowns; That the King of *Spain* did not confound his Kingdoms; That the Emperor though elevated above other Princes, was not asham'd of the Titles of King of *Bohemia* and of *Hungary*; That it was true that the King of *France* bearing the Name of those two Crowns, preserv'd the Right of Lawful Sovraign over both; but that in case all the Laws of the Kingdom were violated; it signify'd nothing to retain the bare Title of it; That God having made the Fundamental Laws of Monarchies, they cannot be Trampled upon without Sacrilege. That they were like the fix'd Star, which cannot change their Place unless when the Firmament turns.

The Edict of Re-union publish'd.

These were partly the Reasons of those who were afraid, that the Court design'd to submit as it came to pass, those remains of a free State, in which Oppression was still unknown to the Laws of a Kingdom in which the King's Authority began to grow excessive. But yet neither these nor the others could prevent the publishing of the Edict of Re-union, in the same Month in which those Writings appear'd. The Estates of *Bearn* oppos'd the said Edict, and nominated Deputies to assist the Syndicks of the Country to draw their said Opposition in form. They positively maintain'd that *Bearn* was a Soveraign Lordship distinct from all other Soveraignty; That the

he *Bearnois* being Govern'd by Laws and Cuſtoms had only E- 1617.
ected Sovereigns in order to maintain thoſe Cuſtoms, without
llowing them the Power to Alter, Correct, or to reform them
ithout the Eſtates of the Country, and by their Conſent.
hat this was their Contractual Fundamental Law, which the
rince was oblig'd to ſwear to keep at his Inauguration; That
cording to that, the King could not alter it; That *Henry*
. himſelf had rejected the Propoſition of it, being unwil-
ng to wrong a Country in which he was Born. Thoſe Con-
derations made them hope that provided they could be heard
the Council, they might obtain ſomething favourable from
But inſtead of receiving any ſatisfaction from them, they
ve them freſh Cauſes of Complaint; and the Aſſembly of
e Clergy obtain'd a Decree of Reſtauration of the Church *The Clergy obtain a Decree of Reſtauration.*
nds, after having ſo long ſollicited for it. *Maniald*, one
the Deputies General, who ſtaid at *Paris* while his Col-
gue went to *Vitre* to aſſiſt at the National Synod there, be-
g inform'd that the Council was preparing to give the ſaid
ecree, remonſtrated on the 21ſt of *June*, that it was fit to
low *Leſcun* time, according as it was promis'd to him, to
pair to the Court again to give in his Reaſons, and to deli-
r thoſe Papers into the King's Hands which were return'd to
m the preceeding Year. But the Clergy prevail'd notwith-
nding this juſt Remonſtrance. *Du Vair*, who was made
eeper of the Great Seal, and who did not think himſelf un-
orthy of a Cardinal's Cap, bely'd in this occaſion, as in
veral others, the Reputation of Probity he had acquir'd,
fore his being rais'd to that Dignity: And in order that all
e Clergy might ſhare the favour of one of the Members of
eir Body, he puſh'd on that Affair with all his Credit. So
at on the 23d of the ſaid Month in the preſence of *La Force*,
ho us'd his utmoſt endeavours to hinder it, a Decree was
ven in the Council, by which the King order'd the ſaid
roceſs to be brought before him: And two Days after it a
efinite Decree was given to the ſatisfaction of the
lergy.

This

1617. This Decree declar'd positively that the Deputies had been heard, and that the Council had seen the Writings and Answers; and ordain'd three things.

Which declares that the Deputies have been heard, and the Writings seen.

First, The Restitution of Church Lands, and the Restauration of the Catholick Religion, throughout the Principality of *Bearn*.

Secondly, The preservation of the *Reform'd* in all their Privileges; and the Reimplacement of the Sums that were taken from them by the said Decree of Restauration, upon the Ancient Demesne of *Bearn*; and in case that were not sufficient, upon the Demesnes of the Adjacent Places; according to which it was said, that the Sums should be stated upon the Expence of the Houshold, as ordinary and local Charges, which were to be acquitted before all others, the Assignments of which should not be Converted to any other use. They had bethought themselves of this Illusion of Reimplacement, to render the said Decree of Restauration more tollerable to such as only judge of things by appearances: And indeed the Churches and all particular Persons seem'd thereby to be Indemnify'd.

Finally the Decree adjourn'd the Demand of the Clergy to be admitted into the Estates of the Country, to the return of the Commissioner the King would send thither to put the said Decree in Execution. After which the King writ to those who had the management of the Ecclesiastical Affairs in *Bearn* to send some body at Court to be present at the making of the said Reimplacement.

Subtilty of the Clergy.

It was an Exquisite Subtilty of the Clergy, to order that Affair in the Nature of a Civil Process, as if it had only been a Contesteation between private Persons: Whereas the thing in question was to revoke a Law, pass'd by the Authority of the Soveraign, with the Consent of the Estates, for the punishment of a Rebellious Clergy, who had betray'd their Lawful Princes, and caus'd their Subjects to take up Arms to deprive them of their Inheritance. But they were sensible that it would prove an easier Task to judge a Process, than to revoke a Law grounded upon such good Reasons. Nevertheless as Decrees are no Laws in *France*, they were oblig'd afterwards

wards to convert the ſaid Decree into the form of an Edict, 1617.
o the end that the Inrollment of it might be perform'd with
more Formality. In the mean while the Clergy being un-
willing to appear Ingrateful, caus'd the Biſhop of *Aire* to *A Violent Speech.*
eturn the King Thanks on the 18th of *July*; whoſe Speech had
etmore Violence in it than the Biſhop of *Macon*'s. Among
he Complaints which follow'd thoſe Thanks, there was one
gainſt the Book of the four Miniſters, and againſt their De-
ication to the King. He call'd them *Impudent*, Miniſters *of*
rreligion and of Falſhood, and he ſtil'd their Religion the *Whore*
f Satan. He bragg'd that they had been forc'd to lay down
he Cudgels in the Conferences of *Mantes* and of *Fontaine-*
leau. He Elevated the Fidelity of the Clergy very high;
nd in order to create Jealouſies about the *Reform'd*, he ap-
ly'd to them what the King of *England*, had ſometimes ſaid
f the Independents of his Kingdom of *Scotland*. After this,
hen the Aſſembly broke up they charg'd their Agents with a
Cahier containing 46 Articles: And they acquitted them- * *Petition.*
elves ſo well of what was recommended to them upon that
ubject, that excepting only one Article they obtain'd all
heir Demands, as I will obſerve elſewhere.

The News of this Decree being carry'd into *Bearn*, the E- *The Bearnois endeavour to Ward the Blow.*
tates who were Aſſembled at *Orthez* reſolv'd to undergo any
hing rather than to put it in Execution, being equally of-
ended at the thing, and at the manner of it. A Decree given
ontrary to the Promiſe made to *Leſcun*, and without having
eard half of what the Parties concern'd had to ſay: eſpeci-
lly a Decree which in a Deſpotick manner abrogated Laws
hat had been made with all the requir'd Solemnities, ſeem'd
o them unjuſt, not being ſenſible as yet, that Modern Policy
alls nothing Juſtice but the Will of the Strongeſt. They De-
uted *Leſcun* to the King with humble Remonſtrances, and to
ntreat him to allow that the Deputies his Majeſty ſhould de-
re them to ſend to him to be preſent at the making of the
eimplacement, might be choſen in an Aſſembly compos'd
f the three Eſtates of *Bearn*, and the Deputies of all the
Churches of *France*. *Leſcun* took Letters in his way from
Rochel, from whence the Aſſembly was already gone. He

1617. could not obtain an Audience at St. *Germains* before the 17th of *September*. *La Force* presented him; The Deputies General seconded him; and acquainted the King that all the Churches of the Kingdom would have writen to him as well as *Rochel*, if they could have met together again without offending him.

Remonstrances of Lescun.

Lescun made an Excellent Speech to the King, and seconded the Petition he presented to him from the Estates with powerful Reasons; alledging that the Contractual Law had been duly observ'd for the space of above three hundred Years, and that there was no example of its having been Violated; or that ever the Customs receiv'd in *Bearn*, according to that Law had been alter'd, otherwise than by the Consent of the Estates. He desir'd an Answer to a *Cahier* of Grievances, and to divers Petitions he had presented; and begg'd a Prosecution might be made against the Authors of a Libel, Intitul'd *Le Moine*, which had been writen upon the Affairs of *Bearn* in a stile full of Venom and Violence. One may judge of it by what the Author said; that it was in the power of the Catholicks to destroy the *Reform'd*, and that the only thing which hinder'd them from doing it, was that they valu'd the Life of one Catholick more, than the Death of a hundred *Huguenots*. In another which introduc'd two Peasants speaking about the Affairs of the Times, they made one of them say, That the *Huguenots* were Impudent to complain of St. *Bartholomew's* Day, and to call the Butchery of it, a *Massacre*; by reason that it was one of the most Equitable Acts of Justice that had ever been, or that ever could be done. Moreover *Lescun* deny'd whatever had been said of the State of *Bearn* by the Bishop of *Macon*. He affirm'd that the Catholicks were so far from being Twenty five in Thirty there, that on the contrary the *Reform'd* were Ten to One, particularly among Persons of Consideration; and that they sustain'd almost all the Charges; That the Catholicks were so far from being ill serv'd in the Exercises and Rites of their Religion, that they had upwards of 300 Priests, besides Bishops, Canons, and Preachers; whereas the *Reform'd* had but 60 Ministers; That the

Libels.

The State of Religion in Bearn.

the Catholicks were alſo ſo far from being inconvenienc'd in their Worſhip, being forc'd to ſeek out places diſtant from their Habitation to perform the ſame, that moſt of them had Maſs ſaid at home, or very near them; whereas the *Reform'd* in ſeveral Cantons went to Church at three Leagues diſtance from their Houſes; That the Catholicks had three parts in four of the Churches, and poſſeſs'd two thirds of the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues; That the number of thoſe which were Enemies to their Churches daily increas'd, whereas of late the Places of Miniſters which became vacant by Death, were ſuppreſs'd by the King's Authority. 1617.

These Caſes were conſiderable enough to deſer e to be clear'd, before a Definitive Judgment were given in that Affair: Since that if *Leſcun* ſpoke the truth, nothing could be more ridiculous or falſe than the Complaints of the Clergy, nor more Inhumane or Unjuſt than their Ambitious Proſecutions. But Equity had already for ſome years been baniſh'd from the Court. Juſtice and Sincerity were Bury'd with the late King; and as little care was taken to raiſe them out of the Grave as to revenge his Murther. Principally in Affairs of Religion, the falſe Aſſertion of a Biſhop though contrary to what was publickly known was believ'd to the prejudice of the *Reform'd* when they alledg'd Truths atteſted by Proofs above all Exceptions. Therefore *Leſcun* obtain'd nothing, but leave to treat of the Affairs of the Churches of *Bearn* joyntly with thoſe of the other Churches of the Kingdom, and by the ſame Deputies. The meaning of this was that by virtue of the Re-union, they were look'd upon as making but one Body with the others; That their particular Complaints were laid aſide, and order'd to be Annex'd to the General Affairs; and that whereas the Court only granted Illuſory Words to the reſt of the Churches upon their Remonſtrances, thoſe of *Bearn* were to expect the ſame Treatment. Leſcun *only obtain Words.*

Accordingly, while the Eſtates of *Bearn* were preparing their Inſtructions, and that *Leſcun* was ready to carry them to the Court, the King anſwer'd the * *Cahier* left by the Clergy to their Agent; and without acquainting *Leſcun*, or the Deputies General in the leaſt with it, the King granted them on *The Cahier of the Clergy is favourably anſwer'd.* * *Petition or Addreſs*

1617. the last of *August*, besides the restitution of all the Ecclesiastical Houses, and Church-yards on certain Conditions, the Presidentship in the Estates of the Country; The admission into the Common-Council and Soveraign Courts; The Exemption from all Jurisdiction but the Popes; The Establishment of Jesuits in *Bearn*, without restriction of Number, or of Functions, and without retrenching any thing of the Privileges of Scholarship from those who should study in their Houses. One Article only was excepted against. The Clergy desir'd four Cities of Surety in *Bearn*. This could be of no use to them, in a Country where according to their own relation there were six Catholicks to one *Reform'd*. Moreover the said Proposition was most ridiculous in the mouth of those very Persons, who had imputed it as a great Crime to the *Reform'd*, to have taken such Precautions with their King. But 'tis the Nature of Mankind: We daily see Persons who Exempt themselves from Common Laws; and think those things Lawful in them, which they impute as Crimes to the rest of the World.

1618. *The Effect of those Advantages is prosecuted without.*

After this great Victory, the Bishops of *Bearn* went to *Bourdeaux*, and to *Thoulouse* to obtain the Verification of the Edict publish'd upon the aforesaid Restauration: After which the Bishop of *Oleron* came back to Court, and the Bishop of *Lescar* repair'd into *Bearn*, in order to press on both sides the Accomplishment of an Affair so far advanc'd. He had the Cunning to flatter *La Force* with the hopes of a Marshal's Staff, and a Sum of Money to Indemnifie him; by which means the said Lord promis'd to obtain the Approbation of the Edicts of Re-union and Re-implacement in *Bearn*. But he soon perceiv'd that the Court Laugh'd at him. They thought they might dispence with his Credit, because they had a Party in *Bearn* which would get the upperhand, though never so weak, being seconded by the King's Authority. This Party consisted of the remainders of the Faction of *Grammont*, which had been so famous for the Disputes between them and that of *Beaumont* their Rival, which had finally occasion'd the loss of the Upper *Navar*, which *Ferdinand* had Usurp'd. The Count of *Grammont* was a profess'd Enemy to *La Force*, being

being Jealous of his Authority, and for other particular Reasons: Insomuch that his Relations and Friends being joyn'd to those which the Zeal of Religion, the Credit of the Bishops and Confessors, the Pensions, or the hopes, the Levity, or the imprudence of the People could ingage in the same Interest, were preparing a considerable Succour for the Court. Moreover *Luines* hated *La Force*; either because he had an Aversion for all those who had Merit and Capacity; or because *La Force* had two Sons at Court, who began to get too great a share in the King's Favour, to expect any from a Favourite full of Ambition and Jealousie. They were *Aimet* and *Mompouillan*, who had been bred with the King from their Infancy, and had wherewithal to obtain a preference before all others of their Rank. Particularly *Mompouillan* advanc'd apace towards the highest degree of Favour; and he seem'd only to want a little more Age, to have as great a share in the Government, as he possess'd already in his Prince's favour. *Luines* had imploy'd him to raise his own Fortune upon the Ruine of the Marshal *d'Ancre*. The Clergy had us'd their utmost Endeavours at that time to obtain the aforesaid Decree of Restauration; and *Luines* told *Mompouillan*, in order to animate him the more against that Odious Favourite, that he was the Man who seconded the Pretensions of the Prelates; and moreover that he design'd to take the Government of *Bearn* from *La Force*, lest he should hinder by his Credit, the alterations they propos'd to make in that Principality. So that *Mompouillan*, a young Man without Experience, thinking to promote the advantage of his Family, promoted *Luines*, speaking continually of the said Marshal to the King, as of a Man that Usurp'd his Authority, and did abuse it to the prejudice of every body. By this means he ruin'd his Favour, to lay the foundation of anothers: And when *Luines* had destroy'd the Marshal *d'Ancre*, the only Recompence he bestow'd on *Mompouillan*, who had serv'd him so effectually in that Affair, was to involve his whole House in his Personal Disgrace. Neither was it likely that *Luines* would promote the Fortune of the Father, since he dreaded the Progress of that of the Children; nor that a Man whose Favour was not yet setled, would

1618.

1618. would suffer the Children of an Ingenious Man near the King or that the Jesuits would permit that Prince to honour Here*ticks* with his Confidence and Affection.

Inequalities of La Force.

La Force by endeavouring to keep measures between the Court and *Bearn*, as if he had had a prospect thereby to render himself the more necessary on both sides, by forming difficulties which he should have the honour to remove, created Jealousies on both sides: And finding that he was play'd upon by the Court, he was oblig'd to protect *Bearn* a little more than he had done, in order to preserve some Credit and some Recourse. But the Marshal *de Bouillon* only had the Art to gain by those Intrigues; and to behave himself with so much prudence, or good Fortune; that he was equally courted on both sides; That he was at once the Author of the Leagues that were form'd by his Advice, and the Mediator who dissolv'd them by his Intermission; ever in Credit with the Princes and Lords, over whom his Genius had an Ascendent; and ever caress'd at Court, because they could never dissipate the Confederacies he had form'd without him. Nevertheless *La Force* finding at last that neither his Merit, nor his Services could procure him the Recompences that were due to him, and which had been promis'd him while *Henry* IV. was alive, took the contrary Party like a Wise Courtier: And being sensible that the best and most effectual way to obtain what one desires from the Court, is often to make ones self to be fear'd, he rais'd so many Obstacles against his Enemies, that they were forc'd in order to retrieve him, to grant him, what they had refus'd in order to keep him.

The Country of Bearn *pursues in this Opposition.*

This Affair occasion'd several Assemblies to be made in *Bearn*, several Oppositions, and several Decrees by the Soveraign Council: And the Court omitted no means to succeed in the said undertaking. They were sensible that according to the Rigour of Right the Enterprize was unjust: But the Clergy being little sensible to Reasons of that Nature, and allowing a large Extent to the old Maxim which permits to Violate Right in order to Reign, think that they may trample upon it to promote their Interest. Moreover the King was Imbark'd in that Affair: And according to the new Policy, they were of opinion

inion that a Prince being once ingag'd can never retract. 1618.
he injuſtice of a deſign is no longer a reaſon to break it, when
nce it is form'd; by reaſon that Injuſtice ceaſes as ſoon as Su-
eam Power is engag'd. A Soveraign makes and deſtroys
ight by a Word. Whatever is juſt, or unjuſt before he has
onounc'd, alters its Nature as ſoon as he ſays, *I will have it*

During theſe Conteſtations, as ſeveral Libels were pub- *Writings on their behalf.*
ſh'd againſt the *Reform'd* and againſt the *Bearnois*, theſe al-
ſet forth Volumes of Manifeſto's and Apologies. There
ppear'd a Writing of that Nature Printed in *London*, Intitu-
d, *A Diſcourſe of the Seiſure of Eccleſiaſtical Eſtates in* Bearn,
c. The Author treated the thing at large, and began by
he occaſion of that Seiſure. He related the Conſpiracy of
he Catholicks of the Country againſt Queen *Jane* and the
rinces her Children, which I have mention'd elſewhere;
heir Retreat to *Rochel* during the revolt of their Subjects;
he Reduction of the Country to their Allegiance by *Mongom-*
ery; The Seiſure of the Eſtates in order to puniſh the Ec-
leſiaſticks; The *Reform'd* eſtabliſh'd by the Queen's Autho-
ity, and by the approbation of the Eſtates; The Aſſignment
f the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtates for the maintenance of the Mini-
ters, the Poor, Scholars, Colleges, and the Rectors, or Su-
eriors of the ſame: Of the Garriſon of *Navarreins*; of the
ing's Lieutenant; of the Council and the Soveraign Court;
f the Captains of ſome Caſtles; of the Counſellors and Au-
itors of the Chamber of Accounts, and of other principal
nd neceſſary Officers: The Inſtitution of an Eccleſiaſtical
enate, compos'd of two Councellors, two Auditors, two
Gentlemen, two Miniſters, two Qualify'd Perſons from the
Third Eſtate, an Eccleſiaſtical Attorney, and a Treaſurer Ge-
neral to have the direction of the ſaid Aſſignments; The Oath
taken by the late King in 1581. to preſerve the Old Laws and
Cuſtoms, and all the Advantages and Grants to which his Pre-
deceſſors, or himſelf had conſented; the Suppreſſion of the
Eccleſiaſtical Senate ſome years before by *Mioſſans*, who ne-
vertheleſs made no alteration as to the Deſignation of the ſaid
Penſions; The Proteſtations of the Eſtates againſt the ſaid
Enter-

1618. Enterprise; The reiteration of their Opposition; The Confirmation of all the Regulations made by Queen *Jane* by the Edict of 1599. which restor'd the *Roman* Religion in *Bearn*; and that which *Lewis* XIII. had made in 1610, 1611, 1614, 1615. of all the Edicts of the late King and his own. After which the Author made Reflexions upon the manner in which the said Restitution had been made: And he observ'd very justly upon the Edict of Reimplacement, that it could not be of more force than those which had been revok'd; That the Pope and the Clergy would never be at rest, until those new Regulations were violated, as well as others that were more Authentick; which were treated at *Rome* as liable to Destitution, the Princes concern'd in them as Favourers and Promoters of *Heresie*; That the Demesnes of *Bearn* were unalienable, and that the Successor was oblig'd to redeem the Ingagements made by his Predecessor; That a perpetual Engagement of the Revenue is an effective alienation of the Estate; That the remainder of the Assignments were given out of the Country, contrary to their Privileges, and in Suspicious Places, among the Enemies of the *Reform'd* Religion. He added Remarks upon the Nature, Original, and necessity of Tythes; and he concluded that the *Reform'd* could not lawfully be oblig'd to pay theirs to Catholicks. Finally he said that the King leaving the Ecclesiastical Estates in *Bearn* in the same Condition in which Queen *Jane* had put them, might have made the Reimplacement of the Sum to which the Revenues in dispute amounted, upon his Demesnes in favour of the Clergy. This Expedient would have look'd more reasonable undoubtedly: And the Clergy would have been better able to improve the said Reimplacement, by their Credit in the Council, than the *Reform'd*, to whom all things were contrary.

Why the Clergy would not take the said Reimplacement for themselves.

But the real truth is, that the said Indemnification was only a blind to deceive the *Bearnois*, and to induce them to bear the rest with patience: Therefore the Clergy who did not think it safe, were not so ill advis'd as to content themselves with it. The Court which had granted that Reimplacement upon the Remonstrances of *Du Plessis* Comptroller General of *Navar*; and at the Intreaty of the Duke of *Rohan* to persuade

ade the World that they proceeded in that matter, upon 1618.
e hearing of the Parties, and an ample knowledge of the
uſe, would have wanted no pretence to make it void at
eaſure. A reply was made to the ſaid Writing of the *Bear-*
is in the Name of the Catholicks: But the Author of the
eply did not meddle with the Conſpiracy of the Catholicks
Bearn againſt their Soveraign. Being favour'd by this ſi-
nce he repreſented the War made againſt thoſe Rebels by
ongommery, by the Authority of the Queen and of her Chil-
n, as a Chain of ſeveral Maſſacres: He ſaid that the Seiſure
the Eſtates belonging to the Clergy, had only been made
oviſionally; but he did not add that two years after it the
ueen had actually Converted it into an adjudg'd Fact, inſti-
ting perpetual Adminiſtrators of the ſaid Seizures, which
ere to be imploy'd by them to other uſes. He pretended that
e Eſtates that had made the ſaid Alteration, could not be
oked upon as lawful, ſince the Eccleſiaſticks had been ex-
uded, which were to compoſe part of them: As if there
d been no Lawful Eſtates in the World before there was a
lergy; or that a whole Country concurring with their So-
raign, had not naturally a Right to alter ſome Circumſtan-
s in the form of the uſual Government. He added that
oſe new Laws could not paſs for Fundamental ones, by rea-
n that ſuch Laws muſt take their Births with the States: A
axim which the Clergy had adopted in the laſt Eſtates Ge-
ral, to oppoſe the Article which the Third Eſtate pretended
be for the ſurety of Kings: But a very falſe Maxim, ſince
is moſt certain that intire Eſtates compos'd of a Head and
embers, may give the force of Fundamental Laws to all
ch as they agree upon, and that are neceſſary to ſecure the
ranquility and Proſperity of the Publick: Otherwiſe no-
ing would be more unfortunate than Humane Society, if
e firſt Laws under which they were form'd being either ren-
r'd of no force by Artifice, or violated by force, it were ei-
er impoſſible or unlawful to re-eſtabliſh them upon new
undations. He affirm'd with the ſame boldneſs, that Prin-
s never Swear to obſerve the Laws of their Predeceſſors;
hich is prov'd to be falſe, by all ſorts of Teſtimonies, by

An Anſwer to the Writing of the Bearnois.

1618. all the Lights of Reason, by all that can be call'd Right and Justice, and by all those things which make the certainty of Humane Affairs. In the next place he declar'd, that the late King design'd to do what his Son had done: And that the only reason that had hinder'd him from so doing, was that he durst not: A falsity often advanc'd by the Clergy, since that Princes being no longer in a condition to give them the Lie; and which has been extended by the Missionaries, and by those that have drawn the Plan of the Persecution of our Days, even to his own Edicts, though he was really so Jealous of them that he would never have attempted the least thing against them. His known Integrity, his great Designs, his reiterated Protestations, and his constant practice during the space of Twelve Years, are sufficient Testimonies of his Disposition towards the Religious Observation of such useful Laws.

A Continuation of the said Answer.

Nevertheless in order to prove that the said Prince had design'd to alter the State of *Bearn*, the Author recited all the Grants he had made to divers Bishops in those Parts, to their Chapters, to the Curates, Abbots and Priors, and to all the Ecclesiasticks: From which the *Reform'd* would have had more reason to conclude, that the Clergy is never satisfy'd, than the Clergy to conjecture that the late King would have been capable to break his Word. He repeated the Instances made by the Clergy during the Estates General in 1615. and in their Assembly in 1617. and because an Illusive Audience had been given to the two *Diserote* Father and Son, Ministers of *Bearn*, before that Affair was judg'd, he maintain'd that they had been admitted to make a full defence. He Laugh'd at the Precription of Fifty Years which the *Bearnois* pleaded; and oppos'd that of the Clergy to it, which he ridiculously made to amount to 1500 years: As if the Possession of the Clergy had preceded not only the Temporal Greatness of the Bishops, but even the first Preaching of the Gospel at the foot of the *Pyrenean* Hills. The rest of the said Writing was abusive. He spoke of the Reimplacement as if it had been the effect of a pure Favour, which render'd the opposition of the *Reform'd* very unjust. He talk'd of the Tithes as of a thing which having belong'd to the Ecclesiasticks before the Seisure, ought

be reſtor'd by the Edict which rever'd it; and he main- 1618.
in'd moreover that the Eſtates of the Church were unalien-
ble, as Eſtates of which God was the Proprietor: A Mona-
ical Maxim, which making God Poſſeſſor of Lands and Re-
enues, and Titles of Vanity, ſhamefully debaſes to a Terte-
rial and Temporal Nature, a Reign altogether Spiritual and
eavenly, which *Jeſus Chriſt* exerts over his Church. He
ndeavour'd to Inſinuate to the King, that the *Reform'd* de-
ring to be freed from paying of Tithes to the Eccleſiaſticks,
eſign'd to keep for their Miniſters both the Tithes and the
ums that were granted to them in lieu thereof. He conclu-
ed by a Maxim very proper to remove the force of the moſt
olemn Edicts, *viz.* That they only ſerv'd to preſerve an anci-
nt Right in favour of thoſe for whom they were made; but
hat they did not create a new Right. According to which
lotion it was eaſie to revoke whatever paſs'd for a new
oncеſſion, or that was derogatory to the Ancient Right, in
he Edicts which had given a Peace to the Kingdom.

But the *Reform'd* of *Bearn* were not the only People againſt
hom Injuſtices were committed. The Court was not more
quitable towards thoſe of other Provinces. The Commiſſi-
ners that were ſent to redreſs ſome Contraventions, made
one but Illuſive Ordinances: And whereas in the foregoing
eign all Difficulties were for the moſt part decided favoura-
ly for the *Reform'd*, they began under this to give nothing
ut advices of a removal to the Council, of ſharing or divid-
ng Judgments in which the Artifice of the Catholick Com-
niſſioner render'd the cleareſt Rights doubtful, which even
hoſe of his own Religion were aſham'd of. So that the *Re-
orm'd* finding that the Commiſſioners did them no good in
he places where they had been ſent, did no longer deſire the
Court to ſend any elſewhere, leſt they ſhould do more harm
han good. *Renard* who was ſent into *Bearn*, was at the ſame
ime Commiſſary in *Guyenne* with *Luſignan*: But when they
reſs'd him to perform his Commiſſion, at leaſt in ſuch places
s ſhould happen in his way, he refus'd it; and the reaſon he
lledg'd for his refuſal was, that he would firſt ſee the effect
f his Journey into *Bearn*; as if he had had a mind to inſi-

1618. nuate, that in case the *Reform'd* of that Principality did not content him, he would make the others answer for it. And indeed he had receiv'd orders from the Court to behave himself so, to keep the *Reform'd* of the Adjacent Provinces in suspence; to the end that the hopes of being gratify'd by the Commissioners, and the fear of losing the benefit of their Commission, should hinder them from ingaging too far in the Affairs of *Bearn*, which they were unwilling they should meddle with. The Parliament of *Paris* refus'd to receive the two Places of Counsellors which have been so often mention'd; of which the one was that of a Catholick who had imbrac'd the *Reform'd* Religion, and the other was to serve to Indemnifie them for the loss of that of *Berger* who had made himself a Catholick. They had obtain'd from the King upon that Subject an Edict, Mandates, and Verbal Orders, which appear'd very express: Nevertheless the Parliament did not yield; and the Court of Aids was not less severe upon the Subject of the Exemption of the Ministers. But under a very absolute Government, which exacted from all the Orders of the Kingdom base Submissions towards the Favourite, this Disobedience perswaded the most suspicious that there was a Guile, and that the Court was willing the Parliament should disobey.

Enterprises upon the Cities of Surety.

So many Enterprises were made upon the Places of Surety, that it was hardly credible that it should be attempted without secret Orders. Some were made upon *Tartas*, upon the Mount of *Marsan*, upon the *Mass* of *Verdun*. Though *Fontrailles* had promis'd to turn Catholick whenever they pleas'd, he still continu'd in *Leitoure*, and feign'd that he was still of the *Reform'd* Religion. They judg'd by the little regard he express'd to the weak Orders he receiv'd from the Court, that his deceit was not ill receiv'd there. *Desportes* who was a Capital Enemy to the *Reform'd*, maintain'd himself in a Fortify'd Castle, of which the *Reform'd* had order'd the Demolition by a Decree of the Council: It is true that for fear he should obey, they had given another which remov'd the Affair before the Commissioners, and still left *Desportes* in Possession; which occasion'd great Troubles in the *Cevenes* and the

1618.

he *Gevaudan*. *Antraguers*, againſt whom they made divers complaints, kept his Governments in ſpight of them.

The free exerciſe of the *Reform'd* Religion was hinder'd in ivers places; particularly at *Ruffec* in *Saintonge*, where it ught to have been allowed according to all Rules. The Marioneſs *de Ruffec* alledg'd for her reaſon that it was done with ut her Conſent: As if that Conſent had been neceſſary for oſe Places in which there was an evident Poſſeſſion, in the rms of the Edicts. The Duke *de Vendome* having taken Poſeſſion of the Caſtle of the City of his Name, by an Agreeent he had made with the Governor, did not fail to demoſh the Temple the *Reform'd* had built at the foot of the ſaid lace. He caus'd that Violence to be committed by his own ivery Men, without keeping the leaſt meaſures of Honeſty, Formalities of Juſtice. The Church of the ſaid Place made omplaints to him about it, which were the better groundd by reaſon that he had promis'd to leave all things in the me Condition he had found them. He ſeem'd to be inclin'd make ſome reparation for that Enterprize; though he really did not deſign it. He declar'd that he could not ſuffer in place, which he pretended to make part of his Baſſe-court, he free exerciſe of a Religion contrary to his: Beſides he had mind to take the advantage of the *Reform'd* of *Vendome*, who aving been in poſſeſſion of that Place from the very time of Queen *Jane*, thought that no body would diſpute a Right acuir'd by ſo long a Preſcription: For which reaſon they had orgot to take other Sureties from the late King beſides the dict. They were oblig'd to apply themſelves to the King, n order to obtain the reſtauration of their Temple. Comniſſioners were ſent on purpoſe to examine that Affair upon he very ſpot; but they could not determine it without great ifficulties. The Catholicks were often ready to proceed to he utmoſt Violences; and the *Reform'd* were not much wier. Finally the buſineſs was made up, theſe being oblig'd to elinquiſh part of their Right to ſecure the reſt; the Exerciſe of their Religion was remov'd out of the City, near one of the Gates, by a ſolemn Ordinance; and the King was at the Charge of building the Temple, and of the price of the Ground

The Exerciſe of the Reform'd *Religion hinder'd in divers places.*

1618. Ground on which it was built. Nevertheless this shew'd the *Reform'd* that the Court had no mind to favour them, since that in doing them Justice, even in the most reasonable things, they still abated something of their Right. The Parliament of *Bourdeaux* refus'd to remove Criminal Causes in which the *Reform'd* were concern'd to the Chamber of *Nerac*: And in order to have a pretence to retain them, they had the boldness to say, that all the Crimes the *Reform'd* were accus'd of, were so many Crimes of Treason, by reason that they were of a Religion contrary to the State. They were prosecuted in divers places for Crimes abolish'd by the Edicts; and particularly by that of *Blois*. The Jesuits increas'd in credit more and more; and had not only obtain'd a Decree on the 15th of *February*, which allow'd them to keep an open College at *Paris* for all sorts of Sciences, without regard to the Decrees to the contrary made by the Parliament, nor to the oppositions of the University: But also caus'd a Decree of the Academi's of Theology and Arts, to be revers'd, which declar'd that they would admit none to the Degrees or Privileges of Schollarship, but such as had study'd in their Colleges, or in those of the Accademies that were in Confederacy with them. They endeavour'd also to slip into the * Places of Surety. *Regourd* being sent to *Leitoure* by the Bishop, in the quality of a Preacher, The King took it ill that the Consuls had given him a Summons to depart from thence, alledging the quality of the place. He wrote to the Inhabitants to order them to suffer the Jesuit to remain and to Preach there; telling them that he hop'd that he would keep within the bounds of the Edicts. A thousand Disputes were made about the Burial of the *Reform'd*. The Countess *de Roussi* being Buried in the Quire near the Altar of the Parochial Church, the Attorney General took the thing in hand for the Curate; and declaring that the Church was Polluted by the Burial, obtain'd a Decree of the Parliament at *Paris*, which ordain'd an Information to be made against the said Contravention, and that the Church should be reconcil'd, if it had not been done already: Which implies the removal of the Corps by which the said Church had been profan'd.

Injustices of the Parliaments.

Jesuits.

* *Cities, Towns and Castles, granted to the Reformed for their safety by the Edicts.*

Burial.

All

All these Complaints, and many more being inserted in a long * *Cahier*, a Council was held on purpose at the Chancellors on the ninth of *July*, in which 33 of these well expres'd Articles were examin'd: But instead of any effectual satisfaction, they only obtain'd removals to the Chambers, and ineffectual Letters to the Governors and Judges of the said places. The *Cahiers* presented at the beginning of the Year had been answer'd in the same manner; and were not dispatch'd until the 21th of *February*. The Answers, tho' favourable in appearance, were only Evasions, to free the Council of the Importunities of the Deputies General. It is easie to judge of it by that which was written on the side of the 13th Article, in which the *Reform'd* complain'd that the Ecclesiasticks of *Languedoc* su'd them for the Demolishing of Churches and Convents during the Troubles; and Indicted them before the Parliament of *Thoulouse*, where the said Causes were retain'd, without any regard to the Removals desir'd by the *Reform'd*. This was one of the Crimes that are always abolish'd by the Edicts of Peace; and which are look'd upon as unavoidable Consequences of War, the Necessities of which neither respect Palaces or Churches, when they are places the Enemies may improve to their advantage. The King's Answer was, that he would not suffer any prosecution to be made upon the account of the Materials of the said Demolishments imploy'd to other uses during the Troubles; and he revers'd all Decrees to the contrary. This seem'd to be to the purpose; nevertheless it did not put a stop to the Prosecutions; and they were oblig'd to renew their Complaints. The truth is, that the form of the late King's Answers was partly the same: But there was this essential difference between his and his Sons, that the Fathers only serv'd, as it were, for Memoirs of the Commands he was to send into the Provinces to the Governors, and other Officers of Justice: Insomuch that the Answer had the force of a Law, by an express order to put it in execution; which he never fail'd of sending to such places where it was necessary: But the Son's Answers were only words, to free the Court of Importunities & Sollicitations: And whereas as soon as the Deputi's

1618

* *Petition, or Remonstrance Answers to the Cahiers*

were

1618. were out of sight, they forgot their Promises, the *Reform'd* receiv'd no benefit by it in the Provinces, where they Laugh'd at their answer'd *Cahiers*.

Illusive Remedies. The same Fate attended the other means, which had serv'd under the late Reign, to put them out of Trouble. A Removal or Appeal before the Commissioners was become a Jest, by reason that the *Reform'd* Commissioner was ever at the Devotion of the Court; and that the Catholicks having no favourable Instructions, suffer'd themselves easily to be prevail'd upon by the Clergy and by the Jesuits, which Persons of that Character have ever endeavour'd to oblige. A Confirmation of some Articles of the Edict violated by the Catholicks was but a Song; by reason that the Answer which granted it, not being seconded, could not obtain more respect than an Edict, so solemn as that of *Nantes*; or a better observation of the Settlements, which an Edict of that Consequence could not secure against the Injustice of a false Zeal. A Declaration of what the King would, or would not have, being weaken'd by the little earnestness that was express'd to put it in Execution, met with no Obedience. Perhaps I may inlarge more upon this Subject in another place: But this is sufficient in this place to shew the Effect of the Remonstrances and Petitions the *Reform'd* were daily oblig'd to present; *viz.* to obtain Illusive Remedies for real Evils; and to see the Clergy authoris'd to raise greater Persecutions against them, by the little redress they met with from the King's Authority, to oppose the first Attempts.

The End of the Fifth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Edict of NANTES.

VOL. II. BOOK VI.

A Summary of the Contents of the Sixth BOOK.

EXtream deſpair of the Bearnois. *An Aſſembly refus'd at* Caſtel-jaloux *and at* Tonneins. *They meet at* Orthez, *and are proſcrib'd. Sedition at* Pau. *Male of the Commiſſioner. Preſages and Devotions. Craft of the Council. Firſt and Final Mandate directed to the Sovereign Council of* Bearn: *Follow'd by Decrees of the ſaid Council.*

Sentiments of some particular Persons upon those Affairs. Dispositions of the Grandees. The State of Foreign Affairs. Dangerous Consequences of Moderate Councils. An Apology of the Conduct of the Bearnois. *Artifice of the Bishops of that Country. Remarks upon the Speech of the Bishop of* Macon. *Difficulties against the Reimplacement: Against the Tithes. Prescription. Conclusion. The Queen Mother makes her Escape from* Blois. *The Prince of* Conde *is put at liberty. The Assembly of* Orthez *Transferr'd to* Rochel *takes the King's part, and breaks up. Another Assembly allow'd at* Loudun. *Their Preliminary Demands. Why the* Reform'd *have so often renew'd the same Demands. The Court refers the Complaints to the General* * Cahier, *and other Articles of Complaints. The Assembly prohibits the Preaching of Jesuits, or other Monks in the Towns of Surety. Decrees of divers Parliaments to the contrary. Deputation, Letters and Remonstrances to the King. The* Reform'd *were inclin'd to serve the Queen Mother. A Vexatious Answer from the King, and the Effect of it. Oppositions of the Catholicks against the Settlement of a College at* Charenton. *Assembly of the Clergy. They are exempted from pleading in Courts where all the Judges are* Reform'd. *Reiterated Orders to the Assembly of* Loudun *to break up. An Expedient of Accommodation. An Unexpected Declaration against the Assembly. The Prince of* Conde *deceives the* Reform'd. *Affected diligence of the Attorney General. The Assembly remains steady. The Negotiations are renew'd. The Assembly obeys upon the Words of the Prince of* Conde *and of the Favourite. Effect of the separation of the Assembly. New Intrigues against the Favorite. The Duke of* Rohan *sides with the Queen. Scruples of the Queen Mother. The Power of the Party she forms. Useful Advice of the Prince of* Conde, *and ill advice of the Bishop of* Lucon. *Reasons of the Bishop. Defeat of the Queens Forces, follow'd by a Peace. Unexpected Journey of the King in* Bearn. *Faults of the* Reform'd, *and the Cause thereof. Remonstrances cannot stop the King: He arrives at* Pau: *Makes himself Master of* Navareins: *Takes the Oath: Alters the whole frame of the Government. Suppression of the Cap-*

tains

tains of the Parſans. *Treatment of the* Reform'd. *Injuries, Threatnings, Violences. The Evil encreaſes after the King's departure. Wickedneſs of the Biſhops. Cruelties of* Poyane. *Divers Relations of the King's Journey. National Synod of* Alais. *Political Settlement. The Miniſters deputed for the Synod of* Dort *give an account of the oppoſition they have met with to ſtay them. Affairs of the Synod croſs'd by a thouſand Artifices. They reſolve to ſend Deputies to the King, and revoke their Reſolution. All manner of Succors is refus'd to the Deputy of* Bearn. *Important Conſiderations wav'd. News of Conſequence ſuppreſs'd. Treachery of ſome Miniſters unpuniſh'd. Affairs of* Privas, *and their Original. Accommodation broken off by the Lord thereof. The Place is depoſited. Violences of the Garriſon, and Calumnies againſt the Inhabitants. An Aſſembly at* Anduze. *Behaviour of* Chatillon. *Churches attack'd. Invectives againſt the Synod of* Alais. *Aſſembly at* Gergeau. *Important Propoſitions. 1ſt. Whether they ſhall Vote by Heads, or by Provinces. 2ly. Whether they may Exceed their Inſtructions. Deliberations of the Aſſembly. Other Aſſemblies in* Anjou *and in* Burgundy. *Divers complaints of the* Reform'd *in thoſe Provinces. General Alarms of the Churches after the Alterations made in* Bearn. *Aſſembly at* Milhau *croſs'd by the Deputies of* Leſdiguieres *and* Chatillon. *Effect of the Promiſſes made to the Aſſembly of* Loudun. *Councellors receiv'd in the Parliament of* Paris. Leitoure *taken from* Fontrailles. *The Brief Sign'd for the keeping of the Places of Surety is not given. The intereſt of* Favas *haſtens the return of the Aſſembly at* Rochel. *Declaration which ſtiles it Unlawful. The Prince of* Conde *and the Favourite fail in their Guaranty to the* Reform'd. *A ſuppos'd Letter under the Name of the Duke of* Mombazon.

DUring theſe Tranſactions Peoples Minds were ſtrangely agitated in *Bearn*, and they loſt all manner of Patience, when they heard how the Court had receiv'd their Deputies; and the Interceſſion of the Deputies General. The Council would not allow the Deputation of the *Bearnois* to be real, and though it had all the Marks that were neceſſary to Authorize it, they reiected it, as being made in the Suburb of St. *Germains*, by Perſons who had no Authority. They 1618.

Extream Diſpair of the Bearnois.

1618. would hardly look upon the *Cahier* that was presented by those Deputies: And after having seen it, they granted nothing of what it contain'd. Moreover the King forbad the holding of any Assembly upon that Affair, and refus'd to hear either Apologies, or Remonstrances. These hard and absolute Proceedings cast those People into Despair, who had been us'd to a milder Treatment; and who judging of the Future by the present, foresaw that the oppression of which the first steps were so fierce and so cruel, would undoubtedly reduce them in the sequel to the most dismal Extremities of Slavery. Therefore those who had the management of that Affair, resolv'd to improve the Determination of the Assembly of *Rochel*, and to summon the Deputies of the Councils of the three Neighbouring Provinces, to Implore their Advice, and Assistance, to secure themselves. In order whereunto after having celebrated a Fast in all the Churches of *Bearn*, to beg of Almighty God a happy success in that Enterprise; they Conven'd an Assembly of the three Provinces at *Castel-jaloux*: But the thing being done publickly, by Persons who had no private ends, and who did not look upon that proceeding to be Unlawful, the King had timely notice of it, and sent orders to the Consuls of the place before the Deputies arriv'd there. He also writ to the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, and to the Chamber of *Nerac* to impeach all such as should be concern'd in the said Assembly, and to use them as Infractors of the Edicts, and Perturbators of the Publick Peace; which the Parliament did not fail to effect with their usual Passion. Whereupon the Governor and the Consuls of *Castel-jaloux* refus'd to admit the Deputies within their Gates, being unwilling to displease the Court. *Tonneins* whither the Deputies repair'd from thence, treated them in the same manner. This made them fearful that they would meet the same treatment throughout *Guyenne*, and that while they lost their time in seeking a safe and convenient place, the Court would oblige the *Bearnois* to do that by force which the Province was not in a condition to hinder. They also conceiv'd that it would not be proper to hold their Assembly in a

The Assembly refus'd at Castel-jaloux.

and at Tonneins.

too far distant from that which might stand in need of their Assistance. 1618.

Therefore they repaired to *Orthez* in *Bearn*, where they were certain of a kind Reception. The Court could not prevent the effect of that Resolution, by reason that it was held secret until the very moment in which it was put in Execution. As soon as the Assembly was form'd they writ to the King, who would neither receive their Letters, as coming from an Unlawful Assembly; nor yet give a hearing to the Deputies General. On the contrary he put out a very severe Declaration, on the 21st of *May*, against the Authors, and Members of the said Assembly. In the mean time the Court expected to hear the Effect of the Journey of *Renard*, Master of Requests chosen by the Clergy, who had been sent into *Bearn* to put the King's Orders in Execution, and to get the Decree of Restauration Registred in the Sovereign Council, the Edict of Reimplacement, and the Decrees of Verification at *Thoulouse* and at *Bourdeaux*, and that of the Council given in consequence thereof, which order'd the Council of the Province to do the like. The said Commissioner was very ill receiv'd at *Pau*, where the Common People and all the Scholars stir'd a great Sedition against him. The Wisest had not Authority enough to hinder it. The Assembly of *Orthez*, and the Council of the Academy endeavour'd it in vain. So that *Renard* was oblig'd to retire: But he did it like a Man who was willing to aggravate Matters. For which reason he refus'd some Honours that were offer'd him as to a Commissioner from the King: He refus'd to Communicate his Commission, he only distributed some Letters among those the Court was sure of, by which they were commanded to assist him: He would not accept the Sureties that were offer'd him to come to *Pau*, to acquaint the Sovereign Council with his Instructions. Moreover he went away very abruptly after having sent a Verbal and very Violent Report to Court; charging *La Force* and the Soveraign Council with all the Disorder. He joyn'd the Decree that Council had lately made to it, by which upon the pursuit of the Clergy, and upon the opposition of the Estates and of the Churches, they declar'd,

They repair to Orthez.

And are proscrib'd.

Sedition at Pau.

Malice of the Commissioner.

1618. declar'd, That they could not make the Inrollment; and that the King ſhould be humbly Entreated to leave things in the Condition in which they were; and that every body ſhould return home and live in Peace. The Biſhops had excepted againſt *Leſcun*, pretending that he was a Party againſt them, as if it had been a private Proceſs: But their Recuſation was not allow'd of, by reaſon that *Leſcun* had done nothing without Authority. The ſaid Decree was made about the end of *June*.

Preſages and Devotions. During theſe Tranſactions, the People ever curious of Preſages and of Prodigies, did not fail to make great Reflexions upon ſome Earthquakes, which were obſerv'd in ſome parts of *Bearn*, the very next day after the Departure of the King's Commiſſioner: And whereas thoſe Signs are generally equivocal, and only ſignifie what People deſire or dread, every body drew Conſequences from it, conformable to their Temper. Nevertheleſs as People are moſt inclin'd to dread, when they reflect on Accidents of which the Cauſes are unknown to them, moſt look'd upon them as an advice from Heaven, which denoted to them that the Affairs of the State were threatned with a great alteration, and that both the Churches and the Country were going to ſuffer ruinous ſhakings. For that reaſon the uſual Devotions on ſuch occaſions were renewed in *Bearn*; and a publick Faſt was celebrated there on the 9th of *July*.

Craft of the Council. The Court being inform'd with the ill Succeſs of *Renaud*'s Commiſſion, nevertheleſs made an advantagious uſe of his Journey: And by an *Italian* Policy they pretended that the Cauſe of the *Bearnois* having been defended at large in the Council of *Pau*, was a ſufficient reaſon to refuſe an Audience to the Churches which deſir'd that it might be pleaded before the King. This Evaſion would have been plauſible, ſuppoſing, what is ſeldom true, that Princes were inform'd with the particulars of the Affairs that are reported to them: And then they might without Injuſtice to the *Bearnois* have freed the King of the Fatigue of ſeveral tedious Audiences, by acquainting him with what had been ſaid in the preſence, or with the Participation of his Commiſſioners, who was to give him an account

account of it. But the Favourites, and the Miniſters were unwilling to uſe the King to take ſo much Cogniſance of Affairs. They knew he was eaſie, but withal capable to underſtand reaſon; and they were afraid, that ſhould the Queſtion be well explain'd before him, it would deprive them of the fruit of all their Craft. They ſatisfy'd him with Reflexions upon Soveraign Authority which ſeems to be incroach'd upon by the Liberty Subjects take to come to plead in the very Council of their Princes againſt the Laws which they have made. This was the Character of *Luine*'s Government, counſel'd by *Spain* and by the Clergy. He and his Creatures only preach'd abſolute Power to the King, which Doctrine he ſwallow'd as greedily, as if others had not exerted it in his Head. The Clergy has follow'd the ſame Maxim at all times: Being perſwaded that it would be more eaſie for them to manage the Hearts of Kings to their advantage, if they cou'd hinder them from hearing the Complaints of their Enterpriſes from the very mouths of thoſe that are oppreſſed by them. 1618.

First and final Mandamus directed to the Soveraign Council of Bearn

Therefore inſtead of hearing the Remonſtrances of that Unfortunate Principality a Mandamus was iſſued out on the 25th of *July*, which, in order to expreſs the more Authority, was ſtil'd firſt and final. It was Argumented, contrary to the Cuſtom of Acts of that Nature, which being only Declarations of an abſolute Will, ſeem not to require Reaſons. They made the King declare in it that he had been oblig'd to make the Decrees and Edicts which related to *Bearn* for the diſcharge of his Conſcience, which could not bear the affliction of the Catholick Church: To ſatisfie the vows of the King his Father, who had often expreſs'd his Regret before his Death, for his not having finiſh'd the ſaid Work: To ſecure the repoſe of the *Reform'd*, which the Biſhops would never have left in quiet while they were depriv'd of their Right: That he had conſider'd and heard all before he did pronounce; that he had made proviſion for what was moſt material by the Reimplacement, which was a diminution of 78000 Livres of the Revenue of the State; That he had relinquiſh'd his own to ſatisfy the *Reform'd*; That he ſtill offer'd, after the Inrollment of the Edict, to do Juſtice to the Intereſts of particular Perſons who

ſhould

1618. should complain of any damage; That he demanded Justice of the Connivance of the Council of *Pau*, in the late Sedition; That he would have such punish'd as had first taken up Arms. He complain'd of the Assembly of *Orthez*, and in general of all *Bearn*: Imputing nevertheless all the evil to some Factious Persons, without which he declar'd that he would have us'd the utmost Extremities. He threatned to take the refusal of the Inrollment as a formal Disobedience; and he Commanded *La Force* to see it perform'd, and to assist the Council in the Execution of the Edict, even by way of Arms.

Follow'd by Decrees of that Council.

While the Mandamus was preparing, *Vispalie* Advocate in the Sovereign Council of *Bearn*, being sent with Letters from the Assembly of *Orthez* to *Rochel*, and to all the other Provinces of the Kingdom, was seiz'd at *Bourdeaux* and his Letters taken. Complaints were made about it, as of an act of Hostility in time of Peace; and Reprisals had like to have ensued. But the Remonstrances of the wisest appeas'd the heatest: And they only writ other Letters, and sent them more secretly and more safely. But when the Mandamus came in *Bearn*, it occasion'd great Emotions. The whole Country was allarm'd at that Novelty. They no longer question'd but the Court had a design upon their Liberty, since that instead of being mov'd by their Complaints of an Edict made against the Laws and Customs, and without the consent of the Estates, they attack'd them in a new, but yet more dangerous manner, by Mandates, which are only us'd in Places where Princes are the sole Depositors of the Legislative Power: Not in such where the free Consent of the Estates is necessary to make a Law. Thus the whole Country was in a great Agitation. The Lay Patrons, the College of *Orthez*, the Garrison of *Navarreins*, which were paid out of the Forfeited Estates, the Syndicks of the Country and the Deputies of the Churches joyn'd together in the same Oppositions. Some Deputies from abroad also enter'd into it. The Synods of *Castel-jaloux* and of *Mazieres* likewise thought fit to send Deputies thither. During the greatest heat of this Agitation, the Council of *Pau* appointed a Day in order to give a decisive Judgment; and

and being Assembl'd on the 3d of *October*, they declar'd that considering the Nature of that Affair in which every body was concern'd, there was no reason to allow the Recusations propos'd by the Clergy. Finally on the 5th of the said Month a Decree was made, importing that before any farther Proceedings should be made in the matter, the King should be most humbly Petitioned to provide for the safety of what related to the Rights of his *Reform'd* Subjects, according to the Edicts of his Predecessors and his own; and to hear their Remonstrances to that end: Nevertheless in order to put a stop to the Proceedings of the Clergy, and for the Repose of his Majesties Subjects, it was order'd that the Ecclesiasticks should remit the answer'd * *Cahier*, which was mention'd in the Edict of Restauration of Ecclesiastical Lands; and that the Attorney-General should also remit the Decree of the 25th of *June*. This *Cahier* was that in which the King granted to the Clergy of *Bearn* by his Answers all the Advantages I have mention'd elsewhere: So that the said Decree open'd a way for a long Suspension, and to propose new Difficulties upon the Restoration of the Clergy in all their Ancient Priviledges. 1618.

* *Petitions, or Demand*

Although, till then the *Bearnois* had only defended themselves by ways of Right, by Petitions and Deputations to the King, by oppositions according to form, by Decrees of the Soveraign Council, yet there were prudent well meaning Persons that did not approve that resistance. The Duke *de Rohan* and *Du Plessis Mornai* were of that Number. They were afraid lest this should ingage all the Churches to take up Arms without consideration. They were of opinion that it would have been better to accept the Reimplacement, as a proper Expedient to repair the prejudice occasion'd by the aforesaid Restoration: And they would have engag'd themselves to obtain leave from the King to resume the Church Lands, in case the Assignment of the Reimplacement were diverted, or appropriated to any other use. Not but that they look'd upon the Cause of the Churches to be just; but they saw that Justice disarm'd: They thought it better to suffer the loss of some Priviledges, which they had not the power to defend, than

Sentiment of some particular Persons upon those Affairs.

1618. to hazard all by an Ineffectual Resistance: That this would be the way to involve, even those that had not yet been meddled with in the ruine of those that were attack'd: That it was fit to take care lest the Churches of the Kingdom, by protecting those of *Bearn* out of season should lose themselves what they would preserve for others.

Disposition of the great ones.

The Duke of *Bouillon* tyr'd with Affairs and Broils, beginning to feel the weight and Inconveniences of Age, ingag'd to the Court by Favours, minding the Settlement of his Children who were of Age to be introduc'd into the World, and being perhaps desirous to see how things would go, before he would ingage himself, did not express the same heat in this as he had done in others. The Duke of *Sully* was hardly reckon'd upon in General Affairs; and had neither renounc'd the Recompences of the Imployments that were taken from him, nor yet the hopes of being Restor'd. He saw that the Court was subject to such sudden Revolutions, that he thought they would want a Man like him. So that whenever any applications were made to him about the Affairs of the Churches, he only answer'd with Equivocal Councils and Irresolutions. *Lesdiguieres* form'd a Party, separated from the rest; and though all the Corruption of his Heart was not known, the *Reform'd* were sensible that Interest was the chief Article of his Religion. *Chatillion* had as much if not more Ambition than Piety; and was as much ingag'd to the Court by the first, as to Religion by the second. *La Trimouille* was so young that it was not possible to judge what might be expected from him. The Letters written by the Assembly of *Rochel* to the said Lords, had produc'd no great effect, and had neither been able to unite them among themselves, nor yet to awaken them in favour of the Common Cause. The Duke of *Rohan*, *Soubise* his Brother, and *La Force* were the only Persons who seem'd resolv'd to undertake every thing.

State of Foreign Affairs.

Moreover Affairs abroad afforded no prospect to hope that the *Protestants* would assist the Churches of *France*. The House of *Austria* taking the advantage of the Troubles of the Kingdom, began to execute their Projects in *Germany*; and assuming the pretence of Religion in order to hinder the Catholick

tholick Princes from oppoſing them, oppreſs'd the *Proteſtants* publickly. *Bohemia* was full of Troubles; and the ill ſucceſs of the Arms which the People had taken up for the preſervation of their Liberties, made them loſe in a ſhort time both their Political Liberty and that of their Conſciences. Theſe Conſuſions held all the Princes of the ſame Communion in ſuſpence; expecting the Event to ſee what meaſures they ſhould take. Prince *Maurice* was imploy'd in the *United Provinces*; and the *Arminians* afforded him too much buſineſs to permit him to ingage in the Affairs of *France*. The King of *England* plaid the Theologian: And while on one ſide he ſuffer'd People to give the Pope great hopes, in his Name to reſtore his three Kingdoms to the *Roman* Communion, he diſturb'd all the North, with Disputes which made him paſs for a Zealous *Proteſtant* So that conſidering the preſent State of *Europe*, it was impoſſible to expect a happy Iſſue of the Reſiſtance of *Bearn*. The King's Forces not being imploy'd elſewhere might all be ſent that way, and ſubdue the Country before the reſt of the *Reform'd* had taken their final Reſolutions. Moderate Councils only ſerv'd to break their Meaſures and occaſion'd great loſs of time. They prevail'd with thoſe who only wanted a pretence not to meddle with any thing, to forſake the Party of the others: And the time which would have been neceſſary to put themſelves in a poſture of defence being conſum'd in uſeleſs diſputes, when the King was ready to go into *Bearn* to force them to obey, he found no body ready to reſiſt him. Too much conſideration commonly ruines the Affairs of the People. A little boldneſs is better in thoſe Caſes, than ſlow conſiderate Proceedings: Particularly when we are to deal with Enemies who eſteem themſelves to be above all Laws, and who lay aſide the Maxims of Integrity and Juſtice, by reaſon that they know no other Rules of it but their Will. That Prudence which ſticks ſcrupulouſly to the Maxims of Probity is for the moſt part Unfortunate: The Enemy takes the advantage of the Niceneſs of the Conſciences of thoſe he attacks; and while they were deliberating about the Right of Reſiſtance, they afforded him time to prevent them.

1618.

Dangerous Conſequences of the advice of the Moderate.

1618. Towards the end of the Year the *Bearnois* publish'd an Apology, compos'd by *Lescun* with the advice and approbation of the Assembly of *Orthez*, to whom it was Dedicated. That piece was written at different times, as may easily be discover'd by the management of it. The Stile is not of a piece: The Arguments are distinct, and not well follow'd: It is full of Allusions to Holy Writ, and other Authors. But yet it is good and solid; and the Rights of *Bearn* were asserted in it with vigour enough, to give a pretence to Charge the Author with a Crime of State for his boldness; particularly because he speaks vehemently against Arbitrary Power, altho' the respect due to the King be Religiously observ'd in it. The Events of any consideration were noted in it by Years and by Days: The Establishment of the Reformation in *Bearn*; The Ancient Rights of the Country; The Examples drawn out of the Old * *For*, which show that even in the beginning of the Thirteenth Century the People did not Swear Allegiance to their Soveraign, till the Sovereign had Sworn to the Barons, and to all the Court that he would be a faithful Lord to them, that he would Govern them justly, and that he would do them no prejudice: The said Oath was renew'd in 1585. by the late King in imitation of his Predecessors. The Author prov'd at large in it, that the Laws only receiv'd their Force by, and never could be alter'd without the Authority of the Prince and the consent of the Estates; but more by the one without the other. To prove which he brought several Examples. He recited the alteration which was made in *Bearn* under Queen *Jane*; and the Vengeance which *Montgommery* exerted against those who had oblig'd that Princess to fly by their Conspiracies: A Vengeance which even *Meluc*, one of the most cruel Persecutors of the *Reform'd*, look'd upon as sent from Heaven; by reason that the said Count reduc'd all that Country in three Days time, and took all the Leaders of the Rebellion Prisoners.

An Apology for the Conduct of the Bearnois.

* *Laws of the Bar.*

After that *Lescun* related the said Expedition, and all that pass'd upon the account of the Forfeiture and Seizure of the Ecclesiastical Lands, until the Month of *October* of the said Year. He observ'd the Falsity of what had been advanc'd by the Bishops, who in order to be heard at Court pretended to be Authoriz'd by the Catholicks of *Bearn*; and to be seconded

Artifices of the Bishops of the Country.

ed by the Catholicks, told them that the King had order'd the aforesaid Reversion, or Restoration of his own accord: From whence they concluded that it would be imprudent to refuse an advantage which offer'd it self. Those good Prelates, of which one was of very obscure Birth, as being Son of a Man who had been a Cobler, Butcher, and had kept a Cabaret, those Prelates, I say, who made so much noise whenever the *Reform'd* took up Arms to defend themselves, made no difficulty of taking them up to attack. They made Assemblies, Fortify'd their Houses, gave Military Employments, kept Guards as in time of open War; and those Officers of Episcopal Creation never went abroad without being attended by Armed Men. 1618.

Remarks upon the Bishop of Maçon's Speech.

In the next place he did refute the Bishop of *Maçon*'s Speech, which I have mention'd before: And he made this particular Remark upon it, That this Prelate had taken his Exordium out of the same Subject from which that of a certain Libel had been taken call'd, *The English Catholick*, written against *Henry* III. So that the one began with the same Arguments in order to Exasperate the King against his Subjects; as the other had done to make the Subjects rise against their King. He approv'd the Book Printed at *London* concerning the Rights of *Bearn*; and he added divers Reflexions to it upon the Violation of Promises, and upon the omission of the usual Formalities in the Decree of Restoration. This among others was of great Consequence. *De Vair* had assisted at the Judgment by virtue of his quality of Lord Keeper, though being a Bishop he ought not to sit in the Council, when the Affairs of the *Reform'd* were treated there; according to the Answer made to the fourth Article of the *Cahier* of *Loudun*, in which the King declar'd expressly that the Ecclesiasticks should withdraw whenever those Affairs were treated of there. He observ'd the Unjust Precipitation of that Decree, made after having return'd all the Writings and Productions to the Parties, as if they had design'd to give it over; notwithstanding which it had been judg'd without any new Adjournment given to the Parties concern'd: And to the end they might not say, that they had examin'd all the said Writings before the returning

1618. ing of them, he gives a List of several other Acts which he design'd to joyn to the first Productions.

Difficulties against the Reimplacement. He observ'd that the Reimplacement promis'd by the King, might be evaded by the Capricio of a Treasurer; whereupon he cited the Example of the Country of *Gex*, and of *Bearn* it self, where the like Promises had prov'd ineffectual: That the Demesne of *Bearn* was unalienable; That the attribution of a perpetual Usufructuary was a real Alienation; and consequently that the Reimplacement would only serve to render the *Reform'd* the more odious, as injoying such an Income by a Title contrary to the Rights of the Country; That without touching Regulations so often confirm'd, the King might have given the Reimplacement to the Bishops, who would have injoy'd it without fear of being depriv'd of it again; whereas the Churches being oblig'd to accept it, they might get it revok'd when they pleas'd; That the King might think it a burthen to his Conscience at some time or other, to see his Revenues imploy'd for the maintenance of the *Reform'd* Churches, since it would not permit him then to suffer the Ecclesiastical Lands to serve for that use; and that it was to be fear'd that the same Conscience would oblige him to take the Places of Surety from the *Reform'd*.

Against Tithes. He also argued about the dispute of the Tithes; maintaining that they are not due as a ground Rent, but as a Religious Duty which cannot be paid by the Earth, but by Persons, and concluded that the *Reform'd* could not pay them to the Clergy with a safe Conscience.

Prescription. In the next place he prov'd a Prescription of 40 Years, and answer'd the two Exceptions of the Clergy, *viz.* That it had been interrupted by the Protestations the Clergy had enter'd against it from time to time; and that there can be no Prescription against the *Roman* Church, unless of a hundred Years. He reply'd to the first, that as often as the Clergy had renew'd their Contestation they had been cast: And to the second that in *Bearn*, that Right is of no force against the Old Law, nor in *France* against Royal Ordinances. He did not forget that in all the Writings that were made against *Bearn*, absolute Power was founded high, and that they were not asham'd to publish, that the pretentions of

* For.

Bearn

Bearn were good in time of old, while they had a particular Lord; but that belonging now to a King of *France*, the Case was alter'd. That is to say, The King's Right was only Force, which according to the Opinion of the most Equitable in *France*, is only a Right among *Barbarians*: Whereas the Apology was only grounded on the Laws of the State, very different from the particular Will of the Prince, which may vary according to time, while the others are constant and unvariable. 1618.

He upbraided the Jesuits with their Parricides, and their Doctrine concerning the Authority of Kings; and return'd the Catholicks some of the Darts they us'd to Lance against the *Reform'd*, call'd the King *Abraham*, the *Roman* Church, and the King of *Spain*, *Hagar* and *Ishmael*, and the *Reform'd* and their Church; *Isaac* and *Sarah*; complaining that *Agar* and *Ismael* would turn out *Isaac*, and the true Children of the House unknown to *Abraham*: And finally he protested in the Name of the *Reform'd*, that not being the Agressors they would not be responsible for the Evils that might insue, if being attackt they should be forced to make a Lawful defence. He implor'd the assistance of all those that were of the same Belief, and of all those that lov'd the good of the State; lest those should expose themselves to the reproach made to *Meroz* by the *Israelites* (*Jud.* 5. *v.* 23.) of not being come to the assistance of the Lord; and these to the Curtesie of the *Cyclop*. He pretended this recourse to be founded on Right and Examples. He tax'd the Favourite by the by of injoying Imployments which were only due to Princes of the Blood: And he insinuated that the King had been the greatest gainer by the Treaty of *Loudun*, and the Assembly which met at *Rochel* at the time of the Fall of the Marshal *d'Ancre*. *Conclusion.*

While Affairs were in this State in *Bearn*, the Queen Mother was tyr'd with *Blois*, where she was under Confinement, as in an honourable kind of Prison. *Luines*, who had a mind to know her Secrets, put a thousand unworthy Tricks upon her; and Fool'd her and the Duke of *Rohan*, pretending to come to an Accommodation with that Princess, in order to discover those in whom she repos'd a Confidence. He even made 1619. *The Queen Mother makes her Escape from Blois*

1618. made use of the Treachery of *Arnoux* the Jesuit, who under pretence of Confession, discover'd whatever she had upon her heart; which he acquainted the Favourite with, who improv'd it to his own advantage. The Jesuit, after so base a piece of Treachery, disdain'd to excuse it, and thought it sufficient in order to cover the Infamy of so base an Action to say that he had begg'd God's Pardon for it. The Queen being Exasperated by the Treatment she receiv'd, resolv'd to make her Escape. She apply'd her self at first to the Marshal de *Bouillon*, whose Ability she was acquainted with, and who had a considerable City in which he might have afforded her a Retreat. But he refus'd to engage in so great an Undertaking. He only advis'd the Queen to apply her self to the Duke *d' Epernon*, who was at *Metz* at that time, very much dissatisfy'd with the Court. The said Duke accepted her Propositions immediately; and having taken the Queen in a place where he had appointed to meet her, he carry'd her safe to *Angouleme*. *Luines* was stun'd with that Blow, which he did not expect. He was sensible that he had disoblig'd all the Kingdom: His prodigious Fortune created a Jealousie in all the Grandees; and the People oppress'd by a thousand Vexations, imputed it all as it is usual to the Avarice and Ambition of the Favourite, Therefore he thought it better to stop the progress of the evil by Negotiations, than to let it increase it self by Negligence. Moreover he gave way either voluntarily, or by reason that the thing having been sued for without his knowledge, he was oblig'd to consent to it handsomely, to the return of the Bishop of *Lucon* to that Princess, on condition that he should dispose her to a Peace; and the Bishop being weary with studying of Theology which he was not very well skill'd in, aspiring only to return to Court, where he was in hopes of making himself useful, made no difficulty to acquiess to it. Thus after some Messages to and fro, the Peace was concluded. The Queen had the Castle of *Angers* and *de Ponts de Ce* for her Security, with leave to come back to Court.

But

But the Duke *de Luines* who was afraid that ſhe would find many Perſons there who would rather follow her than him, and that ſhe would ſoon reſume her former Authority to his prejudice, and revenge the bloody Injuries he had done her, found a way to render that permiſſion of no uſe to her. The Prince of *Conde* whom ſhe had put in Priſon about three years before, paſs'd his Days diſmally there, though the Princeſs his Wife had voluntarily confin'd her ſelf with him to keep him Company. He amus'd himſelf in the Study of Controverſies: But he did not apply himſelf to it like a Man that deſign'd to underſtand the Queſtions throughly, and to take his Party after having maturely weigh'd the Reaſons on both ſides. This way of Study is too long and too tedious for Princes. They muſt have abſtracted Methods, to ſhorten their Labour, and to free the Matters from the drineſs and difficulties they are ſurrounded with. A little Superficial Knowledge paſſes among them for profound Science; and of all Arguments none are ſo proper for them as Prejudications. He was delighted with thoſe little Reaſons, which the Jeſuits, and the Miſſionaries their Emiſſaries did begin to put in practice: And he render'd himſelf more troubleſome thereby to the *Reform'd*, whom he perſecuted by Diſputes, in which he would always be in the right, than he prov'd formidable to them in the War he wag'd againſt them with great Violence. *Luines* hoping that Reſentment would induce that Prince to protect him againſt the Queen, ſecur'd himſelf with him, and put him at Liberty: And as if he did deſign to acquaint the Queen, that it was againſt her that he had ſought that ſupport, he obtain'd a Declaration for the diſcharge of the Prince, in which the Conduct of that Princeſs was indirectly tax'd: But yet in ſuch a manner that it might eaſily be perceiv'd by any that had Common Senſe She was ſo much offended at it, that ſhe would not come to Court; and ſhe expreſs'd her Reſentments ſo high, that it was eaſie to judge, that ſhe would uſe her utmoſt Endeavours to revenge it. She was very near doing it, and *Luines* had been ruin'd had ſhe been well adviſ'd. 1619

The Prince of Conde is ſet at liberty.

1619. But while these Broils imploy'd the Court, the Affairs of *Bearn* remain'd Dormant, by reason that the Court had no time to mind them. Moreover they abolish'd by an express Declaration of the 5th of *July*, the Crime of the Assembly of *Castel-jaloux* and of *Orthez*, which towards the latter end of the preceding Year after having been Converted into a General Convocation, had been transferr'd to *Rochel*, for the Conveniency of the other Provinces. The truth is that the said Convocation did take the King's part publickly against the Queen; and even refus'd to hear *Chambret* who was sent by that Princess to sound them. Besides which they declared all such Desertors of the Union of the Churches, who should side with any body but the King. After which they broke up on the 22th of *April*; upon the King's Promise of allowing another Assembly in the Month of *September* following. The Brief of permission was Sign'd on the 23d of *May*; and the Assembly repair'd to *Loudun*, where they began their Session on the 26th of *September*. The Court in reality ventur'd less than they seem'd to do, by allowing that Assembly in a time of such Confusion. They were very well inform'd with the Divisions that reign'd among the *Reform'd*; and they had ready means to improve them; Artifices to delude the Simple; Recompences to purchase those that were Self-Interested; Threatnings to frighten the Weak; and all those being made useless to the Party, they had more Forces than were necessary to oppress the rest.

The Assembly of Orthez Transfer'd to Rochel.

Takes the King's part

And breaks up.

Another Assembly allow'd at Loudun.

Several Lords sent Deputies thither: *La Force* did not fail to do the same, and the Affairs of *Bearn* were canvas'd there, as soon as it was form'd. Insomuch that they soon drew Seven preliminary Articles, which they gave to those that carry'd their Submissions to the King; until they could make more ample Complaints, to be sent by the Deputies General.

The first demanded the Revocation of the Decree of Restoration, or at least a Suspension of it, until the *Bearnois* had been heard.

The

The Second demanded the continuation of the Places of Surety, and especially that an account should be given of those that were held by *Lesdiguieres*, who had all along refus'd to communicate it to the Churches of the Kingdom. 1619.

The Third related to *Leitoure*, which Government they desir'd should be taken from *Fontrailles*.

The Fourth renew'd the Affair of the two Councellors in the Parliament of *Paris*, in which they refus'd to receive them: And the Court took but little care to oblige the Parliament to Obey according to the King's Promise.

The Fifth mentioned the Creation of a place of Substitute to the Attorney General in the Parliaments of *Paris* and *Grenoble*, to be given to Persons of the *Reform'd* Religion.

The Sixth contain'd Complaints about the Surprising of *Tartas*, which had been taken from the *Reform'd* by Craft in time of Peace, demanding the Restitution of the said Place.

The Seventh remonstrated that the Catholicks had burnt the Temple of *Bourg* in *Bresse*, and demanded Reparation for that Violence.

I will observe *enpassant* that they endeavour'd to make the *Reform'd* pass for Troublesome Obstinate People who would never give over, and who did perpetually renew the same Demands, even after the King had declar'd by divers Refusals that he would not satisfie them. But there never was a more Unjust, or more Imprudent Accusation. The Truth is, that it was never urg'd against them until their decay gave way to their Enemies to make Crimes of all their Actions, and to take their very Sighs, and their most humble Petitions for a lawful pretence to destroy them. I own that they have often renew'd the same Demands: But that was chiefly when they had receiv'd Promises which had never been put in Execution, or when those things were refus'd, which had been solemnly promis'd to them. So that it was not a Criminal Importunity, to press the performance of a Royal Promise on all Occasions. If there was a Crime, those were guilty of it who prevail'd with the King to break his Promises, and to

Why the Reform'd have so often renew'd the same Demands.

1619. Ingage his Word to Impose upon the Credulity of his Subjects. If there have been things on which the *Reform'd* have Insisted, though they have been deny'd to them at the first Proposal, they have done no more in that than what all manner of Communities had been us'd to do, in things which they were in hopes of obtaining at some time or other: *viz.* to renew their Demands from time to time, for fear of giving cause to tell them, whenever they found a favourable occasion to speak anew about them, that having once given over the pursuit of them, they had no right to resume it. Among several Examples of this Practice, that of the Clergy admits no contradiction. That Body fond of their Liberties, thought them violated by the Concordat between *Francis* I. and *Leon* X. and not despairing to find a favourable occasion at some time or other to break it, they resolv'd to Petition the Court for the Restauration of the Liberty of Elections, whenever they should have an occasion to make Harangues to the Kings by their Deputies. They not only form'd the design of it; they oblig'd themselves to it by Oath; and for above the space of a hundred Years, their Deputies have never fail'd to make this Liberty of Elections one of the Articles of their Harrangues. Nothing but an absolute command could oblige them to desist from that useless pursuit. If they were not troublesome to Kings by Petitions so often renew'd, and which did attack one of the Privileges they have most reason to be jealous of; there is no reason to alledge as a Crime against the *Reform'd*, that they did not always acquiesse to the first refusal, in things in which no body was concern'd, which did no wise Incroach upon the Regal Authority; and which they thought necessary for their safety.

* *Petition. The Court refers the Complaints to the General Assembly.*

La Mouſſaye, who together with four other Deputies carried that first * *Cahier* of the Assembly of *Loudun*, could not prevail with the Court to accept it; though several Persons endeavour'd to satisfie the Court, that by redressing some of the main Grievances, the King would receive full Satisfaction from the Assembly. *Lesdiguieres* himself had sent the President *Croſe* to the King, to Petition him to prevent the Demands the Assembly might make to him; and to give the Churches satisfaction

1619.

action upon some considerable Points, even before the Expiration of the Term of the Convocation. But he was still with the common Answer, of good Intentions, and of General Promises. So that according to the old Stile of the Court, the Complaints of the Assembly were refer'd to the General *Cahier*, and they did not fail to exhort the Deputies to dispatch their Affairs speedily, to Nominate six Persons to the King, out of which he should chuse two for the General Deputation, and to break up.

Resolutions and Oaths of the Assembly.

The Assembly took at first pretty Vigorous Resolutions. They oblig'd their Members to take divers Oaths; to serve the Churches, to be secret, to obey their Resolutions, to speak their mind freely and without fear, to preserve their Union, not to break up, before their having seen what answer the Court would make to their * *Cahiers*. They drew it with speed: And they did not want matter. The Edict was Violated so many ways, and in so many places, that there was sufficient reason to complain. Besides the concerns of *Leitoure*, of *Tartas*, and of *Bourg* in *Bresse*, the Catholicks endeavour'd in all places to obstruct the Liberty of the Exercise of the *Reform'd* Religion. They had suspended it at *Clermont d'Ardoise*, which the *Reform'd* held as a place of Surety; and when they endeavour'd to re-establish it there, the Catholicks took up Arms to oppose it. The Temples of *Moulins* and of *Laval*, where the *Reform'd* of *Guise* went to Church, had been Demolish'd. The *Reform'd* had been turn'd out by force of Arms of *Baux* in *Provence*. A great Sedition had been kindled against them at *Banjeaux*, and the Allarum Bell rung out upon them. Two of them were flung out of a Garret Window, and one of them not being sufficiently hurt in the Opinion of the Mutineers, was run through with Swords. The Lieutenant General of *Orleans* in prosecuting the Fact, receiv'd the Depositions of those very Persons who had committed the Violence, as if they had been Lawful Witnesses: And when the said Case was brought before the Parliament of *Paris*, the Attorney General, who by his place was oblig'd to cause the Edicts to be put in Execution, abandon'd the prosecution of it. The Ministers of *Bourges* and of *Chatai-*

* *Petitions and Demands. Substance of the General Cahier and other Articles of Complaints.*

gneraye

1619. *neraye* were turn'd out of the ſaid Cities; and the *Reform'd* had receiv'd the ſame Uſage at *Chalons*, upon *Saone*, and in the *Bearnois*; though according to the Edict, they ought to be ſuffer'd in all Places whatever. The Exerciſe of their Religion was obſtructed about *Lions*, *Dijon*, and *Langres*. The Officers Royal, the Conſuls, and Seneſchals, oppos'd the ſaid Exerciſe of the *Reform'd* Religion in Nineteen or Twenty Places in the Provinces of *Guyenne*, of *Languedoc*, of *Provence*, of *Vivarais*, of *Foreſts*, of *Poitou*, of *Saintonge*, of *Perigord*, and of *Normandy*; ſome by Prohibitions, others by Fines, although the ſaid Exerciſe was Lawful in all thoſe Places according to the Edict. The Catholicks took away the Children of the *Reform'd* without Redreſs. At *Paris* they had taken thoſe of *Le Maitre*, who had a place of Maſter of the Accompts, and who had embrac'd the *Reform'd* Religion a little before his Death. The ſame thing had been done at *Royan*, at *Ambrun*, at *Milhau*; and lately at *Leitoure Regourd* the Jeſuit, for whoſe good behaviour the King had paſs'd, his Word had ſtole away a young Child about 10 Years of Age. They had Violated the Sepulchres, or hinder'd Burials in the accuſtom'd places at *Aix*, at *Girdes*, at *Mirebeau*, at *Ongie*, at *Saintes*, at St. *George d' Oleron*, and in divers places of *Guyenne*. They had turn'd out the Sick of the *Reform'd* Religion out of the Hoſpitals, and ſuch as were allow'd there were tormented in their Conſciences, to oblige them to change their Religion: Eſpecially at *Paris*, thoſe that had been receiv'd in the Hoſpital of St. *Lewis* during the Plague, had been depriv'd of the Conſolation of ſeeing Miniſters, which were not allow'd to viſit them. The Parliaments incroach'd upon the Juriſdiction of the Chambers of the Edict. A Meſſenger who was Try'd at *Thoulouſe*, was Condemn'd there notwithſtanding his appealing to the Chamber of *Caſtres*; and the ſaid Parliament refus'd to ſubmit to the Decrees of the Council, which order'd the ſaid removal. Some of the Inhabitants of *Mas d' Agenois* being proſecuted at *Bourdeaux*, upon ſuſpition of their having deſign'd to deliver the ſaid place up to the Duke of *Rohan*, being joyn'd in a Plot with *Calonges* their Governor, as I have related it in another place, the accus'd having

having desir'd a removal to the Chamber of *Nerac*, the Parliament had no regard to it; insomuch that during the Disputes of Jurisdiction, several of them Dyed in Prison: And upon the Information made about the surprise of *Tartas*, the *Reform'd* who had been abus'd there, were us'd worse yet in the Parliament, which had retain'd their cause notwithstanding the Instances made by the Chamber of *Nerac*. The Parliament of *Aix* had no respect to the general Evocation the *Reform'd* had obtain'd in the Parliament of *Grenoble*. Several [illegible]rable Alterations had been made at *Montaud*, *Vareilles*, [illegible], *Montgaillard* in *Foix*, which were reputed places of [illegible]ty, in which, at least according to the Brief of 1598, no innovations were to be made. Moreover the *Reform'd* desir'd new Brief, for the keeping of the Hostage Cities; The Settlement of those of *Dauphine*; the Revocation of the Edict of Restauration of Church Lands; the Restitution of *Privas* to the Inhabitants, and the Reparation of the Outrages they had receiv'd from the Husband of the Lady to whom the said Lordship did belong. 1619.

The Assembly forbids to suffer Jesuits and other Monks to Preach in the Cities of Surety.

Some Examples of the said Facts are cited in the Articles which I have here abreviated, which are not to be found in the General *Cahier* of the Assembly of *Loudun*, by reason that they are taken from things which happen'd since: Yet I thought fit to Insert them here, at once. While the * *Cahier* was drawing, the Assembly made a Rule among the rest, which forbad the Governors of the Places of Surety to suffer the Jesuits, or Monks of other Orders to Preach there, under pretence of being sent thither by their Diocesans. The said Rule made all the Catholick Party rise. The Parliament of *Paris* made a Decree contrary to it, at the request of the Attorney General, like unto that which had been given for *Montpellier*. The Parliament of *Bourdeaux* did the same in favour of *Tessier* the Jesuit, who had been sent to St. *John d'Angely*, by the Bishop of *Poitiers*: And the Parliament of *Thoulouse* forbad the *Reform'd* throughout their Jurisdiction to refuse the Preachers sent by the Diocesan, whither Jesuits, or others: Directing the said Prohibition particularly to the Governors of *Figeac* and of the Isle of *Jourdain*, who had given an

* *Petition or Address.*

Decrees of divers Parliaments to the contrary.

1619. an Intimation of the aforesaid Rule of the Assembly to the Catholicks of those two Cities. The Attorney General stild the said Rule an attempt against Royal Authority by way of Monopoly; as pretending to prescribe what Preachers should be allow'd in the *Roman* Church, which he call'd the Fundamental Religion of the Realm: And cited the Decree made in favour of the Bishop of *Mompelier*, and the King's Letter to the Inhabitants of *Leitoure*.

Deputations, Letters and Remonstrances to the King.

The *Cahier* was presented to the King on the 20th of *December* by three Deputies, *Couvrelles*, *Bouterone* and *Alain*, who declar'd to the King the Resolution of the Assembly not to break up without seeing the Answer he would be pleas'd to give to their Complaints. They Remonstrated to the King how much reason they had to endeavour to secure themselves, considering the Injustices that were daily committed against the *Reform'd* throughout the Kingdom; the surprising of several of their Places; the Inexecution of divers things often Sworn, the Effect of which the Deputies General had solicited in vain during many years; the Rebellions that were made in all Places against the Ordinances of the Commissioners, when they were any wise equitable. Those Remonstrances and the Letters of the Assembly were very respectful; and they protested both by the Mouth of their Deputies and in Writing, that it was not against the King they desir'd to be secur'd, but against the Enemies of the *Reform'd* Religion. The King made a threatning Answer, by reason that *Luines* Inspir'd him with hard Sentiments. That Favourite thereby thought to avoid the Fall he had cause to dread by reason of the Easiness of his Master's Temper. Moreover he was displeas'd at the Joy the *Reform'd* had express'd at the Queens Reconciliation. The Assembly of *Loudun* had sent Deputies to her as soon as the Peace was made: And the said Deputies not considering that they Harrangu'd that Princess before *Brantes*, one of the Duke *de Luines* Brothers, said many things to the advantage of her Regency, prais'd her for having caus'd the Edicts to be observ'd, and made great Submissions to her. These were so many Indirect Reflexions against the present Ministry; for which reason this Deputation

The Reform'd were inclin'd to the Queen-Mother's Service.

putation was ill receiv'd at Court. The King indeed promis'd to ſatisfie the Aſſembly, provided they did break up immediately; and to permit them to leave two Deputies with him until the Intire Execution of the things promis'd: But he declar'd at the ſame time that in caſe they did not break up, he would look upon them and their Adherents as Perturbators of the Publick quiet, and that he would abandon their Perſons and Eſtates, without any more ado to whoſoever would *fall upon them.* The Aſſembly perſiſted in their Reſolution, notwithſtanding this Anſwer. They knew by Experience that under that Reign promiſes of Satisfaction were as ſoon forgotten as made: And the Wiſeſt among them were of Opinion, that ſome of the Articles of their *Cahiers* were too Deciſive, and that the Subſiſtance of ruine of their Churches depended too viſibly on them, for them to break up without knowing what Anſwer ſhould be made to them. Nevertheleſs the Aſſembly Writ to the Churches upon that Subject about the beginning of the following year; and remonſtrated to them, in order to give them an account of their Reſolutions, that the Parliament of *Paris* had wav'd Ten Mandates, for the Veriſication of the Articles which related to the two places of Councellors, granted above three years before it; That the Edict was Infracted in all places; that ſo many Promiſes and Oaths, either Violated or Ineffectual, ought to excuſe their fears for the future; and ſeveral things to the ſame purpoſe. But they mention'd particularly the Example of ſeveral Aſſemblies, that had continu'd their Seſſions, until the Anſwer to their Grievances had been Communicated to them. 1619.

A Diſmal Anſwer.

And the Effect of it.

One of the moſt ſenſible Afflictions the *Reform*'d receiv'd that Year, was the oppoſition that was made to the Eſtabliſhment of a College they deſign'd to Erect at *Charenton.* It had been ſpoken of for ſome time: And the deſign of the *Reform'd* had been croſs'd on ſeveral ſides; principally by the oppoſitions of the Judges of the Place. But whereas that year they ſeem'd not to yield to thoſe Obſtacles, the Univerſity thinking that the ſaid College would prejudice theirs, and that the *Reform'd* ſetling good Rectors in the ſame, it would incourage People to ſend their Children thither, they

Oppoſition of the Catholicks to the Eſtabliſhment of a College at Charenton.

took fire against that Enterprise, as they had done formerly against that of the Jesuits. The Muses of Colleges are commonly hot and Self-interested: Therefore they carry'd their Complaints in a very violent manner to the Count *de Soissons*, whom the King had left at *Paris*, during the Voyage he made to reconcile himself to the Queen his Mother; to the first President, and to the Attorney General: their pretence was the grief of seeing a College of *Heresie* settled so near the Metropolis of the most Christian Kingdom in the World, there to contrive the manner of attacking the Catholick Religion; perhaps the said Opposition was also made in some measure out of Policy; by reason that the University having been so constant in refusing the Jesuits a small share of their Privileges, it would not have look'd well for them to suffer the Establishment of an *Heretical* College within two Leagues of *Paris* without opposition. However those Complaints broke the Measures of the *Reform'd*, and the Erection of the said College has never been mention'd since.

Assembly of the Clergy. The Clergy also Assembled that year at *Blois*, from whence the Bishop of *Seez*, and some others, were deputed to the King to Harrangue him. They found him at *Plessis Les Tours*. The Bishop in his Speech insisted long upon the Affairs of *Bearn*; and he was very pressing upon the Execution of the Decree of Restoration. But moreover he desir'd a thing which appear'd pretty new; *viz.* the Reparation of what had been written against the Chief of the Clergy; and he affirm'd with as much boldness, as if the King himself and the Council had not known the contrary, that the Clergy did keep within the bounds of the Edicts. The Truth is, that lest he should be suspected of assuming a Spirit of Charity and of Toleration, he added that it was only to obey the King who would have it so. The Clergy had never bethought it self, till then to complain of the manner in which the *Reform'd* us'd them in their Writings; and they had had the prudence to let them alone, while they thought they could not help it. The Complaints he made about it now in so extraordinary a manner, were a proof that Affairs were alter'd; and that tho' they were as liable as ever to hear those Truths, yet it was

no

no longer safe to urge them. They obtain'd a Declaration on the fourth of *September*, which exempted them from answering for the Possessory of the Benefices and other annex'd Estates, to the Tribunals in which all the Judges were *Reform'd*. The King allow'd them a removal to the next Catholick Judge, whither Royal, or other: And in case the said Removal were deny'd them by the *Reform'd* Judges, he annihilated that very moment, and from thence forwards all their Judgments. The said exemption was so great an Encroachment upon the Jurisdiction, the *Reform'd* were declar'd capable of by the Edicts, that it could not be look'd upon otherwise, than as a breach made to the very Edict. The Reason alledg'd by the Clergy was, that since the *Reform'd* were allow'd unsuspected Judges, it was but reasonable, that the Chiefs of the Establish'd Religion should be exempted from answering before their Enemies. But the thing was not equal. The *Reform'd* had never pursued the Clergy with Fire and Sword, as the Catholick Judges had pursued the *Reform'd*, being mov'd thereunto by their Zeal, and by the Instigation of the Clergy. Moreover the Edict had regulated the reciprocal pretentions of the *Reform'd* and of the Clergy: Insomuch, that there only remain'd to observe it *bona fide*, without daily renewing the remembrance of things past by New Injustices. 1619.

Exemption which is granted them of pleading in such Tribunals where all the Judges are Reform'd.

In the mean time, the King being resolv'd to oblige the Assembly of *Loudun* to Obey, they persisting in their former Resolution after having heard the Report of their Deputies, sent *Du Maine* Councellor of State, and *Marescot* one of his Secretaries thither, to acquaint them more positively with his final pleasure. These Gentlemen having perform'd their Charge, more like Messengers who serve a Warrant, than like Commissioners who carry Royal Instructions, did not move the Assembly; which renew'd their Submission to the King by a Third Deputation. That Prince gave a hearing to the said Deputies; but the only Answer he gave them, was to Order them to Command the Assembly to break up; and then Order'd them to retire. *La Haye* who was Speaker of the said Deputation, having taken the Liberty

Reiterated Orders to the Assembly of Loudun to break up.

1620. reply, the King interrupted him, making a Sign to the Usher to turn them out. This was the behaviour *Luines* inspir'd to the King. He perswaded him that a Prince, after having given his Command, ought never to suffer his Subjects to use Replies, or Remonstrances. What ever Reasons people had to urge, he made him believe, that a King's Word was decisive; and that the Affairs of most moment ought to pass for decided, without Appeal, whenever he had said, *I will have it so.* This was very convenient for that Favourite, who not being very capable of State Affairs to which his Fortune had call'd him too soon, lov'd the way of Abridging them: So that after the pronouncing of a Word, every Body was oblig'd to submit to the Discretion of that haughty Favourite, who lov'd no body, because he was sensible that he was belov'd by none. When those absolute Decrees ingag'd him into other Troubles, he had Recourse to Wiles to get out of them: And whereas he consider'd no Honour but that of Governing the King, he never thought his ingag'd in the breaking of his Word.

Expedient of Accommodation.

The Deputies being gone to wait upon the Chancellor, after having receiv'd this Vexatious Answer from the King, believ'd that some Expedient of accommodation might be left yet; because he put them in hopes that in case the Assembly would send some Persons to the Court with a Power to Treat, some good Expedient might yet be found out. The said Proposition was accepted by the Assembly; and the Marshal *de Lesdiguieres* being at *Paris* at that time, in Order to take the Oath of Duke and Peer of *France*, he and *Chatillon*, who happen'd to be there at the same time, took upon them them the Quality of Mediators. In Order to they began to Negotiate with the Prince of *Conde* and the Duke *de Luines*; with whom they agreed, that the Assembly should break up before the end of *February*; that immediately after their seperation, the King should Answer the *Cahier* favourably; but that he should forthwith remove *Fontrailles* out of the Government of *Leitoore*; allow the keeping of the Places of Surety for four years longer to the *Reform'd*; and oblige the Parliament of *Paris* to receive the

the two Councellors ſo often mention'd. This was to be perform'd within the ſpace of ſix Months; and in caſe it were not done, the Prince and Duke promis'd to obtain from the King a New Brief of leave for them to Aſſemble again. As for *Bearn*, that within a Month after the Six aforemention'd, after the Accompliſhment of the three Articles I have related, the King would hear the Remonſtrances they had to make about the ſaid Principality, and that he would provide towards the ſatisfaction of the Eſtates and of the Churches. Moreover, hopes were given them, that in caſe any hindrance ſhould be made directly or indirectly about the Reimplacement, the King would conſent to their reſuming of the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtates. 1620.

The Aſſembly being inform'd with all this, and being perſwaded that they might obtain ſomething more yet, ſent a New Deputation to the Court again; for which they choſe *Berteville la Haye*, *la Chappelliere*, Miniſter of *Rochel*, *la Milletiere*, and *Poixferre*, giving them a full Power to Act in their Name. But while they were on their Way, *Luines* obtain'd a Declaration on the 26th of *February*, by which the King mention'd according to Cuſtom his good Intentions for the Obſervation of the Edicts; his having allow'd the Reform'd to keep Deputies at Court, as they did under the late King, to inform againſt the Infractions of the Edicts; leave to hold Provincial and General Aſſemblies, in Order to Nominate the ſaid Deputies, and to draw the *Cahiers* of their Grievances. After which he ſpoke of the Motives which had induc'd him to allow the Aſſembly of *Loudun*; The Deputations they had ſent to him; The Commands he had ſent them to break up; the Petition they had renew'd to obtain his Leave to continue their Seſſions until he had Anſwer'd their *Cahier*. Finally preſuppoſing that there were ſome diſaffected Perſons in the Aſſembly, who endeavour'd to inſpire ill Deſigns into the Reſt, againſt the repoſe of the State, he Granted a New delay of three Weeks, to begin from the day of the Publication of the ſaid Declaration, to Nominate the Deputies according to the Uſual Method, and then to break up; in default of which he declar'd the ſaid Aſſembly unlawful from that very moment, and

An unexpected Declaration againſt the Aſſembly.

1620. and contrary to his Authority and Service; those that should remain at *London*, Guilty of High Treason, and depriv'd of the Privileges of the Edicts, and of all other favours he had Granted them; but particularly of a Removal of their Affairs to the * Chamber of the Edict: And he commanded them to be prosecuted as perturbators of the Publick Peace. And in Order to keep up the Division, which was but too great among them already, he did not only confirm the Edicts, in favour of those who should withdraw within the time prescrib'd by him, and of all those who should keep within the bounds of their Duty; but moreover he promis'd those Loyalists, that in case before the end of the time prefix'd whatever their Number might be, they did Nominate Deputies to reside with him, he would receive their Nomination, and allow the Persons so chosen to reside with him, and there to perform the accustom'd Function.

* *In which the Judges were part Catholicks, and part Reform'd.*

This Artifice had not altogether the same Effect that time, as it had had eight or nine years before at *Saumur*; by reason that the said Declaration was too visible a Guile, and that it came out at a time, when by the Mediation of two considerable Lords, and upon the Parole of a Prince of the Blood, and of a Favourite, all things were look'd upon as being accommodated. The Prince of *Conde* himself carry'd the said Declaration to the Parliament, in order to get it Verify'd; and in presenting it, he seconded it with several discourses, which the *Reform'd* might reasonably have look'd upon as a Declaration of War. The Deputies of the Assembly were strangely amaz'd, when at their Arrival at *Paris* they found things so alter'd; and yet more, when going as far as *Amiens* to obtain an Audience of the King, they could not obtain it, and were oblig'd to come back without an Answer. The News of this Fraud occasion'd the same Astonishment in the Assembly. *Lesdiguieres* Conduct look'd very Suspicious; and they did not say what they thought of the Prince of *Conde's*. He had reason to think himself oblig'd to the Assembly, if Persons of his Quality could think their Inferiors capable to oblige them. They had taken his part on divers occasions. They had Petition'd his deliverance while he was in Prison. Their last Assembly had

The Prince of Conde *deceives the Reform'd.*

even

ven ſpoken too much upon that Subject, in the Opinion of 1620.
e Wiſeſt. Thoſe that had been made in every Province
Order to depute to *Loudun*, had taken his Liberty to
eart: And had not *Luines* made haſte to give it him, the
ſſembly General would never have deſiſted from deſiring
That perhaps was one of the Reaſons which oblig'd the
vourite to haſten to reſtore it to him, becauſe that had
tarry'd too long, he ſhould not have had the Honour of
Nevertheleſs, while the *Reform'd* were Treating with
ines, as it were under the Auſpices of that Prince, they
w him going up to the Parliament, with a Declaration in
s Hand againſt them, and a Diſcourſe in his Mouth full
Vio'ence and Threatnings. The Attorney General made
n End to ſpoil the thing, by ſending the Declaration to
e Aſſembly by an Expreſs out of Affectation: And all
is being added to what *Du Vair* had ſaid in a full Parlia-
ent, in which the King had appear'd ſome days before,
r the Verification of ſome Money Bills; that the ſaid
ney would be of uſe for ſundry things, but particularly
repreſs the *Reform'd*; all theſe things made the moſt mo-
erate ſenſible, that a War was deſign'd againſt them, and
at in Order thereunto, the Court deſign'd to render them
e Aggreſſors of it.

Affected diligence of the Attorney General

The Aſſembly remains firm.

For thoſe Reaſons, the Aſſembly became more United
nd firmer than it was expected; and the Favourite dread-
g other diſcontents, which did not allow him to proceed
ny farther in his Ill Will towards them at that time, had
ecourſe to Negotiations again. *Leſdiguieres* reſumed them,
cuſing the precipitation of that unexpected Declaration,
nd endeavouring to make it paſs for an Effect of the Jea-
ouſie the Court had of ſome Members of the Aſſembly,
which they had a mind to reduce to Reaſon, out of fear of
falling into worſe Inconveniences. In Order to reſettle his
Credit again, which was very much ſhaken by that laſt
baſineſs, he caus'd his Deputy in the Aſſembly to Swear
and Sign the Union, and *Chatillon* did the ſame. Whereupon
the preceeding propoſitions were reſum'd, and *Du Pleſſis* was
of Opinion, that it would be the beſt way to accept them.
The Aſſembly did not yield to it without reſiſtance: But
the

The Negotiations are reſum'd.

1620. the Meſſages of *Bellujon* and of *Gilliers*, by whom *Leſdiguieres* preſs'd them to acquieſs, which were conſtantly ſeconded by Letters from *Du Pleſſis*, whoſe Advice was preferr'd by them, before all things, finally Vanquiſh'd thoſe difficulties. A great ſtreſs was laid upon the King's Word, given and Warranted by the firſt Prince of the Blood, and by the Duke of *Luines*. The Prince expreſs'd that he took it as an Affront, that they would not look upon his Faith and Oath as a ſufficient Warrant of a Royal Promiſe: And in Order the better to perſwade, that the King would be a very exact Obſerver of it, he obſerv'd that it was the firſt the King had given to his Subjects. The Duke *de Luines* affirm'd, that it was ſufficient that he had given his, and that he would make it as good as a *Brief*, and even better. Theſe were the Terms us'd by the Duke *de Mombazon* his Father-in-Law in ſpeaking to *Du Pleſſis*, who had written to him ſome time before a Large Letter, in Order to perſwade him that the beſt way for his Son-in-Law, in Order to maintain his Credit, and to prevent the renewing of ſome Faction like unto the League, at a time when Affairs ſeem'd depos'd towards it, was to avoid all occaſion of Civil Wars, as ſo many Rocks, againſt which he might looſe himſelf.

The Aſſembly Obeys upon the parole of the Prince of Conde *and of the Favourite.*

Thus the Aſſembly obey'd, being perſuaded by *Leſdiguieres*, by *Chatillon*, and by *Du Pleſſis*, to whom the other two had given the ſame Aſſurances, that as ſoon as they broke off, Satisfaction would be given them about the Affair of *Leitoure*, the keeping of the Places of Surety, and the Reception of the two Councellors; that in the next Place, the King would hear the Remonſtrances of thoſe of *Bearn*, and that in caſe all that were not performed in ſeven Months time, they ſhould not only have Leave granted them to Aſſemble again, but that it ſhould be Lawful for them to do it without a new Permiſſion. This is the Snare in which Credulity made them fall, which they would not have done, had not *Leſdiguieres* and the others perſuaded them not to inſiſt to have the ſaid Aſſurance in Writing, leſt the Court might pretend afterwards, never to have made any ſuch Promiſe.

Promiſe. Finally, They nominated ſix Perſons to the King, who choſe *Farias* and *Chalas* out of the ſaid Nomination, to exert the General Deputation; and ſoon after, the Aſſembly's having received Notice of the ſaid Election, they broke up. 1620.

Effect of the Separation of the Aſſembly.

The King ſeem'd very well pleas'd with their Obedience, and expreſs'd it in very obliging Words. Moreover, he added ſomething to it, which might have been call'd Effective, had not a Project been form'd at the ſame time to render it ineffectual; which was to add a Year to the Brief, that had been promis'd for the keeping of the Places of Surety, which were thereby left in the ſame Condition, in which they were, for five Years longer. But the Court might eaſily allow them a longer time yet without any Hazard, ſince they had already prepar'd Means to re-take them. The Court had a great deal of Reaſon to rejoyce at the Breaking up of the Aſſembly. Great Intrigues were forming there againſt the Greatneſs of the Favorite. The Queen had a violent Deſire to return thither. The Biſhop of *Lucon*, who was not come back to her to Confine himſelf to the Caſtle of *Angers*, was very ſollicitous for her to return there. But the main thing was to come there ſtrong enough to reduce the Prince of *Conde* and the Favorite to her Pleaſure. She eaſily form'd a great Party, by reaſon that all the Lords being diſpleas'd with *Luines*, whom they deſpis'd, thought it more Honorable for them to obey the Widow of *Henry the Great*, and the King's Mother, than a Man, whom Fortune had rais'd in one Night, whoſe Avarice and Ambition had no Bounds. The Duke of *Roban* was one of thoſe, that engag'd furtheſt into the Queen's Intereſts. Though the Favorite was Ally'd to him, they were not Friends: Their Genius was too different to Sympathize. *Luines* had us'd the Duke of *Roban* barbarouſly, while the Queen was Confin'd at *Blois*. That Duke had propos'd a Reconciliation between them; and alledging to him, that he would find more Support in her than in the Prince of *Conde*, he had adviſ'd him to leave the ſaid Prince in Priſon, and to recall the Queen to Court. *Luines*, who was unwilling to ſuffer any

New Intrigues againſt the Favorite.

1620 Persons there of more Authority than himself, did not set that Prince at Liberty, and seem'd to hearken to the Duke's Proposition; but it was only, in order thereby, to penetrate into the Queen's Secrets, to discover her Confidents and Friends, to draw Advances from her which discovered somewhat too plainly her Passion to return to Court. He made use of it to ruine the Creatures of that Princess, and to make the King jealous that in case she should come back to Court, she would soon resume her former Authority there. This Prince being Jealous and Credulous, fancy'd strait that she had great Designs against him, and that perhaps she aspir'd to Deprive him of the Government. This was the Thing he was most sensible to, though at the Bottom it ought to have been indifferent to him, since another was to Reign in his Name, whither it were his Mother, or his Favorite. But the Duke *de Luines* proceeded farther in his Wickedness. He insinuated into the King, that the Queen might attempt against his very Life, in order to make the Crown fall to the Duke of *Orleance*, in case she could not otherwise secure the Authority to her self. In order thereunto he taught him all the Mysteries of the Government of *Catherine de Medicis*; and he insinuated to him, that the Death of *Charles* the Ninth had not been occasion'd, as it was reported, by an Effort which had broken a Vein within his Stomach, but because he had declared too openly, that he design'd to Reign himself, and to Resume the Authority which that Princess had kept too long. Some Lords belonging to the Court, having accidentally put the King upon that Subject, were surpriz'd to find him so well acquainted with the Particulars of that History. It was easie thereby to judge that he had been taught it, in order to make him fear, what a Princess of the same House, and of an equal Ambition, and as full of Courage, was capable to undertake to Reign.

The Duke of Rohan engages in the Queen's Party.

Therefore the Duke of *Rohan*, who was already ill with the Favorite, seeing moreover that the Prince of *Conde* was at Liberty, against whom he had given such a disobliging Council, and to whom he had written in a pretty insulting manner during his Confinement, took absolutely the Queen's Part,

Part, and us'd his utmoſt Endeavors to engage the Aſſembly of *Loudun* in her Intereſts. He fail'd but little of ſucceeding in it; and had not the Court found the Way to diſſolve it, by the Illuſion of the fair Promiſes I have mentioned, it was very likely that he would have perform'd it. He was one of thoſe who were againſt their breaking up, and he promis'd the Queen that he would have Credit enough to hinder it: But the Advice of others being prefer'd to his, he notwithſtanding was one of thoſe that inſiſted moſt on the Sureties that were fitteſt to be taken, once to find ſome good Effect of the Promiſes of the Court. So that he only Conſented upon the poſitive aſſurances which *Leſdiguiere* and *Chatillon* gave, upon the Word of the Prince of *Conde*, and of the Duke *de Luines*, that the King would allow the Deputies to aſſemble again at *Rochel*, in caſe the Things promiſed were not put in Execution at the appointed time. He repreſented that Conſideration to the Queen, and endeavour'd to perſuade her, that whereas the Court no longer kept their Words of late, the Aſſembly would not fail to repair to *Rochel*, at a time when the Deſigns of that Princeſs being ready to ſucceed, the *Reform'd* would fully reſolve to joyn with her: That the new Fraud of the Favorite would give them juſt Reaſons to do it; and that their preſent Obedience would only ſerve to ſhow, that it was againſt their Will they were oblig'd to proceed to Extremities. The Court was not ignorant of his Proceedings with the Queen, and as ſome publick Negotiations were ſtill kept on foot with the Queen, they acquainted her that the Duke's Abode at *Angers* was ill reſented. To which ſhe anſwer'd, that when ſhe had receiv'd Satisfaction, ſhe ſhould eaſily know how to Diſcard him; but ſhe rely'd too much upon him, to oblige him to remove: and ſhe was glad to ſee that the Favorite had ſome Jealouſie of his Aſſiduity with her. After the Queens Affairs were ruin'd, the Catholicks publiſh'd, in order to render the *Reform'd* odious, and to perſuade the World that ſhe had not had great Deſigns, that they had offer'd their Services to her, and that ſhe had refus'd their Offers. But Politicians would have found ſomething very

1620.

Scruples of the Queen Mother.

1620. odd in that Pious Rebellion, which making the Queen take Arms againſt the Government, did not allow her to ſtrengthen her Party by the Alliance of the *Heretick*s, which, without doubt, would have been the main Force of her Party. The Truth is, that the Queen was not ſo ſcrupulous. She never refus'd to joyn the Forces of the *Reform'd* to hers. She us'd all Means imaginable, after her Retreat from *Angoulême*, and during the Aſſembly of *Loudun*, to oblige them to declare for her; and ſhe had many Creatures among them. She only ſtopt in one thing out of Scruple. She would ſign no Treaty with them, leſt her Name ſhould appear in a Treaty with *Heretick*s, and the Catholicks ſhould upbraid her with the Advantages the *Reform'd* would have got by a League, which would have put the Widow of *Henry* IV. and the Mother of their King at their Head. This only excepted, ſhe did not refuſe their Services; and ſhe was glad to be ſeconded by them, provided they could not convince her of it under her own Hand. This Thought made her ſeem to be irreſolute, and her Irreſolutions created a Diffidence in moſt of the Members of the Aſſembly, who upon that account were as ſlow to declare themſelves as the Queen. Thoſe little Scruples ruin'd the great Deſigns of that Princeſs; and it is moſt certain, that conſidering the Diſpoſition of Peoples Minds, the Separation of the Aſſembly prov'd a Maſter-piece of the Duke of *Luyn*s.

Power of the Party ſhe forms.

The Queen daily encreaſed her Party ſecretly, by the Concourſe of the Male-contents that joyned with her, and who were deſirous to reſtore her the Authority ſhe had loſt. The Diſcontents were more univerſal than ever. The King's Power and Favours were reſerv'd only for three Perſons, who exhauſted the Finances to Enrich themſelves, and who Ingroſs'd all the beſt Imployments, though others deſerv'd them much better. No body could imagine where the Progreſs of a Fortune ſo rapid would terminate, which in three years time had elevated three Brothers, whoſe Birth was hardly known, to Dignities, which the moſt Ancient Families could hardly obtain, after Thirty or Forty years Services. The Waſte of the Finances was ſo Exorbitant, that

that in order to satisfie the insatiable Avidity of the Favorites, all the Fund of three years had been consum'd beforehand, without so much as providing for the Necessities of the present year. Therefore every body joyn'd with the Queen. The Duke *de Mayenne*, being either inform'd, or suspecting that the Court design'd to secure him, fled from *Paris*, at the very time the King receiv'd the News of the Obedience of the Assembly; and the Satisfaction he receiv'd at that happy Success, oblig'd him, lest a different Treatment might alter their Minds, to grant them the Brief, I mentioned, so speedily, by reason that the Court did not know as yet, what Consequences might attend the Retreat of that Prince. But as soon as they had receiv'd Letters from him, whereby he assured the King, that his only Design was to secure himself, and that he had no thoughts of taking up Arms, they soon moderated that Eagerness of Good Will, and forgot the rest of their Promises. However, the Duke *de Mayenne* had only given these Assurances in order to amuse the Court, by reason that all those who design'd to joyn with the Queen like him, were not as yet ready. Therefore he secur'd *Guyenne*, of which he had the Government, to the Service of that Princess. The Duke *d'Epernon* did the same in *Angoumois*, and all the other Governments and Places under his Command. The Duke *de Rohan* was doing the same in *Poitou* for her. The *Reform'd* only tarry'd for the first Success to embrace the same Party. *Normandy* was almost prevail'd with to follow these Examples by the Duke *de Longueville*, to whom the said Government had been given, in Recompence of that of *Picardy*, which he had been forc'd to yield to the Duke *de Luynes*. But when all things were ready to break out, the Advice the Prince of *Conde* gave to the King, and that which the Bishop of *Lucon* gave to the Queen, ruin'd all those Designs. 1620.

* The Prince advis'd the King to secure *Normandy* before the Queen could have time to get the upper hand there: and the bishop stopt the Queen at *Angers*, where her Forces were not capable to oppose a Royal Army; besides that, it was a very

Useful Advice of the Prince of Conde, and ill Council of the Bishop of Lucon.

1620. very weak Place. The principal Members of the Queen's Party, and among the reſt, the Dukes *de Mayenne*, and *de Rohan*, adviſ'd her to retire into *Guyenne*, where ſhe had a very fine Army under the Duke *de Mayenne*'s Command; where her Preſence would not fail to oblige *Bourdeaux* and the Parliament to declare for her; ſince they ſeem'd only to tarry for it, and where the Favorites would not have been able to follow her, without being ſtopt continually by ſome Town or other, that would ſhut their Gates againſt them; beſides, the fear of leaving ſecret Enemies behind them, who as ſoon as they had croſs'd the *Loire*, might raiſe the Northern Provinces. To this they added, that on the Contrary, remaining at *Angers*, of which the Inhabitants were diſaffected to her Service, ſhe would be deprived of all Communication with her principal Forces, and have no Recourſe after the leaſt Diſadvantage.

The Biſhops Reaſons. The Biſhop refuted thoſe Reaſons, by Remonſtrating to the Queen, that in putting her ſelf into the Hands of the Duke *de Mayenne*, ſhe would diſoblige the Duke *d'Epernon*, a proud haughty Man, to whom ſhe had been lately highly oblig'd: That in removing farther from *Normandy*, ſhe would looſe the Advantance of the Correſpondence ſhe held there with many conſiderable Perſons: That her Retreat would be look'd upon as a Flight, which would be imputed to her Diffidency of her Forces: That it would diſcourage her Friends, who would be obliged to forſake her, not to expoſe themſelves to pay for the reſt of the Party. She did yield to thoſe Conſiderations, which ruin'd her. Some have been of Opinion, that the Biſhop was gain'd by the Duke *de Luines*, who gave him hopes of a Share in the Publick Affairs; and that being thus blinded by Ambition, and relying upon Predictions, which promis'd him a glorious Miniſtry, he betray'd his Miſtreſs by a Council, of which he knew the Inconvenience. The King, in purſuance of the Prince of *Conde*'s Advice, march'd with ſpeed into *Normandy*, with ſuch Forces as were ready near his Perſon; and while the Remainder of his Forces were aſſembling, he Subdu'd that Province without any Reſiſtance. *Prudent*, Governor of the

the Caſtle of *Caer*, was the only Perſon who ſeem'd to have a mind to defend himſelf; but he did it only to be intreated, and in few days he deliver'd up the Place to the King. As ſoon as all things were quieted on that ſide, the King's Forces march'd towards *Angers*, where the Queen found her ſelf on a ſudden, as it were Inveſted, unprovided, and ſurpriz'd, not knowing what to reſolve upon. Therefore a Peace was propos'd, every body endeavouring by that Negotiation, to gain time, and to find Means to deceive the contrary Party. But the King's Forces having accidentally, and perhaps unwillingly defeated the Queen's at *Pont de Cé*, the Treaty was broke off, and that Princeſs was oblig'd to accept ſuch Conditions as were offer'd her, that is, to ſubmit at the Diſcretion of an Enemy, who was not near ſo Powerful as her ſelf; her Friends were forc'd to lay down their Arms, and all ſhe could obtain for them, was a General Pardon. 1620.

Defeat of the Queen's Forces follow'd by a Peace.

The King finding himſelf Arm'd thus, without any Enemies to oppoſe him, and having moreover gather'd the remains of the Forces the Queen's Friends had been oblig'd to diſband in *Guyenne*, he reſolv'd all of a ſudden to make uſe of them, in order to force *Bearn* to obey, which was not ready to oppoſe him. He march'd towards *Bourdeaux* with ſpeed, without declaring his Deſign. The *Reform'd*, either not being jealous of it, or wanting a Pretence to take up Arms, by reaſon that the ſix Months, in which the Court had promis'd to ſatisfie them, were not as yet expir'd, did nothing to put a ſtop to that Expedition. *La Force*, being ſurpriz'd by that unexpected Journey, and having made no uſe of his Time, could neither put himſelf in a Poſture of Defence, nor get any Aſſiſtance out of the adjacent Provinces, which were aſtoniſh'd at the Sight of a Royal Army. Therefore he came to the King at *Bourdeaux*, to perſuade him to alter his Reſolutions by Remonſtrances: He added Promiſes to oblige the *Bearnois* to obey, provided no Violence were us'd. But whether the Court did not truſt him, or whether the Clergy expected more from the King's Preſence, than from the Good-Will of the People, the King continu'd his March. *La Force* met him again at *Grenade*, and brought him

The King's unexpected Journey in Bearn.

1620. him formal Proofs of the Obedience of the Eſtates. He renew'd his Remonſtrances; he repreſented to the King, what Dangers he was going to expoſe his Perſon to, in a Country, in which the Roads are very dangerous and Troubleſome, where there is nothing but Heath and Mountains, and where Torrents and Floods are continually met with, and where the Paſſages being difficult at all times, were much more difficult yet at the beginning of Winter. But all prov'd ineffectual: The King refus'd their Submiſſions, and his Reaſons could not move him. Therefore he was forc'd to go back, without having obtain'd any thing.

Faults of the Reformed, and the Cauſe thereof.

The *Memoirs* of that Time accuſe him of having neither known how to obey, nor yet to defend himſelf; and it is moſt certain, that in all that Affair, the *Reform'd* did nothing but by halves; they dreaded the Rreproach of being Aggreſſors ſo much, and of renewing the Civil Wars without a Lawful Cauſe, that ſince the time the Catholicks had begun to trouble them by a thouſand Diſputes, they had not been able to fix upon a certain Reſolution; ever ready to ſatisfie themſelves with Words, when the Court gave them good ones; and to feed themſelves with Hopes, whenever they were flatter'd with the ſpecious Name of Royal Faith. Several among them were ſenſible that the Court had form'd the Deſign to deſtroy them, and that they only troubled them by a thouſand ſmall Vexations, ſometimes harder to bear than great Injuſtices, in order to incline them to a Riſing, which having no apparent Cauſe, might give them a reaſonable Pretence to oppreſs them. But that very Conſideration prevail'd with them not to take Arms, in order to fruſtrate the Deſigns of their Enemies by their Patience. So that this Diſpoſition of Honeſt Men, afforded thoſe who were Corrupted by Penſion, or Promiſes from the Court, a fair Field to make them neglect the Expedients, and looſe the Opportunities to defend themſelves. For which reaſon their very Enemies have reproach'd them, that, conſidering they were People who had acquir'd the Reputation of great Politicians, by the Succeſs of their Affairs during ſeveral years, notwithſtanding all the Forces and Artifices that had been oppos'd againſt them, they

they did not know how to improve their Advantages; and that they ſuffer'd with too much Blindneſs, and without ſeeking out a Remedy, the Preparations of their Ruin, which were making before their Eyes. 1620.

The King continu'd his March as far as *Preignac*, and there receiv'd the Remonſtrances which *du Faur* and *de Marca*, Councellors at *Pau*, came to make to him in the Name of the Soveraign Council, to obtain an Audience for the Churches, according as he had been pleas'd to preſcribe it himſelf. But it prov'd ineffectual; and he anſwer'd them, that ſince they had not been able to oblige the *Bearnois* to obey him, he was going to do it himſelf. He perform'd it accordingly, and he made his Entry at *Pau* on the 15th of *October*. Two days after it he came to *Navarreins*, a ſtrong Place, which might have ſuſtain'd a long Siege, had the Governor been pleas'd to defend it. But *de Salles*, who was a very ancient Gentleman, being deſirous to obey, caus'd the Gariſon to march out, to receive the King with more Reſpect; and the Inhabitants following his Example, repair'd to their Arms, only to give a greater Air of Triumph to the Entry of their Soveraign. The only Reward *de Salle* receiv'd for that Submiſſion, was the Loſs of his Government, without any Recompence for it, and that he ſaw the Survivorſhip thereof taken away from a Nephew of his, to whom it had been granted, and the Baron *de Poyane*, a Catholick, was put in his Room, with a Gariſon of the ſame Religion. The King came back to *Pau* after it, where he had ſummon'd the Eſtates of the Country; and, as if his Council had deſign'd to Inſtruct him how to make a Jeſt of his Faith and Word, they allow'd him to take the uſual Oath to the Eſtates, before he receiv'd that of his Subjects; but he began to violate it the ſame day. It is remarkable, that during the Courſe of that Expedition, the King only adviſ'd with three Perſons; *viz.* the Duke *de Luines*, *du Vair*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and the Jeſuit *Arnoux* his Confeſſor. The very ſame day on which he ſwore to obſerve the Laws of the Country, grounded upon the Conſent of his Predeceſſors, and of the

The King proceeds, notwithſtanding Remonſtrances.

He arrives at Pau.

Makes himſelf Maſter of Navarreins

He takes the Oath.

1620. Estates, he gave the Presidentship of that Assembly to the Bishops and Abbots, who immediately took Possession of it. He also caus'd the Declaration to be verify'd, which allow'd them to assist at the Grand Council of the Country, with a deliberative Voice, and place next to the Presidents. He caus'd the Answer he had made to the *Cahiers*, presented to him by the Bishops three years before, to be Registred. The next day he caus'd the Edict of the Re-union of *Navar*, and of *Bearn* to the Crown to be verify'd; and besides all the other Alterations that follow'd the Persecution, within a little time the Judges of *Bearn* were oblig'd to forget their Language, and to give all their Judgments in *French*. Lastly, In order to leave nothing whole in that Country, he also caus'd the Edict of the Suppression of the Captains of the *Parsans* to be Registred, the Institution of which was as Ancient as the Principality.

Alteration of the whole Form of the Government.

Suppression of the Captains of the Parsans.

Those *Parsans* were Cantons, in which all the Youth were Listed under a Captain, at whose Command they were oblig'd to take up Arms. So that in two or three days time, every Canton was able to Assemble all the Militia of its Canton, and to form among them all, a Body of Five or Six thousand Men. There were Six of those Cantons, who by that speedy Convocation, could easily defend the Entrance into their Country, even against powerful Armies. This is sufficient to show, that had they been as much inclin'd to Rebellion and Disobedience, as they were Zealous to Preserve the Liberty of their Country, and of their Conscience, those, who put the King upon that Journey, would have oppos'd him to receive an inevitable Affront. But they only resisted by Remonstrances and Sighs; and yet were us'd like Rebels, that Surrender'd upon Discretion. They lost the Estates which serv'd for the Maintenance of their Ministers, their Colleges, their Seminaries, their Poor, and their Garisons. Their Temples and Church-yards were taken from them; they were constrained every where to bestow half the Imployments on the Catholicks. The Jesuits were allow'd to settle where-ever they pleas'd, and to perform whatever Functions they thought fit: That is, That poor Country was given

How the Reform'd of the Country were us'd.

given as a Prey to their Greedineſs, and the King founded a College for them in particular at *Pau*, where he alſo eſtabliſh'd a Convent of Capucins. When he made his Entry into that City, he refus'd the Canopy, which the Magiſtrates offer'd him; but after he had reſtor'd the Cathedral to the Catholicks, he caus'd the Sacrament, which the Catholicks adore, to be carry'd in Proceſſion. He aſſiſted at it himſelf with a Zeal, which the Biggots admir'd, and which made the Catholicks expreſs great Marks of Hatred againſt the *Reform'd*. 1620.

Abuſes and Threatnings.

All that Journey prov'd a Chain of Violences, like unto thoſe that have been practis'd in our days. The moſt moderate could not forbear Threatnings of Exemplary Puniſhment; of Hanging, of Beheading, to aboliſh the *Reform'd* Religion throughout the Kingdom, calling it a *curſed Religion*; to baniſh all the Profeſſors of it, or to give them ſome Ignominious Mark. The Soldiers broke the Temple Gates, demoliſhed the Walls, tore the Books and Pictures on which the Ten Commandments were written. They Stole from, and did Cheat the Peaſants that came to the Market at *Pau*, ſuppoſing them all to be *Hugenots*. The Lord Keeper's very Servants were as furious as the reſt. They forc'd the *Reform'd*, that fell into their Hands, to make the Sign of the Croſs, and to Kneel whenever Proceſſions paſs'd along. Women durſt not appear in the Streets, for fear of being follow'd like Infamous Women, with foul Injuries, and inſulting Cries. Some of them being with Child, were compell'd to ſwear, to cauſe their Children to be Baptiz'd in the Roman Church, as ſoon as they were deliver'd. Children were forc'd from their Parents, and could not be recover'd; and all that was done in the King's Preſence. The Souldiers liv'd upon Diſcretion in the Country, and publiſh'd, that the King had promis'd them the Plunder of the *Reform'd*, forc'd away the Miniſters, abus'd their Wives, and forc'd Men and Women to go to Maſs with Cudgels: Attempted the Honour of Women, and even fell ſometimes upon their Husbands, when they had the Courage to Defend them. An Age of forc'd Converſions appear'd in thoſe days, of which we have now ſuch freſh Examples before our Eyes. We may

1620. very well conclude that *Lescun* was not forgotten in that Confusion. The King took away his Place of Counsellor, and had he been found, he would have been scurvily us'd. The Baron *de Benac* was also forc'd to fly, for fear of losing his Head. *La Force* tarry'd, and he made a shift to be continued in the Government of the Country.

The Violences continued after the King's Departure. The Garisons that were left in *Oleron*, at *Sauvaterre*, at *Nay*, and other Places, abus'd their Landlords intollerably. Some forc'd them to advance the Oates and Hay for their Horses, in Expectation of their Musters: Others compell'd Children to make the Sign of the Cross; others abus'd those who went to perform the Exercise of their Religion; and others endeavor'd to hinder them from doing it with Stripes. The Bishops were the Ringleaders of those Insolencies. The Bishop of *Lescar* feign'd on purpose, that he was inform'd that, the *Reform'd* design'd to attack the Catholicks on *Christmas* Eve, and to Murther all the Ecclesiasticks: And the better to perswade that false Report, he caus'd the Gates of the City to be shut; caus'd arm'd Men to attend him, and carry'd Pistols along with him at the Mass of Midnight, as being resolv'd to defend himself. The Bishop of *Oleron* caus'd the Garison to take Arms at the same time, and sent some Soldiers out of Town to search the Gentlemens Houses thereabouts; declaring that the Baron *de Benac* lay conceal'd in an adjacent Forrest with several arm'd Men. He allarm'd even the Lower *Navar*, where they broke down Bridges, and put Guards in the Passages, as if there had been an Enemy at the Gates. But the end of all this was to have a Pretence to send Verbal Reports to Court, to justifie the Violences of *Poyane*. That new Governor exerted great Cruelties against the Inhabitants of *Navarreins*. His Pretence for it was, as they said, that they had held Correspondencies with some Gentlemen, Relations to the late Governor. Those Gentlemen nam'd *Bensins*, being full of Indignation at the Treatment their Relation had receiv'd, made themselves Masters of a Tower in the Neighbourhood of *Navarreins*, which they fortify'd, and from whence they were in hopes to annoy that Place. *Poyane* Arm'd

Wickedness of the Bishops.

Cruelties of Poyane.

Arm'd immediately to force them out of it; and easily dissipated their Enterprise. The Marquis *de la Force* told his Father, that he ought not to suffer *Poyane* to take Arms without his Approbation, and to Besiege a Place, which was not under the Government of *Navarreins*; but the Court sent *la Force* a positive Order to let *Poyane* alone, by reason that the King approv'd his Conduct. So that he was forc'd to take Patience, and to digest that Affront without expressing his Resentment about it. After this *Poyane* exerted great Cruelties against the Inhabitants of the City; and though the Conspiracy was only attested or confessed by Suborned Persons, and that all those who were executed about it, constantly deny'd their having any Knowledge of an Enterprise upon that Place; so many were put to Death under the Notion of Conspirators, that it might rather be call'd a Massacre than an Example of Justice. The King being perswaded that whatever was set down in the Bishops Verbal Reports, was infallibly true, justify'd what *Poyane* had done, and refus'd to hear the Complaints presented to him by the *Reform'd*. Moreover, those that scap'd that Butchery, were depriv'd of the Liberty of exercising their Religion, and the Minister was turn'd out of the Town, and was forbidden ever to return thither to perform his Functions. 1620.

Books were written on both sides upon that Subject. It is thought that the King's Confessor writ the Book Intitled *The King in Bearn*, in which all the Transactions there, are represented just and lawful; and especially as a true Triumph of the Catholick Church. The *Reform'd* oppos'd *The Tragical History of the Desolation of Bearn*, to the said Book; by the bare Recital of which, relating the Circumstances of Time, Persons, and Places, it was plainly demonstrated to all equitable Persons, that there is no Impudence a Jesuit is not capable of. *Different Relations of the Kings Journey.*

While the King was Marching towards *Bearn*, the *Reform'd* Assembled a National Synod on the first of *October* in the Town of *Alets*. Great Complaints were made in it of the Injustices that were done to the *Reform'd* throughout *National Synod of Alets.*

1620. out the Kingdom. Several Churches were mention'd there in which the Exercise of their Religion was interrupted. They consider'd the Affair of *Privas*, of *Leitoure*, and of *Sancerre*. They complain'd that at *Severac*, at *Guiac*, at *Vaux* in *Provence*, at *Serverettes*, and at *Langres* they receiv'd molestations, which amounted even to Violent Persecution. *Puimirol* had been burnt during the Troubles, and the Temple of *Montignac* had been Demolish'd. But one of the Greatest Affairs that was examin'd there, was that of some Ministers, who being deputed to the Assembly of *Loudun*, had the boldness to Preach their private sentiments there, against the Resolutions of the Assembly. There were several of them in the Lower *Languedoc*, who were ingag'd in the Interests of the Court by a small Pension, and who occasion'd a thousand disorders in the Political Assemblies of the Province, by reason that the Deputies that form'd them, being Nominated by the Churches, there were too many Ministers. Even such as could not get the Nomination of some Churches, obtain'd the deputations of some great Lord, in Order to be admitted in them. The Synod being desirous to remedy a thing which had already been attended with ill Consequences, forbad the Ministers to accept deputations to the Court, or to great Lords or from them: And Order'd that for the Future, the Deputies for the Assemblies should be chosen rather by the Laity, than by the Churches. As that Regulation exceeded the bounds of Discipline, the Synod added, that the first General Assembly should be desir'd to approve it, and whatever else might free the Churches of Political Affairs.

Political Regulations.

The Ministers deputed for the Synod of Dordrecht give an account of the reasons that have kept them

Du Moulin, *Chauve*, *Chamier*, and *Rivet* who were Nam'd by the preceding Synod, to assist in the Name of the Churches of *France* to that which the United Provinces were Assembling at *Dordrecht* in 1618. about the affair of the *Remonstrators*, in which all the *Reform'd* part of *Europe* sent Deputies, gave an Account of the Reasons that had hinder'd them from performing their Commission. *Chamier* and *Chauve* were gone in Order thereunto: But they re-

ceiv'd an Order from the King at *Geneva* not to proceed further. That Prince had been frighted with the Correſpondencies, that might be form'd under the pretence of that Journey, between the *Reform'd* of *France* and thoſe of other Countries. As the Catholicks fill'd his Mind with whatever could render them Odious to him, they made him fear Leagues againſt him; Republican Maxims, which would be taught them in thoſe Countries, in which the People had an averſion for Monarchy: For which reaſons he hinder'd the Communication, which they perſwaded him was very dangerous. And yet he had been ſollicited by his Allies, to allow ſome Miniſters of his Kingdom to aſſiſt at the ſaid Synod: Moreover, he had ſollicited the States General himſelf to allow the ſaid Synod a full Liberty. But he was eaſily prevail'd upon to do any thing, when any Body perſwaded him that his Authority was concern'd: Beſides *Barnevelt* Penſionary of *Holland*, was accus'd of having Written ſecretly in *France*, to hinder the ſending of any Body thither. The deputed Miniſters went away without Leave, for fear of a denial; preferring to excuſe a thing done, rather than to expoſe themſelves to be deny'd the undertaking it: But that precaution prov'd ineffectual; and the Court ſtopt them by the way. The Synod of *Alais* not being able to do any thing better, nor to expreſs the Marks of the Uniformity of their Doctrine with that of Foreign Churches, and of the Synod of *Dordrecht*, any other way ſubſcrib'd their deciſions. 1620.

The Affair of *Bearn* caus'd great agitations in that Aſſembly, there were ſo many Members of it Corrupted by the Court, that they had the Credit for a long while to waive all the Complaints and Remonſtrances of the Deputies of that Province, who renew'd them four times in three days, without being able to obtain a Deputation to the Court on their behalf. All manner of Artifices were put in practiſe to perſwade the World, that the report of the King's Journey was falſe. Falſe Letters were Writen to divers Perſons, to acquaint them that thoſe Affairs were accommodated. They ſaid, that the Synod had no right to meddle

1620. meddle with that Affair, which was not Eccleſiaſtical; that the King would refuſe to hear the Deputies of an Aſſembly, which exceeded the Bounds of their Power, in an affair of that Conſequence; That the Principality of *Bearn*, only deſir'd to be United to the Churches of *France* for their own Intereſt, and would be ready to ſeparate themſelves from it again, as ſoon as they had ſerv'd their own turn at their Coſt; Moreover, that in caſe the King were minded to oblige *Bearn* to Obey, he would no wiſe matter the Interceſſion of the Churches, ſince every thing ſubmitted to his Arms and to his Preſence. The Deputies of *Bearn* made a great deal of noiſe at that refuſal to aſſiſt them; they cry'd that the Churches of *France* betray'd them; Curs'd the day of their Union, and made ſtrange Imprecations against thoſe that forſook them ſo ſhamefully. The People of *Alez* being inform'd of theſe diſputes, took the part of the *Bearnois*; and Murmur'd highly againſt the Synod. They fail'd but little of coming to a Sedition.

They reſolve to depute to the King.

This Accident made the Court Cabal ſlacken a little, in ſpite of which, finally, after Ten or Twelve days diſputes, they reſolv'd to Write and ſend Deputies to the King; to beg his Leave to hold a General Aſſembly at *Rochel*, as he had promis'd in order to diſſolve that of *Loudun*; and to intreat him to determin the Affair of *Bearn*, and of *Leytoure*. They alſo reſolv'd to Write to *Leſdiguieres* and to *Chaſtillon*, whom they look'd upon as Guarrantees of the ſaid Promiſe, ſince they had receiv'd it from the Prince of *Conde*, and from the Duke *de Luines*, and carry'd it from them to the Aſſembly. But the Perſons that were gain'd by the Court, ſpread ſo many falſe Reports in the Synod, that they filled every Body with Conſternation and Terror; And that the Synod broke on the 13th of the ſaid Month the Project of deputation, which they had form'd the day before.

All manner of Succors is refus'd to the Deputies of Bearn.

The *Bearnois* were almoſt deſperate at that Inconſtancy: But that did not hinder them from receiving new Cauſes of Complaint. Moreover, after the Synod was inform'd of what had paſt in *Bearn*, they refus'd to ſend Deputies to the King, to interceed for that Wretched Province. They would

would not ſo much as Order all the Churches of the King- 1620.
dom, to make Publick Prayers to God for the Ruin'd Churches of *Bearn*; which the Catholicks themſelves look'd upon as a piece of Cowardiſe. In a Word, thoſe that had ſold themſelves to the Court, order'd matters ſo, that they made the reſt take and Change their Reſolutions as they pleas'd; which appear'd almoſt in all the Affairs that were propos'd. Inſomuch, that the leaſt clear ſighted diſcover'd and Confeſs'd that there were Traytors in the Company; but they wanted either means to diſcover, or Courage to Chaſtiſe them.

La Planche Miniſter of the Province of *Dauphine*, made a great diſcourſe of the Reports that were ſpread about the Affairs of Religion that were Tranſacted in *Vateline*, where it was ſaid, that the *Spaniards* had committed a great Maſſacre of the *Reform'd*; and about the deſigns that were forming in *France* to Ruin the Churches. He ſpoke of them like a Man, that had very good Informations. He affirm'd that *Canaples* Grand-Son to *Leſdiguieres*, who ſoon after Marry'd a Niece of the Duke *de Luines*, had Chang'd his Religion; That after the death of the Grand-Father, whoſe Engagements to turn Catholicks were not as yet known, there was no likelihood to preſerve that Family; That it was publickly diſcours'd that the King would ſhortly take the Cities of Hoſtage from the *Reform'd*; which he would do by retrenching the payment of their Garriſons; That the Governor of *Grenoble* was a Catholick; that thoſe of *Montelimar* and of *Livron* were Penſioners to the Court, and ſeveral things of that Nature: But the Penſioners prevail'd ſo far, that thoſe Conſiderations prov'd ineffectual. *Important conſiderations evaded.*

The News of the Alterations the King had made in *Bearn*, and that of an Enterview between the Duke of *Guiſe*, *Leſdiguieres* and *Chatillon*, under pretence of the War of *Piemont*, but in reality to hinder the *Reform'd* of the Provinces of *Dauphine*, of *Languedoc*, and of *Provence* from making a diverſion, having reach'd the Synod, with Circumſtances which did not permit them to doubt of it, the ſame Cabal *News of conſequence ſuppreſt.*

1618. had still the Credit to suppress them as long as it was necessary, to prevent the applying a remedy to the same, or to take measures to stop the Progress thereof. A Conference which was design'd at *Usez*, about the Affairs of the Country, was also prevented by the Artifices of the same Persons.

Treachery of some Ministers unpunish'd.

La Farre Minister of *Aubenas* was accus'd of holding a Correspondency with *Ornano*, the King's Lieutenant in that Province: Yet tho' the Proofs of his Treachery were apparent, he was so well seconded by the Suffrages of his Adherents, that the Synod could not use him according to his desert. They only suspended him for two Months, without turning him out of his Church. *Codure* who created continual Broils in the Political Assemblies, and in the Synods, and who deserv'd the most Rigorous Chastisements of their Discipline, had like to have sav'd himself by the same Protection. He was Minister at *Ganges*, where he had put the whole Church in disorder. He was accus'd before the Synod of *Alets*; but so powerfully defended, that the only punishment they could inflict upon him, was to deprive him of his living at *Ganges*. They would have given him another, but he refus'd it. He did propose to retire to *Montpellier*, there to lead a private Life: But the Synod having forbidden him ever to meddle with Political Affairs, he became thereby useless to the Court Party, in favour of which his cover'd Zeal could no longer create disorders and disputes. Some Conjectures might induce us to suspect, that the said *Codure* is the same that was Corrupted by *D'Argeau*, the Story of which is worth relating. It will be found in another place.

Troubles of Privas.

The Affairs of *Privas* were also very much talk'd of in the Synod; and whereas the Troubles of that City have had long and fatal Consequences, it is necessary to give an account of their begining. *Chambaud* a Gentleman of that Country, a Zealous *Reform'd*, had Marry'd the Heiress of *Privas*, which is a Baronny, the Lord of which has the Privilege, to enter into the Estates of *Languedoc* in his Turn. He was kill'd in the King's Service during the Wars of *Piedmont*;

mm; and his Widow forgot him almoſt as ſoon as he was laid in his Grave. She afterwards fell in Love, with Vice Comte *L'ſtrange's* Son, a very handſom young Gentleman, but a Violent Catholick, and Marry'd him. The Inhabitants oppos'd the ſaid Marriage to that degree, that the Vice Comte was oblig'd to enter the Ladies Houſe by ſtealth, in order to Conſummate the ſaid Marriage. *Chamb ud* had Marry'd one of his Daughters to *Briſon*, Governor of *Pou-a*; who did not fail to joyn with the Oppoſants; both as being concern'd in the Affairs of that Houſe; and as pretending that the Government of the Caſtle of *Privas* belong'd to him. The Example of *Sancerre*, one of the Cities that had been poſſeſs'd the longeſt by the *Reform'd*, taught them what they were to truſt to, in caſe they ſuffer'd a Place like *Privas* to fall into the Hands of a Catholick; The ſaid Place was none of the Largeſt, but yet ſtrong enough to defend it ſelf againſt a Royal Army. Moreover, Maſs had not been ſaid in the ſaid City for ſixty years paſt; and they were ſenſible that their New Lord would not fail to reeſtabliſh it there. So that, it prov'd an eaſie matter for *Briſon* to excite a kind of War between the Lady and the Inhabitants of the Place: But it was ſoon after accommodated by Commiſſioners upon Conditions, which the Vice Comte only accepted, in order to break them at the firſt occaſion. He ſeiz'd upon the Caſtle by Surpriſe, and caus'd the Nobility of the Neighbourhood to Aſſemble there, under pretence to Congratulate his Marriage; but in effect to make himſelf the ſtrongeſt. Whereupon, the Inhabitants immediately repair'd to their Arms; and the Vice Comte accompany'd by his Friends, having met ſome Citizens in Arms, Charg'd them before they Attack'd him, and thus the War began New. *Briſon*, who ſtood upon his Guard put Succors in-to the City, and forc'd the Vice Comte to abandon it. He complain'd of that Violence to the Duke *de Mommorency* Governor of the Province, and to *Favre* the Intendant, who ſent *Bretaut* Maſter of Requeſt along with him, endeavour'd to reconcile the Lord and the Subjects. But their endeavours prov'd ineffectual, by reaſon that after the unexpect-

1620. *And their Original.*

Accommodation broken by the Lord.

1620. ed Hostilities of the Vice-Count, the Inhabitants would no longer confide in him, and refus'd to come to an Accommodation with him, unless they had very good Sureties.

The Place is disposed of.

That Affair remain'd undecided until the Dukes return, who was at a great distance from the Province at that time. He took the Vice-Count's part, and drew near the City with 7 or 8000 Men. It would have been very easie to oppose it, had *Chatillon* whom the *Reform'd* had entrusted with the Government of the Circle, undertaken it. But he did no wise oppose the Duke who was his Friend and his Kinsman, at the approach of whom, *Brison* quitted the City, tho he had near 2000 Men to defend it, besides the Inhabitants. *Mommorency* was receiv'd in the Place, and put one of his Followers and a Garrison of 50 Men into the Castle, until the King had order'd otherwise about it. So that, that Affair took the Form of a Process among private Persons: The *Reform'd* pretended, that the said Place having been in their Hands at the time of the Edict; It was to be Esteem'd a Place of Surety, since it was included in the General Terms of the Briefs, which allow'd them the keeping of all the Places they were in Possession of at that time: The Vice-Count on the contrary maintain'd, that as the said Place did belong to a Private Person of the *Reform'd* Religion, it had lost that Quality, by falling into the Hands of a Catholick Lord. In the mean time, the Garrison commit-

Violences of the Garrison and Gentlemen against the Inhabitants.

ted a thousand Violences; and even during the Session of the Synod of *Alets*, the Souldiers cut an Old Man over the Head, and forc'd another Inhabitant, whom they pursu'd on purpose to abuse him, to fling himself into a Precipice, to avoid falling into their Hands. And yet they had the Impudence to Complain that the Inhabitants abus'd them, and to send for Commissioners to redress their Wrongs. But the Commissioners finding that the said Complaints were ill grounded, went away again without doing any thing: And as they did the Inhabitants no harm, by reason that they found them Innocent, neither did they do them Justice for the Violences the Souldiers were guilty of.

A

A particular Assembly was held at *Anduse*, upon the Account of those Troubles: But they did not redress the hardships that distressed City suffer'd, by reason that *Chatillon*, who alone had the Power to do it, did nothing to defend them. That Affair was in this Condition when it was brought before the Synod of *Alets*, which only succour'd *Privas* by Recommendation, and with the Sum of 200 Crowns. The Truth is, that they order'd a Collection in the Province, to help them to defray the Charges of the War. They Wrote to *Chatillon*, to intreat him to awaken his Zeal in favour of that important Place. Those Letters produc'd some Effect: *Chatillon* seem'd to recover out of his Lethargy: *Brison* Besieg'd it a New; and forc'd the Garrison of the Castle to March out of it upon Terms. But *Chatillon* having had an Enterview with *Montmorency*, the Zeal of that Lord slacken'd all of a sudden, which made the Storm, we have mention'd elsewhere, to fall upon that poor City. 1620. *Assembly at Anduse.* *Chatillons false Colour.*

The same Synod before their breaking up, us'd their utmost endeavours for the preservation of the Church of *Gignac*, which was daily plagu'd by the Bishop of *Montpelier*; who had sent for *Marion* there on purpose, a Minister who was lately turn'd Roman Catholick, in order to draw in others to embrace the same Communion by his Sollicitations and Example. They also took Measures to hinder the Bishop of *Uzez* from coming to live at St. *Ambrois*, where he was capable of doing the *Reform'd* more harm, than at *Uzez* it self, by reason that they had more Power there than he, both by their Number, and by the Protection of the Lord thereof, who being at odds with the Bishop, was glad to maintain the *Reform'd* against him. But those little Remedies apply'd to great Evils, prov'd inconsiderable to Cure them. It is impossible to imagine, how much those, that manag'd the design of destroying the *Reform'd*, Exclaim'd against the Assembly of *Anduse*, which seem'd to be Summon'd for the defence of *Privas*; and against the Synod of *Alets*, notwithstanding the Court Cabal had all along been predominant in it. The most Violent Invectives, and the blackest *Chatillon Attacked.* *Assembly at Alets.*

1620. blackeſt Colours, wherewith it is poſſible to deſcribe the Worſt of Rebellions, fall ſhort of thoſe wherewith the Conduct of thoſe Aſſemblies was aſpir'd. And yet all that could be ſaid of them with Juſtice, is, that whatever paſt there, were only unprofitable Marks of the Affliction of a Wretched People, who found themſelves betray'd by their own brethren without daring to puniſh the Traytors. and who found themſelves ſinking, without daring to Complain, or to defend themſelves, becauſe there were Perſons among them, who ſtil'd their Complaints Inſolence, and their Defence Rebellion.

Aſſembly of Gergeau.

The reſt of the Kingdom was not more at reſt; and I will give an account in this Place of what paſt in an Aſſembly of the Provinces of *Orleans* and of *Berry*, in order to ſhow that there were Tranſactions in all Parts, which foretold the approaching decay of the *Reform'd*. The ſaid Aſſembly was held in the Month of *July* at *Gergeau*: It was compos'd of the Deputies of 28 Churches, and Fortify'd beſides by the Deputies of the Adjacent Provinces, by thoſe of the Provincial Council, and by thoſe that did aſſiſt at the laſt General Aſſembly. *Chatillon* and *Sully* who had Lands in that diſtrict, did not fail to Write to them to give them aſſurances of their Affection for the common good. The main deſign of that Aſſembly was to hear the Deputies that had aſſiſted at *Loudun*, who were to give an Account of what paſt there. They brought ſome propoſitions which the General Aſſembly had referr'd to the Provincial Aſſemblies to be Examin'd by them, and to be inſerted in the Inſtructions of the Deputies that ſhould be ſent by them into the next General Aſſembly. There were two among the reſt, which tended to prevent the Corruption of the Deputies. The

Important Propoſitions

firſt was, whither when a Church deſir'd that the Votes ſhould be taken by Provinces, the oppoſition of another could hinder it. The ſecond was, whither the Deputies upon pretence of New Caſes, which had not been foreſeen when their Inſtructions were made, could deviate from their ſaid Inſtructions. Thoſe two Propoſitions had been ſuggeſted by thoſe who held a Correſpondence with the Court.

They

They became useless when the Votes were given by Provinces, by reason that their Colleagues, not being corrupted like them, might carry Affairs by the Plurality of Voices. They were yet more at a loss when they were ty'd to their Instructions; which being drawn in Provincial Assemblies, were seldom conformable to the Instructions of those that were corrupted. Those two Questions were attended with Difficulties. The first had often occasion'd Disputes in Councils, and in the Estates General. The Popes had often lost their Cause when Councils gave their Votes by Provinces. For that reason they refus'd to allow that manner of Voting in the Council of *Trent*, in which the Number of the *Italian* Bishops, which surpassed that of all the Prelates of the Remainder of *Europe*, that assisted at it, would have been reduced to one Voice, in case they had not Voted by Heads; which would have given a great Advantage to all those, that had a mind to reform the See of *Rome*. In the States General, the Brigues and Sollicitations of the Court often prov'd ineffectual, when they Voted by Provinces. So that the Assemblies of the *Reformed* being liable to Brigues and Corruption as well as the others; the same Question might be of use in it, as well as in all the others. 1620.

1. *Whether they should Vote by Heads or by Provinces.*

The second Question was not without Difficulty neither. It seems to be a Maxim of Right, that those who only act in a Cause as Attorneys for others, ought never to swerve from the Instructions which limit their Power. But in Affairs, of which the Conjunctures change from Morning to Night, it seems both unreasonable, and very dangerous, to tye Deputies so Inviolably to their Instruction, that they may not be allowed to do that of themselves, which it is most likely their Principals would order them to do, if they had time to Consult with them about it: Particularly, since it is to be supposed, that those who intrust any body with their Power in Affairs of great Consequence, look upon them as honest Men, it would seem to be a Reflection upon them, not to allow them to swerve from their Memoirs in unexpected Cases. Too much Regularity in such a Case, may either occasion tedious Delays, or lose an Occasion which may be difficult

1610. difficult to recover. This was the Reason why those Questions were not decided every where alike. To Vote by Heads, and not to depend upon Instructions was liked best, especially in such Provinces, where the Court had many Pensioners; But they were of a contrary Opinion in this; and the Synod of *Alets*, as we have already seen, endeavoured to make the General Assembly approve the same Sentiment. Moreover, they added, that it would be necessary to make the President his Assistant, and the two Secretaries set their Hands to the Memoires of the Deputies that should assist in the same; and to oblige them, in order to avoid Deceit, to produce them, whenever they should advance Propositions, which they should pretend to be contained in the same.

Deliberations of the Assembly. This particular Assembly finding it self Considerable by the Number and Quality of its Members, treated of several great Affairs: of delaying the National Synod; of hastning the Assembly of *Rochel* by way of Continuation of that of *Loudun*; to oblige the Duke *de Sully* to Watch the Preservation of *Gergeau*, a Place of Surety, which was unprovided with Men, and ill paid. They made divers Reflections upon the Promise made to the Assembly of *Loudun* by the Prince of *Conde* and the Duke *de Luines*, by which it was easie to judge, that they did not trust much to it. The Communication of those particular Assemblies with their Neighbours, maintained so general a Correspondence among all the Churches, that they were all instructed with what past in any of them, so that the same Affairs were partly treated of in all of them. Therefore it may very well be concluded, that the same thing was done in that which was held at *Saumur* at the latter end of the same Month of *July*; and in that of *Burgundy*, which was held at *Pont de Veste* on the 5th of the following Month. There had been Deputies of those two Provinces at *Gergeau*; and the Province of *Orleans* sent theirs reciprocally in those two Assemblies, so that for the most part, all things past there in the same manner.

Other Assemblies in Anjou *and in* Burgundy.

Divers

Divers Complaints were made in thoſe Aſſemblies, of the Injuſtices that were done to the *Reform'd* within their reſpective Juriſdictions. The free Exerciſe of the *Reform'd* Religion was hinder'd at *Chartres*. A private Perſon had been turn'd out of the Shrievalty at *Remorantin*, barely upon the Account of his Religion; and the Election of another was oppos'd upon the ſame account. The Judge of *Orleans* had Condemn'd a Temple to be demoliſhed within the ſpace of a Week, which was all built, the Covering only excepted, upon a piece of Ground given at *Chilleurs* by *Chemerolles*, who was High Juſticer of the Place. Their Malice went farther yet at *Montrichard*. The Catholicks were forbidden there to aſſiſt the *Reform'd* to carry their Dead into the Ground; which Prohibition extended even to Servants towards their Maſters; threatning them, in caſe they did not obey, with Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, and even with Excommunication. The Parliament of *Paris* had refus'd to regard the Warrants of a Serjeant Royal, becauſe he was of the *Reform'd* Religion, and that he had ſerv'd an Execution upon a Catholick, at the Suit of a *Reform'd*. The ſame Parliament made two Vexatious Decrees in a ſhort ſpace of time, upon the Subject of Burials; the one on the 2d of *July*, which order'd the Reconciliation of the Church of *Lonlac*, in which the Heirs and the Widow of *Buchon Sieur de Lallier* were accuſed of having depoſited his Body with Violence and Force of Arms. The other on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, in the Chamber of the Edict, upon a Sentence of the Seneſhalſhip of *Angoumois*, which Condemn'd the Baron *d'Etangs* to take his Mother out of the Ground, whom he had bury'd in the Chappel of *Meſſignac* two years before. The Sentence was confirm'd; but the Fine of 200 Livres, to which it Condemn'd the Baron, was moderated to 48 Livres in Alms for the Bread of Priſoners; to which was added, that before they ſhould proceed to the Removing of the ſaid Corps, the Attorny General ſhould take Information, whether it could be done conveniently, in order to proceed to what ſhould be thought reaſonable, after the hearing of the ſaid Information.

1620.

Divers Complaints of the Reform'd in thoſe Provinces.

1620. But the Noise of the Alterations made in *Bearn*, stifled those slight Complaints; and the whole Kingdom talked of the Promise made to the Assembly of *Loudun*, in the King's Name, which was violated in every Article. All the Neighbouring Churches to that oppressed Province were particularly alarm'd. *Lescun* not daring to appear at Home came to *Montauban*, where the Assembly of *Rouergue* sate. He made his Complaints there; and they gave him a full Hearing. The Circles of the Upper *Languedoc*, took his Affair to Heart, the rather, because it was reported, that the King design'd such another Progress in *Languedoc* the following Year. This Report could not be look'd upon as false, by reason that a Coppy had been produc'd in the Synod at *Alets*, of a Letter written to *Mompelier* by the King, in those very Words; and those who produc'd it, affirm'd, that it was taken from the Original, Dated *October* the 9th. This shew'd evidently, that the Catholiks had already form'd the Design to destroy the *Reform'd*, and that the Court only endeavour'd to amuse them by Promises, in order to find them at odds and disarm'd, when they should attack them, the better to destroy them. Therefore those Circles resolv'd to protect the Churches of *Bearn*, and Conven'd a Provincial Assembly at *Milhau* on the 26th of *October*, where they agreed to assist the Churches of that Principality; to send Deputies to the *Reform'd* Lords, to invite them to joyn with the Assembly in order thereunto, and that it should remain at *Montauban*, untill the Meeting of the General Assembly at *Rochel*. They Authoriz'd Count *d'Orval*, the Duke of *Sully*'s Son by a Second Venture, much more Zealous than the Duke his Father, and the Marquess his Brother, and well seconded by his Mother, a brave courageous Lady, to Arm in *Rouergue*: the Marquis *de Malause*, to do the same in *Quercy* and in *Albigeois*: St. *Rome* to do the same in *Lauragais*. That Power was only provisional under the Authority of that Assembly, until the Session of the General one. Moreover, they exhorted the Cities to repair their Fortifications, to make new ones, to provide Ammunitions, and to stand upon their Guard. They did write to *Lesdiguieres*, and to *Chatillon*. They regulated the Form and

General Assembly of the Churches, after the Alteration of the Churches in Bearn.

Assembly at Milhau.

and Power of the Abridg'd Assembly that was to remain at *Montauban*, which they only Authoriz'd to Elect a General with the Consent of the Provinces. They order'd the Assembly to meet forthwith, to nominate a Governor under certain Restrictions. 1620.

Those Resolutions were extreamly oppos'd by two Men who were present. The one was *Bellujon*, Governor of *Villemur*, who only acted by Order from *Lesdiguieres*, and who had a great deal of Credit at *Castres*: The other was *Des Hippolites*, Deputy of *Chatillon*, who was very much respected at *Milhau*. Those two Men gain'd the Deputies of *Chartres* and of *Milhau*, who having oppos'd nothing till then, by reason that all the preceding Propositions were not as yet decisive, oppos'd that of drawing the Settlement of War; and threatned also to oppose the Effect of the first Deliberations, unless that Affair were refer'd to the General Assembly. This was the way to wave all the other Resolutions, and to waste the time of those who did concern themselves for the Churches of *Bearn*, and to abate their Courage. But that did not hinder the Assembly from proceeding on, which, having exhorted those Deputies to give over their Oppositions, they continu'd to form their Settlement of War in spight of them. *Oppos'd by the Deputies of Lesdiguieres, and of Chatillon.*

The Desolation of *Bearn* being then publickly known, every Body was very sensible that the *Reform'd* had a just Cause to Complain that the Court had deceiv'd them, and had a Right to Assemble again, according to the Power the Assembly of *Loudun* pretended to have receiv'd so to do. The Truth is, that in order to blind the World, the Court had done some things which they design'd to pass upon them, as an exact Observation of their Promises. The Parliament had at last receiv'd the two Counsellors, the Affair of which, had been depending for four Years together; but they had done it, and the King had caus'd it to be done in a manner, which shew'd sufficiently that they did not do it with a good Intention. The Prince of *Conde* went to get it pass'd into an Edict; but he only obtain'd it upon the account of the present Occurrences, and left in refusing it, the *Reform'd* *Effect of the Promises made to the Assembly of Loudun.*

Counsellors received in the Parliament of Paris.

1620. might have a Pretence to Assemble again. Moreover, some People were of Opinion, that he had whisper'd Reasons for it, which he did not speak in full Parliament; and that he had affirm'd, that it would be the last Favour that should be granted to the *Reform'd*. The Parliament on their sides put inconvenient Restrictions to it.

Leitoure taken from Fontrailles.

The Restitution of *Leitoure* was not perform'd; and the Court would oblige the *Reform'd* to take the grossest Illusion in the World, as a real Satisfaction upon that Subject. The King being at *Bourdeaux*, remov'd *Fontrailles* out of the said Place, and allow'd him a Recompence of 50000 Livres for it. But he did not restore it to the *Reform'd*, neither did he give the Government of it to *Angalin*, from whom *Fontraille's* had usurp'd the Castle; nor to *la Chesnaye*, nor to *Clausonne*, nor yet to the Son of *Favas*, one of the Deputies General, who had all been flatter'd with the Hopes of it. It is true, that he gave it to *Bleinville*, a Reform'd Gentleman, who had neither the Consent of the Churches, nor an Attestation from the Assembly; and who was an Officer of his Houshold; and of the Number of those *Reform'd*, who, provided they kept their Places and Pensions, did not much trouble themselves with the Safety of others. Moreover, lest his Religion should induce him to do any thing for the Advantage of the Churches, they gave him Subaltern Officers, and a Garison of Catholicks; consequently very unfit to keep a Place, for the Preservation of those they esteem'd *Heretick*s.

The Brief, expedited for the keeping of the Places of Surety, is not given.

The Brief for the Places of Hostage had been promis'd and expedited; but it was not deliver'd: So that the Demonstrations of Kindness, which the King had given after the Obedience of the Assembly of *Loudun*, were degenerated into a Court-Mockery. The Affair of *Bearn* gave yet a greater Subject of Complaint. They reckon'd upon a Suspension of six Months, after which the King had promis'd to hear the Deputies of the Country, and to use them favourably upon their Remonstrances. In the mean time the King march'd into that unhappy Province with Force in hand, before the Expiration of the first six Months, and before any of the other Promises were sincerely executed. There seem'd to be no manner

manner of ground to deny that the *Reform'd* might Lawfully assemble again; and *Favas* press'd it with all his Power. He thought thereby to obtain the Government of *Leytoure* from the Court; and when he perceiv'd that they amus'd him with Words, and had a Design to give it to another, to the Prejudice of his Son, he threatned to Convene an Assembly at *Rochel*; and in order to show that his Threatnings were not vain, he Writ into all Parts to give an Account how things past, and did it perhaps more Faithfully than otherwise he would have done, if he had not had a Personal Reason for it. 1620.

The Interest of Favas.

His Letters finding every body full of Indignation for so many Deceits, and General and Particular Injustices, did not fail to produce the Effect he expected; and *Rochel*, which had been Impower'd by the Assembly of *Loudun*, assign'd one to meet there on the 20th of *October*. *Luns* being inform'd of all this, but certain of the Chief among the *Reform'd*, whom he had ingag'd by secret Negotiations, pursu'd his Design, and perform'd the Expedition of *Bearn*, without being afraid of the Dispair into which that Breach of Faith might throw all the Churches. He oblig'd the King to write to the Major, and to the Peers of *Rochel*, to inform them, that he had not given the Assembly Leave to meet there, and to forbid them to receive it. But that proving ineffectual, he caus'd out a Declaration at *Grenade* on the 22d of *October*, which declar'd that Assembly unlawful. In order to ruine their Presence, the King deny'd his having promis'd any thing to the Assembly of *Loudun* at their Breaking up: And said moreover, that all the Articles he had promis'd were actually perform'd; and as if the Desolation of *Bearn* had not prov'd the contrary, they made him say, that the Reason of his Journey to *Bourdeaux*, was only to get *Lestoure* out of the Hands of *Pontrailles*.

Precipitates the return of the Assembly at Rochel.

Declaration which makes it pass for an Unlawful Assembly.

The Noise the *Reform'd* made upon this Breach of Word, was great, and prov'd ineffectual. Besides the Vexation of being deceiv'd like Children, they had the Grief to find that the Court deny'd it all. The Prince of *Conde*, and the Duke *de Luines*, *Lesdiguieres*, and *Chatillon* fail'd in their Garrantee. It was not

The Prince of Conde and the Favorite fail in their Garrantee to the Reform'd.

1620. not very eaſie though to perſuade ſo many Perſons, to whom the ſame Promiſe had been made ſo ſolemnly, that they had promis'd them nothing. Therefore they began firſt with Cavils very much below Perſons of that high Rank. They found out little Equivocations upon the time of the beginning and ending of thoſe ſix Months. They ſaid that the Prince and the Favourite had promis'd nothing in the King's Name; that they had only ſpoken in their own; and that they had only ingaged to interceed with the King, who had been the ſole Maſter of the Event. The Duke *de Mombaſon*, bred in another Reign, in which Sincerity was accounted Virtue, remember'd his having been the Bearer of that Promiſe to *du Pleſſis*; who having written a very ſharp Letter to him about it, the Duke ſent him an Anſwer on the 1ſt of *November*, in which he declar'd poſitively, that he had ſaid nothing to him, but what the King and the Duke *de Luines* had charg'd him ſeveral times to ſay, in proper Terms.

A ſuppos'd Letter written in the Duke de Mombaſon's Name.

But whereas a Witneſs of that Conſequence was irkſome in that Affair, the Jeſuit *Arnoux* writ another Letter in the Duke's Name, Dated *December* the 10th. It was full of Excuſes about the Conduct of the Court, conformable to the Declaration of *Grenade*; which conſequently left the Complaints of the *Reform'd* in their full force. That feign'd Anſwer was printed, to deſtroy the true one, which had been printed alſo; and the Duke durſt not diſown it publickly, for fear of Offending his Son-in-Law; but yet he own'd in private, that he was the Author of the firſt, which *du Pleſſis* had receiv'd, and that he had not written the Second. Nevertheleſs, as all theſe Illuſions did not appear ſufficient to excuſe a Breach of Word, the Jeſuits ſuggeſted another Pretence; *viz.* that the *Reform'd* being Rebels, they had forfeited all the Favors that might be granted them. It paſt at firſt for an adjudg'd Caſe that they were Rebels; they were Condemn'd without Inquiry or Examination, as if it had been notorious. They pretended notwithſtanding, that their Conduct had been very Innocent, ſince they had only taken Arms till then for Affairs of State, in which Religion was not concern'd, and in which the Catholicks had been concern'd as well

They begin to uſe the Reform'd as Rebels.

well as the *Reform'd*, the Motives of the Conduct of which, the King had approv'd by ſolemn Treaties; but in their own Affairs, they had imploy'd no other Methods, but ſuch as were allow'd of ſince the Edict; *viz.* Aſſemblies, Deputations, Petitions, Remonſtrances, *&c.* Nevertheleſs, that Pretence was ſo conformable to the Deſigns of the Court, that it was receiv'd there as a Principle, and by Treating the *Reform'd* as Rebels, they forc'd them to become ſo. 1620.

The End of the Sixth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE Edict of NANTES.

VOL. II. BOOK VII.

A Summary of the Contents of the Seventh BOOK.

THE Eccleſiaſticks are ſeiz'd upon at Montauban: *which the Conſuls excuſe, and the Catholicks aggravate. The like Tranſactions elſewhere. Character of* Maſnier, *who writes to the King with Malice. Diviſion of the Judges about the Inrollment of the Declarations at* Caſtres. *Troubles at* Nimes, *occaſion'd by a Jeſuit.*

Circle of the Lower Languedoc *assembled at* Lunel. *Retaking of the Castle of* Privas. *All manner of Justice refus'd to the* Reform'd, *who are driven to Despair. Collusion with* Chatillon *and* Mommorency. *Orders from the Court to lay down Arms. Taking of* Walons. *Siege and Taking of* Wals. Walons *is Re-taken, and Restor'd. Assembly of* Rochel. Lesdiguieres *falls out with the Assembly. The small Affection he had for his Religion. He Marries* Mary Vignon, *against the Discipline of the Reform'd: Of which he makes publick Acknowledgment. Stratagem of the Duke de* Luines, *in order to gain him. Double Commission to Treat with him. What Empire* Deagean *takes over* Lesdiguieres. *Feign'd Disputes of Religion.* Bressieux *imploy'd to ruin the Work of* Deagean. Bullion *succeeds in it better than he.* Lesdiguieres *does not hearken to his Friends. Policy of* Deagean. Luines *is made Constable.* Lesdiguieres *remains at Court. Mediation of the Dukes* de Rohan, *and* de la Trimoville, *render'd ineffectual by* Favas. Du Plessis *and* Du Moulin *sollicit the Assembly to break up.* Du Moulin *in Danger of being made Prisoner. Coldness of* James *the First about the Affairs of the* Palatinate. Du Moulin *writes to him; and his Letter falls into the Hands of the Council of* France. *He makes his Escape happily. Effect of his Letter to the Assembly. Difficulties, which put a Stop to the Negotiation. New Conditions of Accommodation. Seven Articles, which the Court agrees upon to amuse the* Reform'd. *The old Counsellors of State are against War. The* Duke de Luines *is not inclin'd to it neither; but the Queen, the Prince of* Conde, Puisieux, *the Clergy, the Pope, and the* Spaniards, *prevail for War. Some are for Exterminating all: and others are for Sparing the Peaceable. Reasons of the first Advice. Reasons of the Second: which is follow'd, and succeeds. Reasons Publish'd to Blind the* Reform'd. *New Difficulties about the Time of beginning the War. How those Difficulties were remov'd. The King goes away from* Paris *unexpectedly; and takes away the Offices of Receipts from the* Reform'd *Cities. Settlement of War in the midst of the Negotiations of Peace. New Troubles in* Bearn. *The Duke*

d'Epernon

d'Epernon *is ſent thither. Cowardiſe of the People of* Orthez. La Force *Retires. All* Bearn *is ſubdued. Blindneſs of the* Reform'd. *Seditions at* Tours *and elſewhere. The Court ſtops the Progreſs of it. The Sedition Revives. Puniſhment of ſome of the Guilty, which deceives the* Reform'd. *New Declaration. The General Aſſembly defend themſelves in Writing. Particulars of their Complaints. The Marſhal* de Bouillon *writes to the King. Reply of the Jeſuits to the Writing of the Aſſembly.* Leſdiguieres *Breaks off with them. The Aſſembly draws a Project of Defence. Diviſion of the Provinces in Circles. The Marſhal* de Bouillon *refuſes the Place of General. Irreparable Fault of the Aſſembly. Generals of the Circles. Seal of the Aſſembly. The Peaceable among the* Reform'd *are diſarm'd: Which cauſes a great Deſertion. Treachery againſt* du Pleſſis, *to get* Saumur *out of his Hands. The Court amuſes him with Promiſes, even in Writing. He is upbraided by the Aſſembly. Declaration of the King againſt the Cities of* Rochel *and St.* John de Angeli; *which obliges the* Reform'd *to renounce the Party of the Aſſembly in Writing. Intereſted Cowardiſe of the Governors of the Cities of Surety. The King Diſmantles the Fortifications of the Towns that are deliver'd up to him. Apology of the Aſſembly. Invective againſt the Jeſuit* Arnoux. *Relation of what paſs'd ſince the Aſſembly of* Loudun. *Relation of the Stratagems of the Court. Why the Aſſemblies refus'd to break up before their* Cahiers *were anſwer'd. A violent Anſwer in the King's Name. Kidnapping of Children. The* Reform'd *excluded from all manner of Favours. The The Catholicks are excus'd from giving Church-Yards at their own Coſt, in lieu of the old ones, which they took again. Writing of* Tilenus *againſt the Aſſembly of* Rochel. *Siege and Reduction of St.* John de Angeli. *Declaration from the King, which Aboliſhes the Privileges of that City.*

WHile the Churches of *Bearn* were expos'd to the Violences, I have mention'd heretofore, the Inhabitants of *Montauban* thought that they ſhould ſerve their Brethren, by Frightning the Catholicks with 1620.

The Eccleſiaſticks are ſeiz'd upon at Montauban.

1620. with Repriſals. So that one day, after a long Deliberation upon the News of the Cruelties exerted at *Navarreins*, they ſeiz'd upon all the Eccleſiaſticks, and kept them a little above Twenty four Hours Priſoners in the Biſhop's Houſe. At the ſame time they gave Notice to the other Inhabitants that were at *Thoulouſe*, or in the Country, to retire into the City, leſt the Catholicks ſhould alſo uſe Repriſals upon them. The very next day thoſe Priſoners were let out again, and only had the City for Priſon, with Leave publickly to perform all the Exerciſes of their Religion in the Church of St. *Lewis*, where they us'd to perform them. But whatever Aſſurance, and Liberty was given them, they refus'd, upon vain Pretences, to continue their Functions; to the end that the News of Divine Service being interrupted at *Montauban*, being carry'd to Court, might render the Conduct of the Inhabitants the more Criminal. Soon after it, they were allow'd to go out of the City, taking Leave of the Conſuls; but no manner of Outrage was offer'd to their Perſons, during the Proceſs of that Affair.

Which the Conſuls excuſe.

The Conſuls writ to *Maſuier*, firſt Preſident in the Parliament of *Thoulouſe*, to acquaint him with their Reaſons. They told him, that the cruel Execution of *Navarreins* having ſtrangely mov'd the People, they had ſecur'd the Eccleſiaſticks, only to ſave them from their firſt Fury. But the Eccleſiaſticks gave a different Account of it, and made it paſs for a very heinous Attempt. They alſo writ to *Maſuier*, as ſoon as they were at Liberty; and though their Letters only contain'd the ſame Facts which the Conſuls own'd, yet they made them ſeem to be very Guilty. The Truth is, that there happen'd ſome Tranſactions very like thoſe, in the County of *Foix*, where the *Reform'd* of *Saverdun*, of *Cazeres*, and of *Pamiers*, ſeiz'd upon the Catholicks, and upon ſome Houſes ſearch'd upon the Paſſages, and ſearch'd ſome Travellers, ſuſpecting that they carry'd Advices or Orders againſt their Safety. They alſo endeavour'd, but in vain, to ſurpriſe a ſtrong Houſe belonging to the Biſhop of *Pamiers*. Thoſe Proceedings did not pleaſe every body; and the abridg'd Aſſembly, which was at *Montauban*, was againſt confining the Eccleſiaſticks cloſer than

And the Catholicks aggravate.

The like Tranſactions elſewhere.

than within the Walls of the City. But the Spirit of Repri- 1620.
sals was predominant in the People of those Parts; and e-
ven at *Castres* they threatned the Counsellors of *Thoulouse*, who serv'd in the Party-Chamber, to use them according as the *Reform'd* should be us'd elsewhere by the Catholicks.

Character of Masuier.

Masuier being inform'd with all this, writ a very violent Letter to the King about it. He was one of the most violent Persecutors in the World; and according to the Character another President of the same Parliament has given of him, the greatest Villain that ever was at the Head of an Authoriz'd Society. He was a Man without the least Politeness; a down right Barbarian in his Temper, in his Language, and in his Manners. He was Covetous even to a degree of Infamy, and Cruel to the utmost. He neither understood Justice, or Equity, in point of Religion. It is reported of him, that being ingag'd in a Treaty made with some Persons, about the Creation of several new Offices, he had the Confidence to come into the Parliament, to preside at the Decree of Verification of the same. The Attorney General knowing that he had a Share in the Treaty, recus'd him, and his Recusation was allow'd of. *Masuier* was Censur'd in a full Parliament for his ill Conduct, and the said Censure was enter'd into the Register. The Prince of *Conde*, who was at *Thoulouse* at that time about the same Affair; and who being as Covetous as *Masuier*, was suspected of being Concern'd in it as well as he, came the next day to the Parliament, and had much ado to cause the said Censure to be taken out of the Register; but he had not Credit enough to blot it out of Peoples Minds, and an undeniable Witness has preserv'd the History of it. The same Author, speaking of the Zeal of that unworthy Man against the *Reform'd*, says, that he would have been praiseworthy, had he been more moderate. He was belov'd at Court, by reason that he was a Slave to all the Orders that came from thence, and that he knew no Rule of Justice beyond a Signet Letter; but he was hated by the People. The very Inhabitants of *Thoulouse* Conspir'd against his Life, and upwards of Four thousand Billets were dropt up and down the

1620. the said City against him one day, in which they threatned him with the utmost Extremities. Had he been to be try'd for any Crime, though there had not been sufficient Proofs against him, the Hatred of all those that knew him, would have been sufficient to supply the Insufficiency of the Proofs. The *Reform'd* have often had the Comfort to see that their greatest Enemies were Men of that Character.

Who writes to the King with Malice.

Masuier therefore writ to the King, as if the Ecclesiasticks had only been seiz'd at *Montauban*, in order to Massacre them at the first News of any Ill Treatment acted any where else against the *Reform'd*. He gather'd all the Reports the Catholicks spread up and down, and grounded Designs of the whole Party, upon the least Word that fell from any over-rash Person. He endeavoured to persuade, that there were some peaceable Persons in *Montauban*, who did condemn those Proceedings; but in order to lay the Blame upon the Generality, he said, that they were at the Disposition of the Factious. He affirm'd that the Enterprize upon *Navarreux* had been resolv'd at *Milhau*; and he even proceeded so far, as to specifie the day, on which the *Reform'd* were to take Arms. He had no other ground for either, but malicious Suspicions, or Reports spread on purpose to persuade that the *Reform'd* were the Aggressors. Nevertheless, the appointed day, which was the 25th of *December*, pass'd, and the *Reform'd* did not commit the least Act of Hostility; and they gave the King so much time to prepare himself, that he had enough to prevent them. Moreover, that pretended day, was an Invention of the Bishops of *Bearn*, who took Arms themselves that very day, under that Pretence, as I have related elsewhere.

Division of the Judges of Castres *about the Inrollment of the Declarations.*

Masuier envenom'd the Conduct of the *Reform'd* Councellors at *Castres* extreamly in the same Letter, and imputed their Dividing upon the Prohibition of the Assembly of *Milhau*, and upon the Inrollment of the Declaration given at *Grenade* against the Assembly of *Rochel*, as great Crimes against them. But whereas there were Reasons for that last Division, it is proper to give an account of it. The King not being satisfied with prohibiting of that Assembly, and order-

dering the Members and Adherents thereof to be profecuted, 1620.
id moreover by an expreſs Clauſe derogate from the Privi-
ges of the Edict, which refer'd all the Civil or Crimi-
al Affairs of the *Reform'd* to the Chambers; and he refer'd
he Cognizance of that particular Crime to the Parliament.
he Diviſion only related to that one Article. The Catho-
cks paſs'd it without Difficulty; but the *Reform'd* reſerv'd
he Cognizance of thoſe Affairs to the Chambers, with the
ſual Condition, to make Remonſtrances to the King about
. There really was a great deal to be ſaid upon that new
Clauſe, which firſt appear'd in the Declaration given againſt
he Aſſembly of *Loudun*. It was a Breach of one of the moſt
conſiderable parts of the Edict, of which the Conſequences
ere viſible. It was a great one for the Example of it; ſince
hat in caſe they did allow ſuch an Incroachment upon a Ju-
iſdiction ſo well ſetled, and ſo neceſſary, it would encourage
hoſe who had inſpir'd that firſt Enterprize, to attempt them
pon all the reſt, and by degrees, to ruine all the Articles of
he Edict by the like Exceptions. It was alſo conſiderable,
s to the thing it ſelf, by reaſon that a General Law becomes
lluſive, when under pretence of Confirming it in the main,
Cuſtom is made to derogate from it in particular Caſes.
t was alſo very conſiderable for the Danger to which it ex-
poſ'd all the *Reform'd*, who might thereby eaſily be Involved
n thoſe ſort of Crimes. The Parliaments of *Thoulouſe*, and
of *Bourdeaux* particularly, had admirable Secrets, to convert
ll the Affairs of the *Reform'd* into Crimes of State. It was
ſufficient, in order to convince one of thoſe *Hereticks*, to ac-
uſe him before thoſe paſſionate Judges; the very Name of
Reform'd was a ſufficient Conviction; Proofs were only de-
ſir'd for Form ſake. Thoſe Reaſons being added to the pecu-
liar Intereſt of the Chamber, occaſion'd the Diviſion of it, by
reaſon that they loſt as much by it for themſelves, this Clauſe
taking away part of their Juriſdiction, as for the Publick
of the *Reform'd*, for the Life and Safety of which, the Edict
had made them Depoſitaries.

This

1620.

Trouble at Nimes, occasioned by a Jesuit.

This is what *Masuier* imputed as a great Crime against the *Reformed* Councellors of *Castres*; and upon which he desir'd an Order from the Court to Condemn them, to remove the Modification of that Clause, on pain of Suspension of their Places; as if, after the Considerations I have alledged, it were not very visible, that there could be no harm in hesitating a little upon an Affair of that Importance; and to advise the making of most humble Remonstrances to the King, before they did proceed any farther. *Masuier* might have added to all this, some Troubles that happened at *Nimes* upon the account of a Jesuit, who had been allowed to preach there by the Consuls. They had disarm'd the Catholicks; who, excepting that they had not the Power to do Harm, injoy'd a full Peace and Liberty. The News of the Execution of *Navarreins* being brought to *Nimes* during the *Avent*, exasperated the People, who exclaimed against the Jesuit in Words, whose Name was *James Georges*. Some cry'd that he ought to be Ston'd; others that he ought to be Banish'd; others that he ought to be kept, to be expos'd upon the Breach, in case the Duke *de Mommorency* came to Besiege the City, as it was reported. Those Words, which resemble the Licence of the Soldier, who jests, and who has a mind to frighten, were taken up as if they had been followed by the most Inhumane actions. Nevertheless, the Jesuit was only frightned, and the People did him no other Violence.

Circle of the Lower Languedoc *assembled at* Lunel.

But this News of the Cruelties committed at *Navarreins* occasioned the Assembling of the Circle of the *Lower Languedoc* at *Lunel*, to put themselves in a Posture of Defence, and to provide for the Safety of the Churches. The Pensioners of the Court were dumb. The Transactions in *Bearn* were publickly known; and those who would pass for *Reform'd* had not the Confidence to excuse them. *Chatillon* counterfeited himself so Zealous, that he was elected General of the Churches of the *Lower Languedoc*, of the *Cevennes*, of *Vivarets*, and of *Gevaudan*, and that they gave him an absolute Power to dispose of whatever related to the War, and to the Finances. The abridg'd Assembly of *Montauban* confirm'd that Power, and

soon

ſoon after the Aſſembly of *Rochel* did the ſame. This Poſt put him in a Condition to be bought by the Court, and to hinder thoſe Provinces, which were able to make the ſtrongeſt Diverſion, from Succoring each other. Nevertheleſs, he did ſomething at firſt in the War of *Privas*, which was renewed on the beginning of the Year, and which would have had another Succeſs, had *Chatillon* been endued with more Conſtancy. *Briſon*, who rely'd upon his Aſſiſtance, made himſelf once again Maſter of the Caſtle after ſome days Siege. All the Actions of Courage of the Beſiegers have been repreſented by the Catholicks, as Actions of Rage and Cruelty; and during all the Courſe of the Wars, which began that year, they held the ſame Language; Military Actions were term'd otherwiſe than they us'd to be. When the *Reform'd* were attack'd, their Reſiſtance was ſtil'd a black Rebellion. Their Courage in Aſſaults, or in Sallies, in Combats or in Sieges, were term'd Fury. All the Enemies they kill'd in a juſt War, were Maſſacres. All their Undertakings to ſecure themſelves, to Fortifie their Cities, to prevent Surprizes from their Catholick Fellow Citizens, was nothing but Barbarity, Impiety, Sacriledge. In a Word, all their Proceedings were viſify'd with all the Malice imaginable by Writers and Orators, in order to ingage the Catholicks the more to their Ruine. I think this general Remark will be ſufficient: I thought it neceſſary, leſt People might be impoſed upon by the Stile of thoſe Days; and I will not renew it elſewhere.

1620.

1621.

Breaking of the Caſtle of Privas.

The occaſion of the new Enterprize of *Briſon*, was that the Inhabitants of *Privas* having rais'd ſome Works to ſecure themſelves againſt the Gariſon of the Caſtle, by reaſon that they could obtain no Redreſs for the Injuries they receiv'd from them; St. *Palais*, who Commanded in it, fired his Artillery upon the Town, to put a Stop to the Work. He refus'd to hearken to the Remonſtrances the Citizens made to him about it; and the Duke *de Ventadour*, the King's Lieutenant, to whom they apply'd themſelves after that Refuſal, inſtead of giving them an Audience, us'd them like Rebels, and threatned to hang them. They were us'd in the ſame

All manner of Juſtice refus'd to the Reformed.

1620. manner throughout the Kingdom; and the poor Wretches did not know which was best for them, to Obey, or to Resist. A thousand Indignities were put upon them, when they arm'd themselves with Patience; and they were threatned with the Punishment of Criminals, as soon as they seem'd to have a Mind to defend themselves. They had no Choice left, but to suffer their Throats to be cut without Speaking, or to be Condemn'd as Rebels. This is forcing of People to act by Despair. I will not treat this Question methodically in this place, *viz.* Whether in those Extremities it be a Sin against the Gospel to defend ones self; but I dare say, that in such Cases Nature inclines People to defend themselves, having no prospect of Safety any other way. And no equitable Person can deny, but that Acts of Despair ought less to be imputed to those that commit them, than to those who reduce them to the indispensible Necessity of committing them.

Which are reduc'd to Despair.

Underhand Dealing of Chatillon with Mommorency.

The Duke of *Mommorency* not daring to besiege *Privas* a second time, during the Assembly of the Circle, with whom *Chatillon* seem'd to agree, feign'd to be willing at the Request of that Lord, who came to him at *Mompellier* with the Consuls of *Nimes*, and of *Usez*, and some Deputies of the Assembly, to hearken to some Accommodation, and promised not to come to *Privas*, unless it were with a Spirit of Peace. But it was only to gain time to assemble his Forces, and to find out a way to disband those of *Chatillon*, who only wanted a pretence for it. An Expedient was found for it in an Interview of *L'Esdiguieres*, of the Duke *de Vendadour*, and of a Gentleman from the Duke *de Mommorency*, who either could not, or would not come in Person. They resolved to get an Order from the Court for both Parties to disarm, and to leave things in suspence in the mean time. The Order was brought by *Des Ruaux*, and *Chatillon* obeyed; but he had had the Complaisance before, the Order came, to suffer *Villeneuve de Berg* to be taken by the Duke of *Mommorency* without opposing it; although the said Town was necessary to incommode an Army that should besiege *Privas*, in the Neighbourhood of which it was seated, and

to put a Relief in it, which might come through the *Sevenes*, of which it was the Paſſage. The Duke *de Montmorency* cauſed Maſs to be ſaid in it immediately, which had not been celebrated there for upwards of Sixty Years. 1620.

The Order was to refer the Cognizance of the Affair of *Privas* to the King; and that the two Chiefs ſhould Diſarm; but *Montmorency* did not diſarm, under pretence that *Chatillon*, who agreed under hand with him, had not properly laid down his Arms, ſince he had only diſperſed his Forces, without disbanding them. But he had only kept them on foot to amuſe the Simple, ſince their Retreat favour'd *Montmorency* to take *Walons*, out of which the Gariſon, which had been put into it by *Chatillon*, withdrew by his Order. The Duke alſo attempted *Wals* by a down right piece of Treachery. That little Town, pretty ſtrong by its Situation, did belong to Collonel *Ornano*, who was afterwards Mareſchal of *France*. *Montmajour* his Brother, deſir'd to have the Command of *Wals*, under pretence that he would take more care than another, to make his Soldiers behave themſelves civilly there, by reaſon that it was his Intereſt ſo to do. *Mommorency* had two ends in ſo doing; the one was to imitate *Chatillon*, in diſperſing his Forces, inſtead of Diſbanding them; but in Diſperſing them, he gave them convenient Quarters to aſſemble again in a ſhort time, and to hinder thoſe of the *Reform'd* from rejoyning, in caſe they ſhould have a mind to Succor *Privas*. The other was to put a Catholick Gariſon, under the Name of a Catholick Lord, in a Place where there ought to be a *Reform'd* one, according to the Briefs: That is, that in order to ſhow the *Reformed* what they were to truſt to about the Reſtitution of *Privas*, the Court deſign'd to diſpoſſeſs thoſe of *Wals*, who were under the ſame Circumſtances of the Guard of their Town.

Order from the Court injoyning both Parties to diſarm.

Taking of Walons.

The Inhabitants eaſily diſcovered the Snare, and refus'd to quarter the Duke's Forces. They were forthwith beſieged within ſight of *Chatillon*; and being diſheartned at the firſt Diſcharge of the Cannon, they ſurrenderd upon ſhameful Conditions. The Conſuls begg'd Pardon upon their Knees,

Siege and Taking of Wals.

1621. and the Duke put a Catholick Garison into the Castle. They valu'd themselves extreamly upon the taking of that little Place, because it was commonly called *Little Geneva*, all the Inhabitants being *Reform'd*; and the *Maiden*, by reason that it had never been taken by Arms. The Catholick Religion was restor'd there, and the Example of the Duke, together with the Endeavors of the Jesuits, soon made such Conversions there, as we have seen in our days. *Chatillon*, who still kept some measures, durst not suffer *Wals* to be taken, without seeming to prevent it: But whither he did not use so much diligence as was necessary, or that the Consuls, surrender'd the Town too soon, *d'Autiege* who commanded the Succors, was acquainted with the Surrender of the Town by the Way. In Order to imploy his Forces, he retook *Walons*, and forc'd an Exemt out of it, whom *des Rues* had left there. The Duke Besieg'd it again immediately. And as if *d'Autiege* had only put himself into it, to receive an Affront, he Surrender'd it within three days, upon very hard Conditions. He March'd out of it with his Men, without any thing but their Arms; and he promis'd, that neither himself nor they, should bear them in the Province for six Months time; and he did not so much as obtain a Capitulation for the Inhabitants, who were left at the discretion of the Souldiers.

Walons is retaken, and reston'd.

During these Transactions, the Assembly which was Summon'd at *Rochel* repair'd thither; and all the Endeavours us'd by the Court to prevent it, prov'd ineffectual to prevail with them, or to frighten them. Altho they had chang'd the Place, they still retain'd the Name of Assembly of *London* for some time, because they pretended it to be a bare continuation of that, which was held in that City, which had only been suspended to please the King, in expectation of the performance of his promises; having the Power to Assemble again, by Virtue of a Verbal promise they had receiv'd of the King for it, in case the things agreed upon, were not perform'd at the appointed time. They writ to *Lesdiguieres* and to *Chatillon* to inspire them with the resentment they ought to have, at the Publick breach of a Promise, of which they

Assembly of Rochel.

they had been as it were, Guarantees, and Depositorys. *Cha-* 1621.
rles made fair promises, which he did not keep; and when
he had obtain'd a Place from them, which made him to be
fear'd at Court; he obtain'd what he pleas'd there, and fell
out with the Churches, for their Service. But *Lesdiguieres*
refus'd to hearken to the Propositions of the Assembly. There
was a long Commerce of Letters between them, by which
they insensibly exasperated each other; and finally proceed-
ed to invectives and Reproaches on both sides. Among the
Letters which the Assembly had written to him, while
they were at *London*, there was one in which they offer'd the
Place of General of the *Reform'd* to him, to keep him an
Army of 20000 Men, and to pay him 100000 Crowns a
Month, and to give him sufficient surety for the payment of
the same, in any Protestant City of *Europe*, he should be
pleas'd to pitch upon. But he was no longer in a Condition
to receive those Offers; and the Court had engag'd him
with greater hopes.

Lesdiguieres falls out with the Assembly.

Notwithstanding he still profess'd the *Reform'd* Religion,
he was already a Catholick at the Bottom, since he had pro-
mis'd to be so. His secret practises with the Jesuits; the
preferring of *Crequi*, a Catholick Lord, to the most Illu-
strious Alliances of the *Reform'd*; his affecting always to
make a separate body from the rest, Joyning with the Chur-
ches when he stood in need of them, and forsaking them
when they wanted his Assistance, were good Reasons to
show that Religion was not his predominant Passion. More-
over, he had lately given a sensible Proof of it. *Mary Vig-*
nac, with whom he had led a very scandalous Life for ma-
ny years, whose Husband it was thought he had caus'd
to be kill'd, either to injoy her with more freedom, or to
hinder that Jealous injur'd Man from destroying his Wife,
Govern'd him absolutely. After her being a Widow she
turn'd her Lust to Ambition, and omitted no means to be-
come his lawful Wife, after having so long been his Mistress.
She had two Daughters by him, which she was in hopes
of marrying to Soveraigns, if she could cover the Defect of
their Birth by Marriage. *Lesdiguieres* was amus'd with the
same

The small Affection he had for his Religion.

1621. same hopes: So that this Woman found it an easie task to obtain what he passionately desir'd himself. He Marry'd her; and being sensible that all Persons of Honour would blame that Action, he was the first that turn'd it into Railery. It is one of the Maxims of those that resolve to do unaccountable things: They prevent peoples looking upon their Behaviour as Infamous, by using them not to speak of it as of a serious thing.

He Marries Mary Vignon.

Contrary to the Discipline of the Reform'd.

The said Marriage was directly opposite to the Discipline of the *Reform'd*, which did expresly prohibit a Man's Marrying a second Wife, after having committed Adultery with her during a first Marriage. Moreover, it was Celebrated in the Roman Church, upon the Account of *Mary Vignon*, who had Power enough to prevail with him to do it. The Truth is, that he made Publick Reparation for it: But that did not hinder people from judging, that he might easily have avoided that false step, and that *Mary Vignon* would have made no difficulty, in order to become Dutchess *de Lesdiguieres*, to be Marry'd by a Minister, if he had desir'd it. Besides, the *Reform'd* did not like the prospect this New Marriage gave him, for the Establishment of his Family. The Catholick Religion was always put at the Head of all the hopes the Catholicks him with: And whereas the favour of the Court was necessary for his designs, they did not fail to insinuate to him, that he might expect a great deal more from it, by turning Catholick, than by remaining steady by a scruple of Honour to the profession of a Religion that was run down, and which they had resolv'd to blot out of the Memory of Men.

Of which he makes a publick acknowledgment.

Notable Artifices of the Duke de Luines, to gain him.

On the other hand, *Luines* had designs, in which he was in hopes *Lesdiguieres* would be of Use to him; and therefore in Order to gain him, he flatter'd him with the Dignity of Constable. Not that he design'd to give it him: But aspiring to it himself, he durst not venture to ask it in his own Name, for fear of a denial. That great Office which plac'd almost all the Regal Authority in the hands of a Subject, had not been fill'd since the Death of the last Duke *de Montmorency*, to whom *Henry* the Fourth had given it. The design of introducing

troducing Arbitrary Power, did not ſuit with the great Au- 1621.
thority of a Conſtable: Therefore the Court deſign'd to ſuppreſs it; and it was actually aboliſh'd in the begining of Cardinal *de Richlieu's* Miniſtry. It had been vacant about ſeven years, when the Duke *de Luines* undertook to have it diſpos'd of again: But in order to meet the leſs difficulty in it, he reſolv'd to revive it, under a Name, more illuſtrious than his own; not doubting but after that, he would eaſily find a way to get it for himſelf. He certainly was very well acquainted with the foible of *Leſdiguieres*, to undertake to abuſe him, as he did: And had he dar'd to put the ſame Trick upon the Duke *d'Epernon*, he would never have been Conſtable.

Double Commiſſion to perſons with him.

In Order thereunto, he pitch'd upon two different Men, to whom he gave two different Commiſſions. The one was to perſuade *Leſdiguieres* to turn Catholick, in hopes of being made Conſtable. The other had Orders to repreſent to him, that that Grandeur would create him a World of Enemies, and that he would do better, to perſuade the King to give it to his Favourite; and to reſt ſatisfy'd, with certain advantages which would be granted to him, to make him amends for the ſaid Refuſal. The Commiſſion of the firſt was known to the King, who was not as yet acquainted with the pretentions of the Duke *de Luines*: But that of the ſecond was only known by the ſaid Duke, who was unwilling the King ſhould be acquainted with that ſecret Intrigue: Beſides, he only give it to ſtop the Progreſs of the firſt, which ſucceeded better and faſter than he deſir'd. The firſt that was imploy'd about the Duke *de Leſdiguieres*, was the ſame *Deageau*, who had ſerv'd the Duke *de Luines*, to inceniſe the King againſt the Queen his Mother, and againſt the Marſhal *d'Ancre*. The King repos'd a great Confidence in him ever ſince that Affair; and ſometimes gave him private Commiſſions, without the knowledge of his Favourite: As he had done after the Queen Mother made her eſcape out of *Blois*. He made uſe of him to write to the Biſhop of *Luçon* to repair to that Princeſs, and to diſpoſe her to an Accommodation. *Deageau* relates it himſelf, tho' other Memoirs

1621 moirs do not speak of it, as of a thing done without the Dukes knowledge. But if what *Deagean* says about it be true, it was enough to make the Favourite his Enemy. A Man that had a Genius for Affairs, who was Subtle, Dissembling, Ambitious, and Bold, was capable of doing too much with an easie Prince, who repos'd some Confidence in him, to be agreeable to Persons, who had neither Wit nor Experience enough to oppose him. Therefore, the Duke took a pretence to send him to *Lesdiguieres*, to remove him from the Court; and in Order to keep him at *Grenoble*, a Place of first President of the Chamber of Accounts, was bought for him in that City, under pretence that it would hinder people from penetrating into the real Motives of his abode in that Province.

What Empire Deagean gains over Lesdiguieres.

Altho *Deagean* was very sensible for what reason he was confin'd in *Dauphine*, yet he accepted the Commission that was given him; relying perhaps, more on the Gratitude of *Lesdiguieres*, than he had reason to trust to the Duke de *Luines*. And flattering himself, that he wou'd promote his own Fortune the better, by opposing the Protection of a Constable, against the Jealousies of a Favourite. The success can never be unhappy, when matters are well dispos'd. *Deagean* easily persuaded *Lesdiguieres* to change a Religion which he little matter'd: But in Order to render his Solicitations the more Powerful, he made use of the Wiles they us'd to practice. There still remain'd a Scruple of Honour in *Lesdiguieres*, which persuaded him, that it was a shame for a Man of his Age to change his Religion. But he remov'd it by private Conferrences, by reason that Publick ones made too much Noise, and that *Deagean* had no mind to make any. He got Ministers, whom he had gain'd to meet him at *Lesdiguieres*, as if it were accidentally, and whom he seem'd not to know, that the meeting might seem undesign'd. Those Traytors, after some feign'd resistance, never fail'd to yield to *Deagean*'s Reasons; and to give him a fair pretence, to press *Lesdiguieres* to overcome those little Scruples. *Le Viscomte* Professor at the College of De. who was an *Italian*, and who had been a Fryar, was one of them.

Feign'd Deputies of Religion.

them. He ſuffer'd himſelf to be vanquiſh'd in a Conference; after which, he confeſs'd Ridiculouſly, that it was impoſſible to Anſwer *Deagean*'s Arguments. That Comedy was Acted ſo groſly, that it was impoſſible for *Leſdiguieres* not to perceive it. It was pleaſant to ſee *Deagean*, who had paſs'd the beſt part of his Life in the Dignity of Clerk of the Finances, to become a Champion in a diſpute of Religion; and without uſing any other Arguments but certain Vulgar Sophiſms, repeated over and over, to reduce all of a ſudden, Perſons of ſome Reputation, and better Vers'd than himſelf, in matters of Controverſie, to confeſs that his Reaſons were convincing. Nevertheleſs, thoſe Artifices acquir'd *Deagean* ſo great an Empire over *Leſdiguieres*, that he Govern'd him as he pleas'd; and that when the General Aſſembly offer'd to create him General of the Churches, to maintain him an Army of 20000 Men, and to pay him 100000 Crowns a Month, and to give him ſufficient ſecurity for the payment of it, in any Proteſtant City he ſhould be pleas'd to chuſe; the ſaid *Deagean* diſſuaded him from accepting of the ſaid Offers, and even dictated the Anſwer he made upon that Subject. He did the ſame with all the Letters *Leſdiguieres* writ to the Aſſembly. 1621.

This great Credit of *Deagean* had like to have broken the meaſures of the Duke *de Luines*, who intruſted the ſecond Commiſſion, I have mention'd, to the Marqueſs *de Breſſieux*, which tended to croſs the Negotiation of *Deagean*, and to perſuade *Leſdiguieres* to yield the Dignity of Conſtable to that Favourite, upon which Condition, he was allow'd not to turn Catholick. This New Deputy was order'd by an Article of his Inſtructions, to obtain a promiſe from *Leſdiguieres*, before he did reveal his Commiſſion to him, that he would conceal it all from *Deagean*: But he could never prevail with him to do it; and for fear of worſe, he was oblig'd to ſtick to the Terms of the firſt Commiſſion, and to content himſelf with preſſing *Leſdiguieres* to turn Catholick. But the Duke *de Luines*, imputing to the Marqueſs, who perhaps was not inclin'd to purſue ſo great a Cheat; the ill

Breſſieux order'd to ruin the works of Deagean.

1621. Bullion *succeeds in it better than he.*

succeſs of his deſign, imploy'd *Bullion* in the ſame Intrigue; who prevail'd ſo far upon *Leſdiguieres*, as to perſwade him to come to *Paris*, to renounce the Conſtableſhip, and to yield that Dignity to the Duke of *Luines*; to adviſe the King, whom he ſaid he would oblige, to Raiſe his Favourite to that high Place; and finally to ſerve againſt the Churches, ſtill profeſſing the *Reform'd* Religion. *Leſdiguieres* reſiſted a little at firſt; but finally he was ſo good, as to conſent to all; and was not aſham'd to ſerve in the Quality of Marſhal General, under a Conſtable, who was hardly any thing of a Souldier. The Duke *d'Epernon*, more reſolute, and more haughty than he refus'd to Obey either; and whereas he had the art to keept the Court in awe of him, the Court was oblig'd, in order not to loſe him to give him the Command of a ſmall Body, without receiving Orders from any Body.

Leſdiguieres *does not hearken to his friends.*

Such Low, and ſuch abuſive Wiles were practis'd to obtain this conſent from *Leſdiguieres*, that had not his Mind and Heart been weaken'd by Age, it is not to be believ'd, that he wou'd ever have ſubmitted to ſuch unworthy proceedings. The beſt friends he had among the *Reform'd*, being acquainted with what paſs'd, by reaſon that the Duke *de Luines* had had the cunning to Publiſh it, to raiſe difficulties upon that Affair, omitted no means to raiſe his Courage again; and to make him ſenſible, how ſhameful it was for him to Sacrifice his Religion and his Honour, towards the Ambition of the Duke *de Luines*. But thoſe who poſſeſs'd his Reaſon, made him paſs over all thoſe conſiderations; and he only feign'd to perſevere in the *Reform'd* Religion, to deceive thoſe that had ſtill ſome confidence in him. The Catholick Zeal will undoubtedly appear very tractable in this Affair: But at the ſame time it cannot be deny'd, that the Roman Church alone knows, to what degree treachery and Hypocriſie may be carry'd innocently; and within what bounds they are to be kept, to make them part of the ſervice of God. What *Deageau* did to remove the Scruples of *Leſdiguieres* about Religion, is ſo ſingular upon that Subject, that it deſerves a Place in Hiſtory. A-

Notable Guile of Deageau.

mong

among the Miniſters he had brib'd, there was one of the Low- 1621.
er *Languedoc*, in whom *Leſdiguieres* repos'd a great deal of
Confidence, who had been his Chaplain, and who had ſe-
cretly abjur'd the *Reform'd* Religion. He acquainted *Dea-*
gean with all his Maſters ſecrets, and told him the Reaſon
for which *Leſdiguieres* expreſs'd, in a certain Conjuncture, a
little more repugnancy to pleaſure the Court, than he was
wont to do. The cauſe of that little diſguſt was a certain
Suſpicion, which was given him of ſome deſigns form'd a-
gainſt the *Reform'd* in *Dauphine*, in which he was to be in-
volv'd. When *Deagean* had Learn'd that ſecret, it was
eaſie for him to deſtroy the Suſpicions of *Leſdiguieres*, whoſe
mind he turn'd as he pleas'd. Therefore, the ſaid Miniſter
doing him ſuch good Services, he would have been a Loſer,
by his changing of his Religion publickly, by reaſon, that
being then no longer able to penetrate into his Maſter's ſecrets,
he would no longer be able to betray him. But *Deagean* pro-
vided againſt it by a Notorious Cheat. He obtain'd a Brief
for that Miniſter from the Pope, who allow'd him to per-
form the Function of his Miniſtry for three years longer, on
condition, that he ſhould neither Preach againſt the Do-
ctrine of the Roman Church, nor Adminiſter the Sacra-
ment according to the *Reform'd* manner. I do not know,
which ought to appear moſt ſingular in this to Men of ſenſe,
the Niceneſs of that Villains Conſcience, who would not
be guilty of Hypocriſie without Leave, or the Popes com-
plaiſance, who under the pretence of his being uſeful, al-
low'd him to make a ſport of Religion for three years to-
gether, and to abuſe God and the World with impunity.
They did not do ſo much for *Leſdiguieres*. They only ex-
cus'd him for a while from keeping his Word. The
Truth is, that he had made a promiſe in Writing, to imbrace
the Roman Religion: But ſince they did not perform their
promiſe to him in recompence of it, they did not preſs him
to put his in Execution. Moreover, when they found that
he preſs'd the concluſion too faſt himſelf, they deſir'd him
not to make ſo much haſte; to reduce his Ambition to leſs
Imployments, and to keep his Religion in lieu of the Dig-

1621. nity which he was perſuaded to yield to another: As if a Man, who was ever ready to Sacrifice his Conſcience for Temporal Advantages, would be ſo far in Love with Piety, as to think himſelf rewarded for the refuſal of ſuch Advantages, by the Liberty of profeſſing his own Religion.

Luines is made Conſtable.

There happen'd three, very ſingular Incidents in that Negotiation. That the only Man who could be thought capable of the firſt Dignity of the Kingdom, ſhould conſent to fool himſelf to get it for another. That the King ſhould be ſo weak as to be perſuaded, that a Man who was not able to Exerciſe a Regiment, without the help of a better Souldier, deſerv'd to be Conſtable. That all the Court ſhould Adore that Maſter-piece of Fortune, and that the Princes ſhould ſubmit to an Authority ſo ill plac'd. A Brother of his was alſo ſoon after made Marſhal of *France*, who was hardly a better Souldier than himſelf, and who ſhow'd at the Siege of *Montauban*, at the coſt of many brave Men, that he did not underſtand how to charge a Mine. The Truth is, that the King ſoon repented the complaiſance he had had for his Favourite. The Crowd of Courtiers that attended that new Conſtable, diſpleas'd the King, who finding himſelf almoſt forſaken, whereas his Favourite was follow'd by all the Court, call'd him ſometimes with a ſpightful Air, King *Lunes*: And let fall ſome Expreſſions of the deſire he had to humble him. That was his Foible; he could not indure the greatneſs he had rais'd himſelf. Tho incapable to keep his lawful Authority, he was Jealous to ſee it in the hands of thoſe to whom he had given it.

Leſdiguieres remains at Court.

But whatever *Leſdiguieres* could do, did not prevent his being in danger of being ſecur'd at Court. He had been warn'd of it by the way, and he fail'd but little of Experiencing, that the ſaid Advice was well grounded. Nevertheleſs, the Court obtain'd ſo many things of him, that they thought him ſecure; and whereas he was always to remain with the King; they look'd upon his preſence, as a ſufficient Pledge of his Fidelity. By that means *Dauphine*, in which there was a great deal of Reform'd Nobility, was retrench'd from the Union of the Churches; 12 or 13 Pla-

ces

ces were secur'd, in which he promis'd to put Catholick Governors and Garrisons; and he was set up for an Example to many of the *Reform'd*, whom the Court would oblige not to meddle with the Assembly, and even to bear Arms against their Brethren. But tho he assur'd every Body, both by Word of Mouth and in Writing, that he did not design to change his Religion; yet he Writ to Cardinal *Ludovisio* who had lately succeeded *Paul* the V. and who had taken the Name of *Gregory* the XV. after his Election to the Pontificat, to congratulate his Exaltation. He had formerly promis'd that Cardinal out of a Compliment, that whenever he came to be Pope, he would turn Catholick: And that Jest was imploy'd as an Argument to persuade him to do it; as if he had been oblig'd in Honour to do it, after so positive a promise. 1621.

Mediation of the Dukes de Rohan, and de la Trimouille.

During these Transactions, the Assembly of *Rochel* remain'd steady; and the Court was not without disquiets on their side, by reason that they were sensible, that there were many Male-contents in the Kingdom, besides the *Reform'd*: So that they were glad to find, that some of the *Reform'd* Lords were willing still to offer their Mediation, in order to an Accommodation. The Dukes of *Rohan* and *de la Trimouille* undertook it, after having taken measures with *Du Plessis* about it, and Writ to the King upon that Subject. But *Favas* finding himself fool'd at Court, and that the Government of *Leitoure* had been given to *Blainville*, in spight of him destroy'd the Project of that Mediation. He tarry'd at home in *Guyenne*, after the King's departure from *Bourdeaux*; and he seem'd to be unwilling to meddle any farther with the General Deputation: But he was unhappily oblig'd to come back to Court, in order to have the management of the Negotiation of that Agreement. He spoil'd it by his uneven Temper; and the Court, which knew him, made use of him to deceive the *Reform'd*, and to reconcile some Princes with the Constable, who built great designs upon the War of Religion which they saw at hand. Those Male-contents were the Count *de Soissons*, a young Prince, who had partly the Genius of his Father, and the Dukes *de Nevers*, and *de*

Of which Favas ruins the Project.

Mayenne.

1621. *Mayenne.* *Villarnoul* Son-in-Law to *Du Plessis*, suffer'd himself to be perswaded to tell the Count, that the Accommodation of the Assembly with the King was concluded: And *Favas* himself had the Complaisance to Write to the two Dukes, that he was going from the Court, with a perfect satisfaction for the Assembly. Nevertheless, he repair'd to *Rochel*, with a greater mind to exasperate matters, than to Reconcile them.

Du Plessis *and* du Moulin *sollicit the Assembly to break up.*

The heats of that Man, whose mind ran still upon *Latoure*, broke the Course of the Mediation, those two Lords were willing to take upon them. So that, they were reduced to endeavour only by their Letters, and by their Deputations to perswade the Assembly to keep within the bounds of their Allegiance. *Du Plessis* particularly behav'd himself so, that he was suspected of having lost part of the Vigour of his mind with Age, and to be mov'd by Interest as *Lesdiguieres*. *Du Moulin* also joyn'd with them. He had been at *Sedan* ever since the Synod of *Alets*. He did design to call at *Rochel*, in returning from the Synod to *Paris*: But things were so imbroil'd before he could come away, that he durst not follow his Inclination, for fear of making himself Criminal, by Communicating with a prohibited Assembly. His Prudence in this point avail'd him nothing, the Court would have him guilty, Right or Wrong. He receiv'd notice at *Lions*, by a Letter from *Dielincourt* his Colleague, that he would be taken up, as soon as he came to *Paris*. This News oblig'd him to take a by way to go home, where he tarry'd but one Night, and went from thence to *Sedan*; where the Duke *de Bouillon* gave him the place of Professor in Theology, and of Minister in Ordinary. *Tilenus* hi Enemy did not fail to Write Violently against that retreat, which he endeavour'd to represent as a Mercenary flight.

Du Moulin *in danger of being secur'd.*

The pretence the Court had to seize upon him was, that the English Ambassador had desir'd *Du Moulin* to Write to the King his Master, to exhort him to assist the Elector *Palatin* his Son-in-Law. That Prince having too soon taken the Name of King of *Bohemia*, which had been offer'd him by the People, lost a Battle near *Prague*, and his New Kingdom, to-

together with his Ancient Patrimony, which the Emperor 1621.
divested him of, as a Rebel. *France* ſuffer'd it calmly, by reaſon that the Policy of *Spain* and of *Rome* prevail'd in their Council, and repreſented that War, as a War of Religion. *Joannin* himſelf remember'd, that he had been a Member of the League; and Writ a Pamphlet, to hinder the King from ſuccoring the *Bohemians*, in which he urg'd ſo many Reaſons to prove, that all the Advantage of that War would remain to the Proteſtants, and all the damage to the Catholicks; that *France* loſt that opportunity of ruining the Houſe of *Auſtria* in *Germany*; and that they look'd upon the Ruin of an Ancient Ally of *France*, as a Triumph of the Catholick Church. The King meddled no farther with this War, than by a Solemn Embaſſy, at the Head of which, he plac'd the Count *d'Auvergne*: And that ſerv'd only to render the Catholick League the ſtronger, and the Emperor more formidable. But the Coldneſs of the King of *England* Scandalized, even thoſe that profited by his Weakneſs. He did not reliſh certain Maxims of Honour, which he was continually put in mind of; and he thought it a piece of Policy, not to aſſiſt Subjects againſt their Soveraigns, even in the Caſe of a manifeſt oppreſſion. He apply'd that fine Policy, which no other Prince ever bethought himſelf of, to the Affairs of his Son-in-Law: And his Ambaſſador who was ſenſible, that he was leſpis'd every where for that falſe Prudence; had a mind to draw him out of that Error. He look'd upon *Du Moulin*, as a Man capable to revive the Courage of that Prince, by whom he was very much reſpected. *Du Moulin* writ, after having excus'd it a while; and his Letter was given to the Courier the Ambaſſador ſent into *England*. But it was ſoon after put into the hands of the Miniſters of the Cabinet Council, whither it were done deſignedly by the Courier, or by the Ambaſſador; or whither it were intercepted by ſome Wife; or finally, whither King *James* himſelf, who had particular Ingagements with the King of *France*, had Communicated it to the Miniſters of that Prince. The ſaid Letter was look'd upon as being very Criminal, by Reaſon, that the Condition of the Churches

Coldneſs of the James *Labours the Affairs of the Palatinat.*

Du Moulin writes to him and his Letter falls into the hands of the Council of France.

1621. Churches of *France* was set out in it, and their approaching Ruine alledg'd, as a proper Reason to excite the King of *England* to assist his Son-in-Law, whose Prosperity was a Refuge to the *Reform'd*, as his Ruine was a Presage of Decay for them.

The Jesuits, whose Bane *Du Moulin* was, were glad of that Opportunity to ruine him, and having neither been able to Corrupt him by fair Offers, nor to destroy him by divers Conspiracies against his Life, they imagin'd that he could never scape them that time. But they were deceiv'd, and he scap'd that Snare by the Diligence of his Retreat. It was from *Sedan* he writ to the Assembly of *Rochel*. It is uncertain whether he did it of his own accord, or by the Order of the Mareschal *de Bouillon*, who was of the same Opinion with all the Grandees of the same Religon; or whether his Friends perceiving that his Enemies had a mind to represent him as a Seditious Person, who inclin'd People to Rebellion by his Advice, advis'd him to disprove them by such a Letter. But it is certain that it was written with great Vigor, and that he declar'd in it, that the Assembly would be answerable for the Ruine of the Churches, in case their refusing to break up should occasion it. The Effect of that Letter was, That it increas'd the Divisions to the utmost Extremity. Some Members of the Assembly withdrew, and never could be prevail'd upon to come again. Others acquainted *Du Moulin* that his Letter had been read, but not approv'd of, and begg'd of him not to communicate it to any body, lest it should serve as a Pretence for those, who had a mind to withdraw out of the Union.

Effect of those Letters to the Assembly.

It were to be wish'd, that the Assembly had follow'd that Advice, only to try what the Court would have done after their Separation; in order to render the Cause of the Churches the clearer, by removing the Pretence of Disunion from those, who had too much Faith and Credulity. The Event show'd, that if those Members of the Assembly, who would not break up without Security, were not the most prudent, yet they were the best inform'd; and those who hinder'd them from taking such Measures for their Safety, had cause to

to repent at leiſure, their being too Credulous. Two things ſtopt the Negotiation: The one was, that the Aſſembly could not reſolve to beg Pardon for meeting at *Rochel*, by reaſon that they pretended, that they might lawfully do it, after ſo poſitive a Promiſe, as they had receiv'd for ſo doing at *Loudun* from the King. That Confeſſion of having done ill was of greater conſequence than it ſeem'd to be at firſt, ſince it imply'd a tacit Acknowledgment that the things promis'd had been perform'd: The Conſequence of which was, that it would ſtop their Mouths for the future upon the Buſineſs of the two Councellors, of *Leitoure*, and of *Bearn*. *Favas* inſiſted upon thoſe Conſiderations with great Vehemency. The other was, that they were willing to ſee at leaſt ſomething done upon their Complaints, before their Breaking up, for fear of being ſhortly oblig'd to begin all things anew, as it had happen'd more than once. Moreover, the Decay of the Reform'd Religion in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, which thoſe who were for the Diſſolution of the Aſſembly, made uſe of to make them dread the Events of War, was taken in another Sence by many, who look'd upon it as a good Reaſon to take Precautions againſt the Oppreſſion, of which the Affairs of *Germany* gave a Preſage. 1621.

Neverthelefs, the Aſſembly not being able to withſtand the Advice of all the Grandees, from whom they receiv'd Letters upon Letters, and Deputations upon Deputations, to induce them to ſubmit, oblig'd the Lords, who had offer'd their Mediation before, to reſume the Negotiation of an Agreement. The thing ſeem'd to be brought pretty near a happy Concluſion that time. The ſaid Lords found an Expedient, which apparently was like to ſatisfie every body. They thought fit that the Aſſembly ſhould break up for form ſake, without removing above one or two ſmall days Journey from *Rochel*: That the Deputies ſhould remain in Places of Safety, under pretence that they could not go Home, by reaſon of the Declaration which render'd them Criminal: That they ſhould tarry for the King's Anſwer, in a Readineſs to aſſemble again in caſe he ſhould break his Word: That it ſhould be done without mentioning the Right they pre-

New Conditions of Accommodation.

1621. tended to have had to Assemble: That before the said Separation, the Council should agree with the Deputies General, about seven Articles they were to present to the King: But that he should not dispatch them till the Assembly were actually dissolv'd, and the Members gone Home: And that in order to enable them so to do, the King would revoke the Declaration, by which they were declar'd Criminals.

Seven Articles which the Court agrees upon.

Those seven Articles, which were treated of several times with the Deputies General, and which were at last agreed upon, with some Modifications, contain'd in Substance, that the *Reform'd* should not be oblig'd to use the Words of Pretended Reform'd, in speaking of their Religion: That the King should remedy the Political and Ecclesiastical Affairs of *Bearn*: That *La Force* and his Children should be maintain'd in their Places, as they had been during the Life of the Late King, and paid their Arrears and Pensions; and that *Lesdiguieres* should have his Imployments restor'd him: That the Settlement of the Places of *Dauphine* should be deliver'd according as it had been promis'd by the Treaty of *Loudun*: That the Modification of the Article of that Treaty, which spoke about the Reception of two Councellors in the Parliament of *Paris*, should be remov'd: That the *Cahiers* of the Assembly of *Loudun* should be speedily and favourably answered: That care should be taken for the Payment of Ministers, and of the Garisons: And finally, That the King's Soldiers should be remov'd from such Places where they created Jealousies.

To amuse the Reformed.

But the Intention of the Court, by these Negotiations, was only to amuse the *Reform'd*, as they us'd to do, in order the better to take their Measures, and to break those of the Assembly, by flattering the Credulous with the appearances of an approaching Peace. The truth is, that the Resolution of making War had not been taken in the King's Council without Difficulty. Though there was a great Party that press'd the Ruin of the *Reform'd*, the Wisest of the Council were against it; particularly the three oldest Ministers that remain'd of the ancient Court, who could not abandon the late King's Maxims. They thought it a piece of Rashness to attack a Party that had Two hundred strong Places, the least of

of which might tarry till a Breach was made before they did Capitulate, and of which, many could ſuſtain long Sieges before good Armies: That there was no likelihood of improving their Diviſions, which would ceaſe immediately as ſoon as a War ſhould be declar'd againſt them, by reaſon that then the moſt Simple would begin to fear for themſelves. Moreover, that there was not more Union at Court than among them, by reaſon of the Jealouſies about the Government: That the *Reform'd* had the Reputation of being good Soldiers, and good Politicians: That there was no reaſon to believe that they had given over their foreign Correſpondencies: That the Conformity of their Condition would ingage thoſe Countries that profeſs'd the ſame Doctrine, to ſuccour them. That the Allies of *France* would be troubled at that War, becauſe it would enable the Houſe of *Auſtria* to oppreſs them, while the King ſhould be diverted from Foreign Affairs by thoſe Domeſtick Broils. That the *United Provinces* would be expos'd to all the Forces of *Spain*, which would take the Advantage of the Civil Wars of *France*, to oppreſs that State, which the King had ſo much Intereſt to preſerve. That the King had no Money, by reaſon that the Avidity of his Favourites devour'd all his Revenues; inſomuch that all the Money of ſeveral Years was ſpent, and that all the Expence was ſtill to come. 1621.

The Duke *de Luines*, on his ſide, had no Inclination to make a War. *Du Pleſſis* had given him ſome Advices upon that Subject which ſtuck to his Heart, and which made him fear, either that the Malecontents would increaſe the Party of the *Reform'd*, or that a Peace would be made at his Coſt. But on the other hand, the Miniſters were all for taking Arms. The Queen expected a kind of Regency while *de Luines* ſhould lead the King from Province to Province; and perhaps ſhe had higher Deſigns. The Biſhop of *Lucon*, who was one of her Creatures, had a mind to make himſelf neceſſary. The Prince of *Conde*, who expected to have the Command of the Army, no longer remember'd the Services he had receiv'd from the *Reform'd*. *Puiſieux*, Son to the Chancellor, who had ſucceeded *Villeroy*, both in the Secretary of State's Place, and in his Paſſion for the *Spaniſh* Maxims, was at the Devotion

The Duke de Luines is little inclin'd to it.

But the Queen.

The Prince of Conde.

Puiſieux.

1621. of *Spain*, and press'd the Duke by so many Reasons, and found so many Expedients to cure him of his Fears, that finally, he inspir'd the same Sentiments in him. The Clergy of *France* being ignorant and corrupted, thought their whole Duty was comprehended in the Extirpation of *Heresie*; and they offered great Sums, provided they were imploy'd in that War. The Pope, who has the Art to persuade Princes that they are obliged to sacrifice the Repose of their State to his Grandeur, and who always advances his own Affairs at the Cost of others, seconded that Advice by all his Authority. But the Ministers of *Spain* in particular, who were the principal Promoters of that Cabal, omitted nothing to engage *France* in a War, which, according to all human appearance, was to set the first hand to the Decay of the Monarchy. The Policy of *Spain* was so refin'd at that time, that they made those serve towards their Projects, who had most Interest to oppose them; and that they engag'd *France* voluntarily in a Civil War, of which they ought to have dreaded the cruel Consequences, after having experienced it for the space of five and thirty Years.

The Clergy.

The Pope.

The Spaniards make the King resolve upon War.

But finally, the thing was resolv'd upon, after the Duke *de Luines* had obtained the Dignity of Constable, which gave him the Command of the Armies. He was thereby deliver'd of the Fear of being obliged to make the Prince of *Conde* too Powerful, by giving him the said Command. But when that Difficulty was remov'd, there arose another, which was of no less Consequence. There were two Opinions about the Degree to which they should proceed in the Ruine of the *Reform'd*. Some said that it ought to be done at once; that the best way was to destroy both the *Huguenots* and the *Heretick*, and to imitate *Charles* the Ninth, who only Consented to the Massacres of 1572, on condition that no body should be suffer'd to escape that might upbraid him with it. The Pope was of that Opinion, and was seconded by the Cardinals, by the Clergy of *France*, and by the Jesuits. The Pope offer'd on that Condition, to contribute Two hundred thousand Crowns, the Cardinals as much, and the Clergy the same Sum. The Jesuits, who are us'd to take, offer'd nothing,

Some are for Massacring the Reformed.

nothing, unless we impute to their Intreagues, the Offer of 1621.
Thirty Millions of Livres, which was made by some of the
* Grand Farmers, for the Confiscation of the Estates that be-
long'd to the *Reform'd* on this side the *Loire*. It is very well
known, that those subtle Politicians have more than once slipt
their Necks out of the Collar, when Money has been requir-
ed of them, by proposing Advices or Expedients to raise
some, without contributing any thing towards it themselves.
That some were of a more moderate Advice, or rather more
Politick, who were for laying Religion aside, and only to
wage War against the *Reform'd* as Rebels; and to let the E-
dicts subsist in favour of such as should remain quiet in their
Houses.

* *Partisans, or such as Farm the King's Revenues.*

And others for sparing the most Peaceable.

The Reasons of the first Advice were, that in case any Di- *Reasons of the first Advice.*
vision were made among them, those that should be spar'd
would prove the most dangerous: That they would perhaps
move one day the Recourse of their Party: That they would
remain at Home, not out of Fidelity, but out of Prudence:
That they would keep a Correspondence with those that
should be in Arms: That they would be their Spyes, to give
them Notice of whatever should relate to them: That they
would secretly assist them with Money and other Necessaries
towards the War. But the Reasons of the others were, That
the Distinction that should be made of the Peaceable, and of
the Rebels, would be a certain way to weaken the Party by
ruining them: That a considerable Number of Persons, in
hopes of preserving the Liberty of their Religion by their
Obedience, would retire home, and would behold the De-
struction of the rest without moving: Whereas in case they
should War against the whole Party, the most Peaceable
would be forc'd to joyn with the others for their Common
Defence: That for that Reason it would be imprudent to u-
nite Four hundred thousand Men, to which the Num-
ber of the *Reform'd*, capable of bearing Arms, was thought
to amount: Besides, That such as would be spar'd by that
Policy, would remain at the Mercy of the Conqueror after
the Destruction of the rest: That this Distinction would
hinder the *Protestant* Allies from taking any Jealousies about
that,

Reasons of the second.

1621. that War, and would perſuade them that they did not aim at their Religion, but that they were arm'd againſt a Cabal that was always ready to trouble the State, and to joyn with the firſt Malecontents who had a mind to exclaim againſt the Government.

Which is followed. This Advice prevail'd, and Experience ſhow'd that the Reaſons of the firſt were all Illuſions. The *Reform'd*, who were put in hopes that the Edicts would be obſerv'd, gave little or no Aſſiſtance to the others: and during the whole courſe of the War, the Catholicks, and particularly the Gentlemen, were much kinder to the *Reform'd* in Arms, than to the *Reform'd* that remain'd Peaceable. They gave the moſt conſiderable and the moſt certain Advices: It was from them, thoſe Cities that were reſolv'd to hold out a Siege, bought Proviſions and Ammunitions; and from whom, in a word, they receiv'd the greateſt Teſtimonies of Correſpondence and Sincerity. The reaſon of it was, That there were many Catholicks, who not being blinded by the Zeal of Religion, foreſaw what the Event has but too much demonſtrated, and what even the Catholick Hiſtorians have not ſcrupled to write; that under pretence of reducing the *Reform'd*, the Court conceal'd a Deſign to Eſtabliſh Arbitrary Power; and that the Ruin of what they call'd a Cabal, would ſerve as a Step towards the Oppreſſion of the whole Kingdom. The *Reform'd* on the contrary being blinded by Promiſes of Liberty, avoided all Commerce with thoſe that were in Arms, for fear of giving the Court a Pretence to involve them in the Deſtruction of the others, as their Accomplices; and there were many, who in imitation of *Leſdiguieres*, were not aſhamed to bear Arms againſt their Brethren. The worthieſt Perſons amongſt them, only ſuccor'd them with Prayers and Tears, which the Fear of Oppreſſion only allow'd them to ſhed in ſecret.

Reaſons publiſh'd to blind the Reform'd. During the whole Courſe of the War, the only Cry was, that the King's Arms were only deſign'd againſt the Rebels: That the Edicts ſhould be obſerv'd in favor of the reſt: That they had no thoughts of deſtroying the *Reform'd* Religion: This is what was written abroad; what all the Penſioners of the

the Court preach'd up and down; and what was Publiſh'd in all the Declarations. In order to hinder People from penetrating into the ſecret Reaſons of thoſe Reports, the Court publiſh'd others, which could do no harm, and which were ſo plauſible, that they might paſs for true. They ſaid that it was not reaſonable to force Conſciences that were us'd to a long Tolleration; that what had been good 60 years before to prevent the Introduction of *Hereſie*, while Liberty of Conſcience was unknown, would be dangerous after having reliſh'd it ſo long: That it was not fit to give any Jealouſie to the Proteſtant Neighbouring Princes, leſt they ſhould come to the Aſſiſtance of the *Reform'd*; whereas none was to be expected from the Catholicks Abroad, who were deſirous to make the War laſt, to hinder *France* from croſſing their Deſigns: That the King had many faithful Subjects among the *Reform'd*, who ought not to be Confounded with thoſe Rebels. Others added moreover, in order to make their Reaſons the more weighty, that the *Reform'd* were uſeful in *France*: That they were born Enemies to the Enemies of the State: That in caſe there were none of them left in the Kingdom, it would be neceſſary to ſend for ſome from Abroad, far from deſtroying thoſe who were born there. The *Reform'd* were not the only Perſons that ſaid this; there were Catholicks even in the Council, who were really of that Opinion; and at the beginning of the preſent Reign, there ſtill were Miniſters who had been bred in the Policy of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, who held this Maxim as a true one, and who expreſs'd it in very Terms I have us'd. 1621.

New Difficulty about the time of beginning the War

This Difficulty being remov'd, there appear'd a third. Some were of Opinion to begin the War without delay, in order to ſuppreſs the *Reform'd*, who were aſtoniſh'd, and not in a Poſture of Defence. It was the Advice of the Prince of Conde, who expected to make a better Figure in the War than at Court, where he was oblig'd to have baſe Complaiſances for the Favorite, and where he was look'd upon with an ill Eye by the Queen-Mother. *Du Vair*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and the Jeſuit Confeſſor to the King, ſeconded it with all their Might. *Jeanin* and the other old Miniſters, who

1621. who were not heartily inclin'd for a War, oppos'd it, and thought that it would be proper to talk of a Peace on the contrary in threatning a War; and in the mean time to prepare for the last, in case the *Reform'd* should refuse the first on Conditions worthy of the King. The Duke *de Luines* joyn'd with the last, but for other Reasons. He saw no Money ready for the War; he had rather apply the Finances to his own, and to his Friends Advantage, than to a doubtful Enterprise. He was at a Loss to whom he should trust the Command of the Armies. He was not secure of the Foreigners. He had no body to whom he could confide the Provinces he should leave behind him, in marching with the King towards the Southern Provinces. In fine, the Number of the *Reform'd* Lords made him dread Diversions where-ever they had any Authority.

How those Difficulties were remov'd.

But he was so happy, that all those Difficulties were level'd. He gain'd most of the Great ones. *Chatillon* was bought with the Promise of a Marshal's Staff. The Marshal *de Bouillon* remain'd long Newter. *Lesdiguieres* fool'd himself, and many others follow'd his Example. He met with no Oppositions from Abroad. The King, under pretence of a Journey into *Picardy*, secur'd himself on the side of the *Netherlands*, and *Spain* freely granted him all the Assurances he could desire, being far from putting any Obstacles to a War they desired passionately. *Cadenet*, Brother to the Favourite, who was created Duke *de Chaunes*, easily prevail'd with the King of *England*, who thought himself oblig'd to lose all the Opportunities which a good Politician would have improv'd, to make himself Arbitrator of *Europe*, when there was a Necessity to succor Subjects against their Prince in order thereunto. The *United Provinces* were not in a Condition to Break with *France*. It is true, that as that Crown had had some hand in the Divisions of that State, and seem'd to favour the Party of *Barnevelt*, they had also given some Discontents to the Prince of *Orange*. But those petty Subjects of Complaint did yield to greater Interests: The Terror of the Prosperities of the House of *Austria*, did not permit the States to fall out with an Allie so necessary as *Lewis* the Thirteenth. The Court fow'd the utmost Divisions among the *Reform'd*. They endeavor'd to

to revoke the Power of thoſe who were deputed to the Aſ- 1621.
ſembly. They endeavor'd to make the other Cities jealous of *Rochel*, either as deſigning to promote their own Advantage at their Coſt, or as deſigning to become the Center of their Union, and to ingroſs all the Authority. Though all the *Reform'd* were not ſuſceptible of thoſe Diffidences; yet there were always ſome who ſuffered themſelves to be caught in the Snare of thoſe falſe Impreſſions.

The King goes unexpectedly from Paris.

Notwithſtanding the Court gave ear to all the Propoſitions of the Mediators, with as much Application, as if they had had a ſincere deſire of Peace: People were ſtrangely ſurpriz'd to find in the middle of thoſe Negotiations, when the Court thought that they had taken ſufficient Meaſures to ſucceed in their Enterprize, that the King repair'd to *Fontainebleau*, from whence he writ to the Duke *de Bouillon*, and to *Du Pleſſis*, and ſome others, that the Obſtinacy of the Aſſembly was the Occaſion of his Journey, and that it oblig'd him to repair to *Tours*, and perhaps farther, if it were neceſſary, to be near at hand to give his Orders. He mix'd with this Advice, Aſſurances of his good Intentions, in favor of thoſe that ſhould remain within the Bounds of their Duty. The next day after his Arrival, he revers'd the Priviledge of Elections, and removed the Offices for the Receits of his Revenues, out of the Cities held by the *Reform'd*, by an expreſs Declaration, and transfer'd them to Catholick Cities, under pretence of hindering the *Reform'd* from ſeizing upon the Royal Treaſure. But he reſtor'd that of *Saumur* by a Brief, to ſatisfie *du Pleſſis*, for whom a far greater Affront was preparing. This Edict might reaſonably paſs for a Declaration of War; but it did not open the Eyes of thoſe who were inclineable to a Peace, and they continu'd their Mediation, ſome with Sincerity, and others to pleaſe the Court, which was deſirous to amuſe the *Reform'd* by thoſe Appearances. So that Conferences were held ſtill, in which all things ſeem'd to tend to an Accommodation. The Conſtable ſeem'd to open his Mind freely to the Deputies, and to conſent to a Peace upon tolerable Conditions. For which reaſon the Agents and Media-

And removes the Offices for the Receits of his Revenues out of the Reform'd Cities.

1621. tors left *Paris* with *Pavas*, to repair to *Rochel* by divers ways, and upon different Days, in order severally to dispose the Assembly to receive the Conditions they brought them. But without tarrying longer than the next day after *Pavas*'s Departure; a Council was held in the King's Presence, in which a Settlement was drawn of Forty thousand Foot, and Eight thousand Horse, to be distributed in the Provinces according as it should be necessary. The Government of *Bearn* was given to *Themines* in the same Council; *La Force* was deprived of all his Places; the Survivorship of them was taken from his Son the Marquess *de Mompouillan*, who created Jealousies in the Favorites, and in the Jesuits by his great Accomplishments, and by the Share he had in the King's Favour; and he was order'd to retire from the Court. That Prince permitted those who govern'd him, to dispose of his Inclinations, as they did of his Finances, and of his Authority; and always approv'd the Reasons that were alledg'd to him, no longer to love what he had most lov'd.

Settlement of War drawn in the middle of the Negotiation of Peace.

New Troubles in Bearn.

The Pretence us'd for that Disgrace, was, That Peoples Minds began to be heated again in *Bearn*, and that the Affairs there seem'd to be upon the Point of a new Revolution. *La Force* was inrag'd, that instead of making him some Reparation for the Affront he had receiv'd from *Poyane*, who had taken Arms, not only without his Leave, but without his Knowledge, the Court had sent him an Order by *Saudie* to lay down his Arms, approving the Actions of *Poyane*. The Marquess *de La Force* press'd his Father to resent that Affront, and look'd upon the Proceeding of the Court as a bloody Injury, to oblige an old Governor of *Province*, an ancient Officer of the King's Houshold, to disarm before the Governor of a Town, who ought at least to have honour'd him as a Superior, and to communicate his Designs to him, though he were excus'd from receiving Orders from him. Moreover, it was too sensible an Affront from the Court to *La Force*, to send Orders to an inferior Officer, without acquainting him with it. Therefore the *Bearnois* being already as uneasie at the Alterations that had been made among them,

them, as they were fatal to their Liberties, the Diſcontents and Intrigues of their Governor ſoon diſpos'd them to improve the Occaſion. The Earneſtneſs the General Aſſembly expreſs'd for their Affairs, encreaſed their Courage, and eaſily perſuaded thoſe People, who were naturally Confident, that they would ſoon be as Free as the *French*. *La Force* being flatter'd with that Hope, writ to the King in the Month of *February*, a Letter that was very preſſing, and well written, upon the Refuſal the Court had made to hear the Deputies of the Aſſembly. That Letter perhaps prov'd one of his greateſt Crimes. The Court no longer reliſh'd thoſe free Contradictions. He Remonſtrated with too much Boldneſs, how much the Severity of the Court increaſed Peoples Terrors. He complain'd that the Catholicks of the Province ſaid publickly, that the King was reſolv'd to declare a War againſt the *Reform'd*, and to deſtroy them; and he concluded by a preſſing Exhortation, that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to hear what the Deputies of the Aſſembly had to ſay. 1621.

That Letter and the Advices the Court receiv'd from *Bearn*, that the Towns, out of which the Gariſons had been remov'd, were revolted, made them forget that *La Force* had obey'd the Order he had receiv'd from *Saludie* without replying: That he had caus'd the Tower of *Mongiſard* to be reſtor'd and diſmantled, which the *Benſins*, accus'd of the Conſpiracy of *Navarreins*, had fortify'd to annoy that Place: That in order to obſerve ſome *Decorum*, he had deliver'd that Fort, not to *Poyane*, who had beſieg'd it, but to Councellors, that were deputed by the Soveraign Council of *Pau*, who caus'd it to be demoliſh'd. The King not being ſatisfy'd with turning *La Force* and his Children out of their Imployments, order'd the Duke *d'Epernon* to turn them out of *Bearn*, and to reduce the People to their Allegiance. The Court did not do the Duke that Honour out of a Pure Effect of Good Will; but leſt in caſe they ſhould ſlight him in a Time of Troubles, he might grow jealous of the Forces that march'd towards *The Duke d'Epernon is ſent thither.*

1621. his Governments, and put himself in a Posture to hinder the Progress of the Favorite, who did not love him; tho his Policy oblig'd him to dissemble, and to express an exterior Friendship to him. The Court gave him nothing to help him to make that Expedition. He had not so so much as time allow'd him to raise Money and Men; and he march'd towards that Country with so small an Army, that had he not rely'd upon the Correspondencies the Court held in the Towns, his Enterprise would have been a great piece of Rashness. The Truth is, that *La Force* was not yet ready, and that he made his Preparations like a Man, who was uncertain what he had best to do. The Succors of the Provinces, who had undertaken the Preservation of *Bearn*, fail'd him, and that of the Assembly General was yet at a great distance. Therefore he had recourse to Submissions, and endeavour'd to stop the Duke's March by reiterated Offers of Obedience and Fidelity. But the Duke made no less hast for that, and for his first Expedition he besieg'd *Orthez*. The Place was in a Condition to make a long Resistance, during which, Forces might have been assembled, which might easily have dissipated the Duke's, who had neither a Place to retire to, nor Provisions, or Ammunitions. Moreover, there were more Men in the Town capable to bear Arms, than there were in the petty Army that besieg'd it. Nevertheless, The Force of their Correspondencies within prov'd so effectual, that they surrendered without tarrying for the Cannon, as if they had only tarry'd for the Duke's coming to their Gates, to commit that Piece of Cowardize. That Success afforded the Duke *d'Epernon* all that he wanted, by reason that the Town was very well provided. *La Force* judging by this Success what he had to trust to from all the rest of the Country, retir'd out of the Government. After which all the Towns that were in his Party being astonish'd at the Capitulation of *Orthez*, and at the Retreat of the General, surrender'd upon the first Summons. The Truth is, that the Duke's Severity, as soon as any body

Cowardize of the People of Orthez.

La Force retires.

shew'd

ſhow'd the leaſt Inclination to reſiſt, ſtruck a Terror every where. Thoſe very Places that obey'd, had the Grief to ſee their Fortifications demoliſhed; but every where elſe, Confiſcations, Baniſhments, Hanging, were the Duke's daily Sports, whatever the Author of his Life reports. We have a Specimen of it, by the poor Pretence he took at *Oleron*, to Execute a wretched Soldier he found in the Town. The Duke Condemn'd him to dye, becauſe he had manag'd the Work of ſome ſlight Retrenchments which it had been cover'd with. That did not render him more Criminal than thoſe who had ſet him at Work, and who had taken him into their Service. Nevertheleſs, he was Executed; but not being able to perſuade himſelf, that what he had done deſerv'd Death, he imputed his Crime to his being a *Provencal*, and reproach'd the Duke at his Death, that he was the Victim of his Hatred for that Province. 1621.

All Bearn is ſubdu'd.

But thoſe Rigors of the Duke render'd his Expedition very ſhort, and very ſucceſsful. After the Capitulation of *Orthez* he ſoon made himſelf Maſter of *Oleron*, of *Salies*, of *Nay*, of *Sauveterre*, and finally of *Pau*; and having order'd all things according to his Mind, he left the Country in a full Submiſſion. That Expedition did not laſt above three Months, which afforded him time to come back to the King, who was before St. *John d'Angeli* at that time. The War was begun in *Poitou* as ſoon as in *Bearn*, and with the ſame Succeſs. Though the Duke *d'Epernon*'s Commiſſion was known by every body, and that the Settlement of War drawn in the King's Council was become Publick, the Mediators being ſtupified by ſome ſtrange Charm, would ſtill perſuade themſelves that it was nothing, and that, provided the Aſſembly would obey, the King would proceed no farther; ſo that their Letters, and their Advices ſtill retarded the Affairs of the *Reformed*, and afforded the Court time to take all their Meaſures at leiſure. Nevertheleſs, *Favas*, being informed by *Chalas* his Colleague, in the General Deputation, who tarry'd

1621. tarry'd with the Court, with what pass'd after his Departure, acquainted the Assembly therewith, and gave them an Account of the Illusions they had been amus'd with, while the Court was preparing to laugh at them and at him openly. As that Settlement of War had been drawn the next day after his Departure, he receiv'd the News of it the next day after his Arrival; so that he was enabled at once to inform the Assembly with the Disposition of Peace, in which he thought he had left the King's Council at parting, and of their Resolution for a War, of which the News was written to him.

Sedition at Tours. They heard at the same time that he arriv'd at *Tours* on the 18th of the same Month. One *Martin*, who kept a Publick House there, had embrac'd the *Reform'd* Religion; and that Change had occasion'd some Jests, and some Satyrick Songs, which had often expos'd him to the Laughter of the People. The Magistrates not having suppress'd that License, though contrary to the Edicts, and to sound Policy, the Catholick Children had learnt those Songs, and the said *Martin* dying soon after it, they sung the said Songs while his Corps was Carrying to the Ground. Some of those that accompany'd the Corps being disturb'd at that Noise, gave one of the Children a Box on the Ear. The simple Catholicks, who diverted themselves at those Childrens Play, and who often excited them to do what they durst not do themselves, cry'd out that he was kill'd, because he was a Catholick. Whereupon the People rose immediately, fell upon the *Reform'd*, abus'd, wounded, and affronted all those they met. The Night did not appease their Fury. The next day the Seditious went to the Church-yard of the *Reform'd*, dug up the Corps, which had been flung into the Ground in haste, tore it in pieces, and committed a thousand Indignities against it. From thence they went to the Temple, and burnt it: They plunder'd the House of the Sexton, and committed great Violences against him. This Rage lasted three days; but finally, it was appeas'd

appeas'd for want of Matter, by reaſon that the *Reform'd* hid themſelves, and that the moſt conſiderable retir'd in ſuch Places, where they expected to find moſt Safety. The Magiſtrates barely made ſome weak Informations of the Fact, and impriſon'd ſome of the moſt Miſerable; but as if the *Reform'd* had been as Guilty as the reſt, ſome of them were alſo ſecur'd to keep the Catholicks Company. 1621.

Thoſe Mutineers ſeem'd to have look'd upon the King's Journey to *Fontainbleau* as the Signal of their Enterprize; and the People judg'd by the Coldneſs of the Magiſtrates, that they were certain the Court would approve thoſe Proceedings. Nevertheleſs, the thing was look'd upon to be of too much Conſequence in that Conjuncture, to be wink'd at. The Court was ſenſible that the Impunity of thoſe Violences would open the Eyes of thoſe they deſign'd to blind, by the fair Promiſes of the Obſervation of the Edicts; and that in caſe Deſpair ſhould re-unite the *Reform'd*, their Ruine would prove a difficult Task. Moreover, it was an Example of very ill Conſequence, which appear'd, in that the People roſe at *Poitiers* as well as at *Tours*, beat down the Wall the *Reform'd* had built about their Church-yard, broke the Tombs, violated the Sepulchres, and endeavor'd to demoliſh the Temple. Thoſe Violences did not extend to Perſons, by reaſon that the Place in which the *Reform'd* perform'd the Exerciſe of their Religion, was at a great diſtance from the City; and that the Magiſtrates, who dreaded Repriſals, put a ſtop to the Diſorder. But the Puniſhment of the Seditious was very inconſiderable, and did not terrifie the Mob ſo much, as to hinder them from committing the like Exceſſes in divers other Places, as at *Crotſie*, at *Mauze*, and elſewhere. *And elſewhere.*

The

1621. The Court dreading the Consequences of the Sedition of *Tours*, receiv'd the Complaints of the *Reform'd*, who desir'd that an Examplary Punishment might be made of it; and in order to blind them with an apparent Satisfaction, the King issued out a Declaration on the 20th of *December*, by which he took the Peaceable *Reform'd* into his Protection, and injoyn'd the Parliaments, and all other Officers to whom the like Edicts are commonly directed, to make them injoy a Liberty suitable to the Edicts. Moreover, he sent the Mild *Malleville*, Master of Requests, to *Tours*, with a Commission to try the Guilty without Appeal. The said Commissioner, without making any Informations, but those that had already been made by the judges of *Tours*, put the *Reform'd* at Liberty, and Condemn'd some of the Catholick Prisoners to Dye. That Severity renew'd the Sedition, and the People being in a greater Fury than ever, ran to the Prisons, broke open the Doors, put the Condemn'd at Liberty, Plunder'd the Houses of the *Reform'd*, and among the rest, that of a Notary, whose Minutes they tore. The Commissioner being Terrify'd, was constrain'd to hide himself; and the Mutineers could not be appeased untill the Magistrates promised them to obtain a General Pardon for their Crime; that the Catholick Prisoners should be put at Liberty, and that the Process should be burnt. The King, whose Authority was concern'd in that Second Sedition, took his time to do himself Justice; and leaving *Fontainbleau* to march towards *Poitou*, he came to *Tours*, and there caused four or five Wretches to be Executed, who had been concern'd in that Tumult; but the most considerable escap'd. The Execution of those Wretches calm'd the Minds of those, that had been terrify'd by those Violences committed in so suspicious a Conjuncture. The *Reform'd* kept at Home, and saw without any Emotion, the Weight of the War fall upon the small Num-

The Court stops the Progress of it.

The Sedition is renew'd.

Punishment of some of the Criminals.

ber

ber of thoſe that follow'd the Orders of the Aſſembly. 1621.
Moreover, They accus'd them of Obſtinacy, and of being the Cauſe of their own Misfortunes, by an affected Conſideration of future Misfortunes. In a Word, the Effect of that Shadow of Juſtice, which the King did the *Reform'd* on that Occaſion, was ſuch, that the very Catholicks wondred at it, and made Jeſts of the Simplicity of thoſe Wretches. An Hiſtorian, who ſpeaks of thoſe Affairs like a paſſionate Catholick, nevertheleſs ſays, upon that Subject, *That he does not wonder that the Vulgar, whoſe Impetuoſity is blind, ſhould be caught in ſuch a Snare; but that he cannot imagine how it could deceive the Grandees, the Gentry, and the Officers of that Sect, who had been repnted till then Wiſe Politicians.* *Which deludes the Reform'd.*

On the Fourth of the ſame Month, the King publiſhed yet another Declaration before his Departure from *Fontainbleau*, of the ſame Stile with all the reſt. It began with a Proteſtation of having all along been deſirous to cauſe the Edicts to be obſerv'd, as the moſt effectual way to make his Subjects live in Peace; of having wink'd at the Infractions committed by ſome of the *Reform'd*; of having endeavour'd to make them ſenſible of their Duty by Divers Edicts publiſh'd on purpoſe. From thence it proceeded to the Motives of the Declaration given at *Grenade*, in the Month of *October* laſt paſt, to interdict the Aſſembly of *Rochel*; and complaining that it had not hinder'd the *Reform'd* from aſſembling in the ſaid City and elſewhere; from ordering divers Acts of Hoſtility, as by Repriſals; from Leading Chiefs; from Fortifying of their Garriſons; from Raiſing Men and Money; from Liſting Soldiers, Caſting of Artillery, Buying of Arms and other Amunitions. It added, That notwithſtanding all this, the King had granted ſeveral things, deſir'd by the Memorials preſented to him by the Deputies General: But, that finally he was reſolv'd to go as far as *Tourraine*, and *New Declaration.*

1621. to march himself towards *Poitou* and elsewhere, to be near to apply a Remedy to those Evils; being resolv'd to maintain the Publick Peace, to cause the Edicts to be observ'd, in favour of such as should keep within the Bounds of their Allegiance, and to chastise the Rebels: Whereupon he confirm'd a new, all the Edicts and Declarations, and order'd them to be kept in favour of those that were, and should remain within the said Bounds of their Duty, whom he took, as well as their Families and Estates, under his Protection and special Safeguard; commanding his Officers and Governors of Cities to see it performed. He order'd the same thing for the Catholicks, to the Officers of the Places in which the *Reform'd* were the strongest. After which he came to *Blois*, from whence he repaired to *Amboise*, and afterwards to *Tours*, to *Thouars*, where the Dutchess *de la Trimoville* receiv'd him, and finally to *Saumur*, out of which he turn'd *Du Plessis* in a very Unkingly manner.

The General Assembly sends it Off in Writing.

While the Court was so diligently imploy'd about the Preparations of War, the Assembly was near as diligent in putting themselves in a Posture of Defence; being equally troubled with the little Union they observ'd in their Bosom, and with the little Authority they had in the Provinces, and the continual Contradictions of those who thought they were the Wisest, who did nothing but Preach Obedience to them. As soon as they were inform'd that the King had refus'd to hear their Deputies, they order'd them to put those Remonstrances in Writing, which they were to have made by Word of Mouth. They did it accordingly, and in order that every body might be acquainted with them, they publish'd them. After having declar'd, that the Reason which oblig'd them to make them publick, was, that they were not allow'd to speak to the King; they set forth all the Promises that had been made to the Assembly of *Loudun* in the King's Name, the Prince of

of *Conde*'s, and the Duke *de Luines*; and they related the very Expreſſions they had us'd; and among the reſt, what the King had ſaid to thoſe who carry'd the Nomination of the Deputies General to him, that he would perform the Promiſes of the Prince, and of the Duke. They complain'd that thoſe Solemn Promiſes had been violated; and having obſerv'd at what time the King took his Progreſs into *Bearn*, they thought it was a great Injuſtice to impute it as a Crime to the Aſſembly, to have met upon the Word of a Prince, of the Favourite, and of the King himſelf. 1621.

After which they proceeded to the Particulars of thoſe things in which, the Court had not perform'd their Promiſes: *viz.* That the Settlement of the Places of *Dauphine* had not been deliver'd, though it was an Affair but of half an Hour. That the Reception of the two Councellors in the Parliament of *Paris* had been deferr'd as long as poſſible could be. That it had not been perform'd till after the Convocation of the Aſſembly. That only one of them had been receiv'd in Reality, the Reception of the other being evaded by the Clauſe of Modification, which oblig'd *Le Cog* to reſign his Place to a Catholick. That every thing had been alter'd in *Bearn*, and the Aſſembly of *Rochel* declar'd Criminal, without hearing the Perſons concern'd. That the Exerciſe of the *Reform'd* Religion had been interrupted at *Clermont de Lodeve*, though it was a Place of Surety. That the Catholicks hinder'd the Execution of the King's Orders by Force of Arms, and the Proceedings of the Commiſſioners ſent to re-eſtabliſh it there. That the King's Council declar'd that the King's Authority was concern'd in it; but yet that they Authoriz'd it by Conniving at it. That *Privas* had been taken from the *Reform'd*, though it was a Place, where, according to the Edicts and Briefs, nothing ought to be Innovated. That during Eighteen

Particulars of their Complaints

1621. Months last past, the Court had detained the Sums promised for the Maintenance of the Garisons, and for the Sallaries of the Ministers. That Seditious Sermons against the *Reform'd* were tolerated. That their Dead were taken out of the Ground again. That their Temples were burnt. That their Ministers were turn'd out. That the Delivery of the Places, in which they were to perform the Exercise of their Religion was hindered; and among the Places in which those Excesses were committed, they mentioned *Moulins*, *Bourges*, *Baux* in *Provence*, *Lion*, *Dijon*. That their *Cahiers* were not answered, and that when any of the Articles were answered, either the Answers were not put in Execution, or they were contrary to the Intention of the Edicts. That the Commissioners sent into the Provinces, either refus'd to perform their Office, or perform'd it ill, by a visible Collusion. That all this proceeded from the Council and Malice of the Jesuits. They Concluded, Imploring the King's Favour, and earnestly desir'd the Revocation of the Declaration which treated them as Criminals, protesting that they only desir'd the Liberty and Safety of their Religion, to remain inviolably ty'd to their Allegiance.

The Marshall de Bouillon writes to the King.

The Marshall *de Bouillon* writ from *Sedan* to the King, the same day that the Remonstrances appeared. He freely expressed the Reasons of Diffidence that had been given to the *Reform'd*, by the Threatnings of Revoking the Edicts, that is, to take away the Liberty of their Consciences, the Safety of their Lives, their Estates and Dignities. He said that the Affair of *Bearn* had been anticipated; that the Promises had been ill executed; that Garisons had been put in divers Places without Necessity; that the Assembly of *Rochel* was us'd with too much Severity. He intreated the King to hear the Remonstrances of their Deputies, and to reject the Councils of those that advis'd him to force the Consciences of his Subjects. But the Council was hard-

hardned againſt thoſe Advices which tended to Peace; and ſeem'd not to reliſh them, only the better to take their Meaſures. 1624.

Reply of the Jeſuits to the Writing of the Aſſembly.

The Jeſuits anſwer'd the Reproach that was made againſt them of exciting a War, in Writing. In order to refute it, they made uſe of the Sermon the King's Confeſſor had lately Preach'd at Court, that the King was oblig'd to protect all his Subjects, even thoſe that were of a different Belief from his. That Anſwer tended to perſuade that their Society was innocent of all the ill they were accus'd of; and that they only apply'd themſelves to *Convert* thoſe that *Stray'd*, and to prevent the Progreſs of *Hereſie* by their Sermons and Writings. They made it a Crime for the *Reform'd* to ſuppoſe in their Complaints, that the King ſuffer'd himſelf to be govern'd by the Jeſuits. And they ſaid that all the Articles ſet down in their Petition were falſe; and for an Inſtance of the Innocence of the Society, and of the little Share they had in the Violent Councils that were daily given to the King againſt the *Reform'd*, all their Actions were repreſented in it in a manner full of Fury and Venom. That Apology could not deceive thoſe who had any Sence. It was very well known that the Theology and Morality of the Jeſuits are always Slaves to their Policy; and that it is impoſſible to gueſs their Sentiments by their Sermons. It was eaſie to oppoſe to the Moderation of the Jeſuit *Arnoux*, the Seditious Sermons of the Monks of the other Orders, who being more Impetuous, and Hair-brain'd than the Jeſuits, declar'd inconſiderately in their Pulpits, what thoſe cunning Politicians had the Art to cover with a profound Diſſimulation. Even at *Saumur*, a *Franciſcan* Fryar had had the Boldneſs to ſay, comparing thoſe who were for tolerating the *Reformed*, to the Soldiers that Spit in the Face of *Jeſus Chriſt*, that for his Part, who was afraid of no body, he declar'd publickly, that a *War was neceſſary*. We may judge

1621. Judge by that, what Liberty they took in Places of leſs Conſequence than *Saumur*, where they ſtood in no dread of the *Reform'd*. Moreover, it was very well known, that in the Application of the Jeſuits towards the *Converſion* of thoſe they call'd, *ſtrayed*, all means were lawful alike to them; and that according to their Maxims, ſucceſs rectifies the moſt Violent and moſt Unjuſt Expedients.

Leſdiguieres before and after his coming to *Paris*, acquainted the Aſſembly with all that *Deagean* inſpir'd him with, and endavour'd to perſuade them, that they were to blame to complain. The Aſſembly anſwer'd him pretty Vigorouſly, and took him to Witneſs himſelf of the Royal promiſes, upon the Account of which they did repair to *Rochel*. But when he Writ to them from *Paris*, with Reproaches and Threatnings, declaring that he would bear Arms againſt them, unleſs they did ſubmit to the King's Pleaſure, they anſwer'd him upon the ſame Tone, which broke off all manner of Correſpondence between them. He had play'd his part ſo well till then, that he had deceiv'd the moſt clear ſighted; and that he ſeem'd equally well affected to the Peace of the State, and the preſervation of the Churches. His Refuſals of joyning with them, being mix'd with ſuch ſpecious Reaſons, and with ſuch moving Proteſtations, that even thoſe that did not believe him, did not know what to Anſwer him. During the War of *Privas*, the Provincial Aſſembly of *Andaſe*, deputed the Marqueſs *de la Charſe* to him, who repreſented all the Grievances under which the *Reform'd* Labour'd to him. He omitted nothing to perſuade him to take ſome uſeful Reſolution for the good of the Churches. He imploy'd in his Diſcourſe all the Motives of Religion, of Honor, and of Intereſt; the good of the State, the Advantage of the common Cauſe, the particular intereſt of his Perſon and of his Family; Remonſtrances, Reaſonings, Conjurations, *&c.* But he could not prevail upon his Mind which was prepoſſeſs'd by *Deagean*. *Leſdigu-*

was lessen'd as much as he could by his Answer, the Subjects of Complaint and of diffidence alledg'd by the Marquess. He endeavour'd to prove, that all the proceedings of the Court were Just; and gave no other Advice, but that of Obeying, and of submitting. But he accompany'd his Advice with so many fair Words, and with such assurances of his Affection for the Churches, that the Marquess was constrain'd to seem satisfy'd with his Refusal; and to seem to believe that he spoke from the bottom of his Heart. He never put off his Mask till he came to *Paris*, and oblig'd himself to serve against the Churches. 1621.

The Assembly draws a Project to defend themselves.

But as there were Members of the Assembly at *Rochel*, who acquainted the King with all the Transactions there, so there were Persons at Court, who gave the Assembly a faithful Account of all the Resolutions that were taken there against them. So that, after they knew that the King was gone from *Paris*, they did Nominate Nine Commissioners to draw a settlement of War: And on the 26th of *May*, after having heard that Seditions were made in all parts against the *Reform'd*; That the King had made a settlement of near 50000 Men on his side; that he had made a New Edict, which at the the bottom was only a Declaration of War; That he was gone from *Fontainbleau* fully resolv'd to begin it in *Poitou*; That consequently there was no longer any reason to rely on Negotiations, they agreed upon 47 Articles prepar'd by their Commissioners, which Regulated the Distribution of the Provinces, the Generals that should Command there, their Power, their Office, the Authority of the Provincial Councils and of the Assembly; the Discipline they should observe in their Arms; The manner of Treating Prisoners of War, and of managing Military Enterprises; what should be freed from Spoils, and what should be observ'd for Correspondence. They also contain'd Regulations for the Finances; and the manner of Raising them, or receiving them, and of laying them out. The last made Provision for the Subsistance of the *Reform'd*, that should

1621. should be oblig'd to quit their usual abode, and to abandon all their Estate during the War. But the first was the most remarkable, by reason, that it contain'd the division of all the Churches of the Kingdom into Circles, which were to have each their General, and to furnish a certain part of the Men and Sums, that were necessary for the common defence. Those Circles had been Instituted long ago: But they were only compos'd at first of some Neigbouring Provinces, who were to Assemble themselves by the Deputies of their respective Councils, as soon as any of them should be attack'd; and were oblig'd to assist each other, as soon as requir'd. They had United those in such a manner which were able to maintain their Correspondence with less difficulty, and that border'd in part upon each other. Some Alterations were made about that Institution upon the Occasion of the approaching War: particularly, in that a Man of Quality was created General of every Circle: So that the said Division seem'd to be form'd upon the Model of the Circles of *Germany*, from whence the very Name of Circle was borrow'd.

Division of the Provinces into Circles.

Those Circles were of an unequal Extent, according as the Provinces of which they were compos'd, had more or less Churches or strong Places; and by that Inequality of Extent, the *Reform'd* had endeavoured to make them partly equally strong. There were Eight of those Circles. The first was composed of the Isle of *France*, of *Normandy*, *Pickardy*, *Beausse*, *Berry*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Perche*, *Touraine*, excepting the Isle of *Bouchard*, which was joyn'd to another Circle. The Generality of that great Circle was design'd for the Duke of *Bouillon*. Moreover, the Office of *Generalissime* of the whole Party was offered him; but he refus'd it upon the Account of his Age, and of the Gout, which he was very much troubled with. He remained Neuter, as to Action; but he often gave the Assembly good Advices, which were not followed. Among the rest he advis'd them to put a Garison

The Marshal de Bouillon refuses the Place of General.

of Six thousand Men into *Saumur*, by reason that it was not likely that the King would leave a Place of that Consequence behind him; and that if they did put a sufficient Garison into it, to resist the first Effort of his Arms, the War would soon be at an end. The Assembly believed him, and sent Forces to secure that Place; but upon some ill Advice, they were countermanded, after they had begun their March. Soon after it, when they heard that the King was marching that way, they were sensible of the Fault they had committed, in not providing the said City with Men, Amunitions, and Money. They endeavoured to repair that Fault by Diligence; but the King made yet more Diligence than the Assembly, and before the Relief they sent was got half way, he had turned *Du Plessis* and his Garison out of *Saumur*. 1621.

The Second Circle, composed of *Poitou*, of *Bretagne*, and of the City and Isle of *Bouchard*, was to be Governed by *Soubise*, Brother to the Duke of *Rohan*. *La Trimouille* had the Government of the Third, which was to contain *Angoumois*, *Saintonge*, and the Islands. The *Lower Guyenne* made the fourth Circle, and *La Force* was Governor of it. The Fifth, given to the Marquess his Son, comprehended *Bearn*, and the Dependencies thereof. The *Upper Languedoc*, and the *Upper Guyenne*, which made the Sixth, was to be Commanded by the Duke *de Rohan*. The Seventh, which contained the *Lower Languedoc*, the *Cevennes*, *Givaudan*, and *Vivarets*, was to be Governed by *Chatillon*. And the Eighth, composed of *Burgundy*, *Provence* and *Dauphine*, was left to *Lesdiguieres*, from whom it could not be taken. *Rochel* made a Circle apart in that Division; and there was a particular Exception in favour of them in the Forty seven Articles I have mentioned, which exempted them then and for the future of having any Governor besides their Mayor. Of all those Circles, none but the *Upper Guyenne* made any Resistance that year, so that it proved by so much the more easie for the King to vanquish, that he had in effect but the Eighth part of the *General of the Circles.*

1621. *Reform'd* of his Kingdom to deal with; since even in that Circle which made some Resistance, several Towns and Captains made none at all.

Seal of the Assembly. The Catholicks made a great deal of Noise about these Settlements, and for that the Assembly had caused a new Seal to be engraven, in order to fix it to their Ordinances and Commissions. The Constable himself represented that Action as a publick Declaration of their Resolution to withdraw from their Allegiance to the King; of designing to establish a New *Holland* in *France*, and to settle a Republick there, of which the Assembly retained the Superiority. It was easie to persuade it to the King, who was bred with an Aversion to the *Reform'd*, and was ever susceptible to the Jealousies, that were inspir'd in him about his Authority. But to say the Truth, it was a wretched Reproach; for if the War was just on the side of the *Reform'd*, the Regulations made, in order to sustain it, and the Seal engraven in the Name of their Union, could not render it Criminal. The Question was, whether the *Reform'd* were in the Right to take up Arms; by reason that granting, that it could be no Crime in them to make Laws to unite themselves, nor to agree about a Seal, as a General Mark to know each other by. Moreover the said Seal was only an Emblem of their Religion, the same as is still often met with in the first Page of the Books of Religion, written for the use of the *Reformed*. There only were some Words ingraven about it, which signify'd that they took up Arms *for Christ, and for his Flock*. The first Letter of the last Word not making a good Impression upon the Wax, the Sence was different, and the Words that appeared, signified only *for Christ, and for the King*. This Diversity might persuade some People that they had two Seals; and there are some Writings of Catholicks, in which there are Remarks that show that some have read it one way, and others another; but I find nothing positive about it in the *Memoires* I have seen.

Besides

Beſides theſe Regulations, the Aſſembly did defend themſelves by Apologies and Manifeſto's, while the King preſs'd them with Sword in hand. All the Lords upon the Diſcontents of which they reckoned, had made their Peace with the Conſtable, and ſerv'd againſt them. The Duke *de Mayenne* commanded a Body of Men in *Guyenne*. The Prince of *Condé* commanded another in *Berry*, where he beſieged ſuch Places as did not open their Gates to him, and diſarmed the *Reform'd* that made no Defence. He took by a Form of Siege *Sully* and *Sancerre*; and the *Reform'd* of *Blois*, of *Tours*, and other Places, where they were not much to be feared, were obliged, like the reſt, to ſuffer themſelves to be diſarmed. Count *de St. Paul* being aſſiſted by the Marſhal *de Vitri*, made himſelf Maſter of *Gergeau*; and thus the *Reform'd* had no Retreat left them about *de Loire*. The Duke *de Longueville* diſarm'd them alſo in *Normandy*; and they received the like Treatment in all the Provinces the King left behind him. This Proceeding ſo contrary to the laſt Declaration, which promiſed ſuch great Matters to thoſe that ſhould remain at Home, caſt a Terror and Repentance in the Hearts of all thoſe unfortunate People, who regretted too late their having repoſed ſo much Confidence in a Court, accuſtomed by the Duke *de Luines* to violate them, as ſoon as they found a ſpecious Pretence to do it. The fair Words of thoſe who committed thoſe Violences could not remove their Conſternation, being then afraid that the Catholicks would only wait for the happy Succeſs of ſome Battle or Siege to maſſacre them. Inſomuch that many of them fled out of the Kingdom, or retired in ſuch Places, where they were in hopes of meeting Friends and Protectors. *Sedan* was crouded with them. Even thoſe who could not reſolve to quit their Eſtates, ſent their Children or Wives into Places of Safety, and remained at Home, almoſt perſuaded that they ſhould be the Victims of ſome Bloody Orders, or of ſome Popular Sedition.

1621.

The Peaceable Reformed are diſarmed.

1621. But nothing made so much Noise, as the Trick that was put upon *Du Plessis*, who was the King's old, and Faithful Servant. The King sent him word that he designed to take up his Quarters at *Saumur*, and *Villarnoul* his Son-in-Law was told positively, that he had sent to Court to learn the Kings Intentions, and that no more should be done on this Occasion, than had been done on others, when the King and Queen Mother had lodged there. That *Du Plessis* should only draw out the Garison of the Castle for Form sake, and that after the King had tarry'd there as long as he thought convenient, he would leave him the Government of the Place, as he had possessed it till then. *Lesdiguieres* and the Constable engaged their Words to him for it positively. Nevertheless, *Du Plessis* was turned out of the Castle, under Pretence to Lodge the King there, and they did not so much as allow him one Chamber for his Family. Soon after it, he was told that the King designed to keep *Saumur* at least for three Months longer; and finally, he was offered a Recompence for it. He never would accept any Composition; and he expressed a great deal of Concern to find, that after Two and thirty Years Tryal of his Probity, he was suspected of not being able to preserve the same Probity to the end of his Life. He insisted strongly upon, that there remained still near four Years of the Time for which the last Brief confirmed the keeping of the Places of Surety. He proposed Means to remain in the said Place, without giving the King any Jealousies; and represented, that the said City was a Refuge to many peaceable Families, who were come thither out of the Country and elsewhere, to avoid the Spoils of War. That their Terrors would be revived, in case the Appearance of Surety, they expected to find in the City, should be removed; and the natural Inhabitants would forsake all themselves, if he received a Treatment, of which they would think the Consequences would prove fatal to them.

Trick put upon Du Plessis *to get* Saumur *out of his hands.*

All

All this produc'd nothing but Promiſes by Word of Mouth, and in Writing, Sign'd by the Conſtable, and by the King himſelf, to return him the Place in a certain time; and to amuſe him in the mean time, they left him the Title of Governor, and put Count *de Saulx*, Grand-Son to *Leſdigueres*, who ſtill profeſs'd the *Reform'd* Religion, into *Saumur*, to keep the Place as long as the King ſaid that he would detain it; but in order that *Du Pleſſis* might only have the Shadow of the Government, a Catholick Gariſon was put in it. Soon after that, *Du Pleſſis* retir'd to his Houſe of *La Foret* upon *Saivre*, where he ſoon diſcover'd that he was fool'd. This Diſgrace drew a thouſand Reproaches from the Aſſembly upon him. They called him Coward, Hypocrite, and Deſerter. They had been jealous of him for ſome time; and they had like to have ſeiz'd upon *Villarnoul*, the laſt time he came to *Rochel* with the Inſtructions of his Father-in-Law. His Councils, which always thwarted thoſe of the Aſſembly, and that were ever contriv'd with *Leſdigueres*, had created great Jealouſies; ſo that the ſeizing of *Saumur*, which was only a Trick of the Court, was look'd upon in the Aſſembly as a piece of Treaſon of *Du Pleſſis*, which they upbraided him with in very diſobliging Terms. Time juſtify'd him, even to thoſe that were moſt ſuſpicious; and when they ſaw him dye within ſome years after it, without having receiv'd from the Court the juſt Recompence, either of the Government, or of the Expences he had been at, nor yet of his Goods, and particularly of his Books, which had been expos'd to a kind of Plunder, nor of the Amunitions he had paid for with his own Money, nor of ſeveral other things, in which he had been a great Sufferer, they found that the Court had impos'd upon his Good Nature and Sincerity.

1621.

They amuſe him with Promiſes even in Writing.

Reproaches made to him by the Aſſembly.

The

1621. The King publiſhed another new Declaration at *Nort* on the 27th of *May*, which declaring all the Cities and Perſons Criminal, who ſided with the Aſſembly, and particularly, the Cities of *Rochel* and St. *John a' Angely*, of which, the one harbor'd the Aſſembly, and the other was preparing to ſuſtain a Siege, forbad all the *Reform'd* to adhere to that Party, or to acknowledge the General Aſſembly, or any other Aſſembly, Circles, Abridgments, Councils of Provinces, or Congregations that held any Correſpondence with the Aſſembly of *Rochel*, or that ſhould be held without poſitive Leave from the King. All their Adherents were declar'd guilty of High-Treaſon in it, and Condemn'd to the Puniſhments expreſſed in the Ordinances. The Cities of *Rochel* and of St. *John a' Angely*, and thoſe that follow'd their Examples, were depriv'd of all the Grants, Privileges, Franchiſes, and other Favours they had obtain'd from the Kings. But that which was moſt remarkable, was a Command made to all the *Reform'd* Gentlemen and others, of what Quality ſoever, even in the Cities and Communities, to repair to the regiſter Office of the Bayliwick or Seneſhalſhip of their Precinct, there to declare that they would ſerve the King againſt thoſe that adhear'd to the Aſſembly: That they did renounce all manner of Communication with them, and that they diſown'd whatever might be reſolv'd on there, or in any other Aſſemblies of the ſame Party; which the King moreover would oblige every one of them to give in Writing for their Diſcharge. This was Executed with ſo much Severity, that the Duke *de Sully*, and the Marquiſs *de Rosny* his Son, were forc'd to ſerve as Examples to others, and to ſign the Declaration in the Terms of that Ordinance. Care was taken to ſend a particular account to Court of the manner in which it had been rejected, or received, in thoſe Places where it was ſent; and it was obſervable, that where-ever there were Perſons brib'd by the Court, the Obedience was very exact.

The King's Declaration againſt the Cities of Rochel, *and of* St. John d'Angeli.

Which obliges the Reform'd to renounce the Party of the Aſſembly in Writing.

This

Thus far the King had met no manner of Oppoſition, and all the Governors of the Places of Surety that happen'd to be in his Way, deliver'd up their Places to him with as much Eaſe as *Du Pleſſis*, but their Prudence had more Intereſt in it. They all ſecur'd Recompences for their Cowardice; and that Commerce was ſo much in vogue during that War, that no body ſurrender'd up a Town to the King, without obtaining ſomething for it. Even four of them, who had ſurrender'd their Towns up generouſly to the King at firſt, without bargaining for it, bethought themſelves, ſeeing the Advantages others got by their Obedience, and prevail'd with ſome Places to revolt, in order to have an Opportunity to make a Treaty by which they might get ſomething. *Parabere* ſurrender'd *Niort* with Oſtentation. *Ludrieres*, who was only Deputy Governor in *Fontenay le Comte*, deliver'd the Place without acquainting the Governor with it, who was abſent. After which, he had the Confidence to lock himſelf up in St. *John d'Angeli*, in order to form ſome Diviſion there, under pretence of Serving during the Siege of that City, which the King threatned; and *Soubiſe* was either ſo imprudent, or ſo ill inform'd, as to receive him. *Chaſteauneuf*, Governor of *Pons*, ſuffer'd himſelf to be gain'd by *Lefdiguieres*, though he had been one of the hotteſt and moſt obſtinate of the Aſſembly. The Truth is, that the Court ſeem'd to beſiege that Place, the better to colour that Treaty. Thoſe Bargains were in vogue even in thoſe Provinces where the King was not in Perſon, and *Montgommery*, who Commanded in *Fecamp*, a ſmall Sea Port Town in *Normandy*, deliver'd it up to the King on certain Conditions. *Aigemont*, the only Place of Surety the *Reform'd* had in *Berry*, was deliver'd up to the Prince of *Conde*, upon the Account of ſuch a Bargain. As ſoon as the King was Maſter of any Place, he caus'd the fortifications to be demoliſhed; which might have ſeemed ſtrange, had not the World had evident Proofs before of

1621.

Self-intereſted Baſeneſs of all the Governors of the Towns of Surety.

The King demoliſhes the Fortifications of the Cities that are deliver'd up to him.

1621. of the Disingenuity of those that Govern'd him. Those Towns which surrender'd at the first Summons could not be treated as Rebels; and whereas they belong'd to the Churches yet for above three years to come, according to the last Brief, confirm'd since by the Writing the King had given to *Du Plessis*, the King ought to have been satisfied with their Submission, without depriving the *Reform'd*, who kept within the Bounds of Duty, and who surrender'd them so handsomly of those Refuges. But the Design of that War, was to revoke the Briefs; and whatever Distinction the Court had promis'd to make between the *Reform'd* that were Peaceable, and the Factious, they were resolv'd equally to take all the Places of Surety from them.

Apology of the General Assembly. The Apology of the Assembly appear'd about the time of that Commerce of Cities, under the Title of *Declaration of the Churches of* France, *and of the Soveraignty of* Bearn, *in their Assembly at* Rochel, *of the unjust Prosecution they are prosecuted with by the Enemies of the State, and of their Religion, and of their lawful and necessary Defence.* All the Editions of that Apology are not alike; some have Articles that are not in the others: Some of them have not, what we read in others; that the Edict of *Nantes* was made at a time when the *Reform'd* might have shared the Kingdom with the Catholicks, if they had pleased; which they had renounced, by reason that they only desired the Liberty of their Consciences; and that having subscribed the Peace on those Conditions, they were in the right to make War, when that Condition was violated, to preserve by Arms, what they had lost by a *Cowardly Peace.* But at the Bottom, the beginning of that

nd perhaps this air of Loftineſs would have been excus'd, 1621.
ad the Aſſembly had ſtrength enough to have made it good.
fter the accuſtom'd Proteſtations in Manifeſto's, and an Invi-
itation of *French* and Foreigners to hear the Complaints
hich they had to make, by the way they refuted the Reproach
f Rebellion, and fell foul again upon the Project of ruining
he Reformed ever ſince the ſitting of the States in 1615. where
here was a Propoſal made for petitioning the King to fulfil his
oronation Oath. More eſpecially they lay hard upon the Je-
uits, and principally upon the King's Confeſſor, whom they
tacqu'd with a long Invective. They ript up his Behaviour
Bearn, his Attempts againſt the Parlament of *Paris*, whoſe
ecrees he had caus'd to be cancell'd; and againſt the Univerſi-
, whoſe Cenſures he had caus'd to be diſannull'd: his Credit
reater then that of the Biſhops, who in three days had pre-
ail'd to get the Decree of Compenſation paſt, which the whole
lergy had ſolicited fifteen years in vain; the Tricks which he
'd to abuſe the King's tender Conſcience, and the Authority
hich he aſſum'd to himſelf, to be of his *Council of Conſcience*.
om thence they paſt to the Maxims of his Society, touching
ith and Promiſes engag'd to Heretics; to the Teſtimonies of
e Clergy's paſſionate Violence; to the unjuſt Acts of the Par-
ments; to the Admonitions whiſper'd in the ears of the Re-
rmed at Court, that they muſt either quit the King's Service or
eir Religion. Nor did they forget the Affairs of the Counſel-
rs in Parlament; the Corruption of the Governors of the Pla-
s of Security; the ſeditious Sermons of the Preachers; the
undring of Churches; the digging up the Dead out of their
raves; the cruel uſage of thoſe that lay Sick and upon their
eath-beds in Hoſpitals, where they were deni'd requiſite Nou-
ſhment and Remedies; and the forcing of Children from their
others Arms. They complain'd further, That when the Re-
rmed had recourſe to the Magiſtrates for Juſtice, they were
outed and laught at; and that when they went to lay their
omplaints at the King's feet, they were treated as Rebels.

Invective againſt the Jeſuit Arnoux.

After this, they proceeded to the Affairs of the Aſſembly of
ration; and having laid open the Original and Benefit of thoſe
Aſſemblies, they juſtifi'd this by the manifold Oppreſſions, of

1621. which they had so much reason to complain. They set down at large the series of all their Differences and Contests with the King, till their Breaking up; and till the Promises made 'em by the Prince of *Conde* and the Duke of *Lunes*; and made it out how all those Promises had been violated. They gave an Account of the King's march into *Bearn*, and of all the Violences which had been there committed. And here they hinted a along at the Sophism which the Jesuit *Arnoux* had made use of, to justify the Breach of a Promise made to *Sales*, when he was put out of *Navarreins*, that there should be no Innovations introduc'd. This Promise, said he, ether relates to the Conscience, or to the State. It concerns not the Conscience continu'd he, because it is contrary to the Precept of the Church if then it be a State-Promise, it ought to be referr'd to the *Secret Council*, whose Opinion it is, that it ought not to be kept. This Sophism would not suffer the King, who was rather a good Prince then a Logician, to follow his own Inclination, which was to be as good as his word.

Then they proceeded to make a display of the Artifices which the Court made use of to corrupt *Lesdiguieres*; the War of *Provas*; *Mommoranci*'s Exploits; the way which they took to gain *Chatillon*, and ruin both *la Force* and his Children. They urg'd the common Reports, that gave out nothing but the destruction of the Protestants, and went so far as to limit the time within three months. To these things they added the new Exploits of the Duke of *Espernon* in *Bearn*, and of the King himself at Saumur. They took notice of the Cunning of the Court, who had invited the Duke of *Rohan*, and the Duke of *Subise*, his Brother to meet the King, to the end that *Auriac*, who betray'd 'em might more easily surprize St. *John d'Angeli*; which he attempted in vain, because they kept out of the snare. They add the small Satisfaction which the Court had given to the particular and general Commissioners; and they observ'd that when *Lesdiguieres* had written to the Assembly to oblige 'em to break up, he would never promise 'em any thing in the King's Name, but only upon his own score; by which it was apparent, that he was willing to reserve an Excuse to himself, that he could not possibly alter the King's mind. But in regard it was

as charg'd upon the Aſſemblies General as a Crime, that they refus'd to break up, before they had receiv'd an Anſwer to their Papers which the *States General* refus'd to give 'em, they ſet forth the Inequality of theſe two ſorts of Aſſemblies: for that the *States General* met together to make Laws and Regulations for State, the Authority of which ought ſolely to flow from the King. But the Aſſemblies of the Reformed meeting only to demand Reparation for Wrongs and Oppreſſions, which fix'd them within the Rules of ordinary Juſtice, whereby the Parties were not oblig'd to withdraw themſelves, till their Complaints were adjudg'd; they concluded with a Proteſtation, That they had no Deſign againſt Regal Authority; they glori'd in the Services that were done the two laſt *Henries*, by the Reformed againſt the Catholics; they offer'd all Obedience and Service to *Lewis* XIII, and implor'd his Royal Succor, and the Compaſſion of Foreign Princes, but principally God's Aſſiſtance againſt their Oppreſſors. This Apology was ſign'd by the Moderators and Secretaries. 1621.

Why the Aſſemblies refus'd to break up, before their Papers were anſwer'd.

There was an Anſwer made to it in the King's Name, but there was nothing in't to ſhew that it was own'd by the King. 'Twas ſaid that the Oath ſworn to exterminate Heretics, of which they made ſuch loud Complaints, was no new thing; but that it had never been put in execution; that they never murmur'd againſt *Henry* IV. who had taken it; and that *Lewis* XIII. had taken care to free himſelf from ſuch a cruel Obligation by a Declaration ſet forth on purpoſe. They eluded that Reproach thrown upon the Jeſuits, for medling more then became 'em with the Government, by ſaying, That the Miniſters had as much Authority over the Reformed; as if there were any Compariſon between the one and the other; That it was hereditary to their Sect, to ſeek the Oppreſſion of Kings in their Cradles; which they prov'd by King *James*'s hatred of the Puritans of *Scotland*. To deſtroy the Advantage which the Reformed pretended to have over the Catholics, in being more obedient to their Sovereigns, they alledg'd, Aſſemblies held in oppoſition to their Approbation; the Oath, the Regulations and Seal of the Aſſembly of *Rochel*. 'Twas aſſerted, That the Succor which the Reformed had given to Kings, proceeded from

A violent Anſwer to it in the King's Name.

1621. Intereſt, becauſe they procur'd their own Security by it; beſides that they had ſhar'd it with the Catholic Nobility: And here 'twas thought neceſſary to add, that *Lectoure* was neither a City of Security, nor Marriage; that it belong'd by inheritance to *Fontrailles*; and 'twas deem'd no more then what was reaſonable; that the Reformed ſhou'd take it for full ſatisfaction, that it was given to *Blainville*. Upon the Refuſal to receive the two Counſellors in the Parlament of *Paris*, it was repli'd, That Parlaments were more ancient then the Reformed; that there was no Law which juſtifi'd the admitting of *Heretics* into it, as if the Edicts of *Nantes* and *Loudun* had not the force of Laws. And laſtly, That the Reformed had enough to content 'em in the enjoyment of the Chambers, half one half t'other, without thruſting themſelves into Parlaments. 'Twas alledg'd, That they had no cauſe to complain of the non-performance of ſome Promiſes by the King, in regard there was no Law which oblig'd him to pay 'em: as if ſo many Brevets, one after another, more eſpecially, that which granted a certain Sum to the Reformed in compenſation of Tythes for their Miniſters Salaries, ought not to have bin as effectual as any expreſs Law. Then follow'd a ſtorm of railing Expreſſions, which made the Reformed reſponſible for all the Confuſions and Diſturbances which had happen'd in the Kingdom for ſixty years together: as if they had bin the Contrivers and Authors of the League under the Two laſt Reigns; or of thoſe Troubles, of which the prodigious Fortune of Marſhal *d'Ancre* had bin the occaſion. The Violences committed at *Pau*, during the Proceſſion of the Euchariſt, were palliated, by ſaying, That the People were either to get out of the way, or fall upon their knees: 'twas alledg'd, that ſuch a thing might be done by the favour of an ambiguous Expreſſion to delude the Catholic's Zeal, and that it was Prudence to do it ſometimes. The Reformed were accus'd of drawing upon themſelves the Sedition at *Tours*, by reaſon of a Box o'th' ear which one of 'em gave a Child; and therefore adjudg'd it a ſufficient Reparation for their Loſſes, that four or five of the *Canaille* were hang'd for it. As to the forcing away of Children, of which the Reformed made great Complaints, the Anſwerers endeavour'd to make it lawful, by ſaying, That the

1621.

he Children became Catholics by Choice at the Age of Fifteen ears; and that there was a very ancient Law which allow'd m to be Maſters of their Choice at that Age. So that the ex- reſs Proviſions of the Edict of *Nantes* were lookt upon as no- ing by the Authors of that Anſwer.

Therefore two particular Accidents deſerve to be recounted ere, to ſhew what Sincerity was obſerv'd at that time in the Converſion of Children.

Forcing away of Children.

A certain Inhabitant of *Paris* growing jealous of his Wife, whom he had ſeveral Children, was ſo far tranſported by that orbitant Frenzy, that he kill'd the poor Woman; for which was puniſh'd according to his deſerts. But his Relations ha- ing demanded the Children, to the end they might be bred up the Religion which their unfortunate Father profeſs'd, there as a Decree made in Parlament, That the Right of their Edu- ation was devolv'd to the King, by reaſon of the Father's rime, ſo that the Children were brought up in the Catholic aith. Another Man, originally a Native of *Normandy*, had hree Children; He put one to the Colledge of Jeſuits; and ome time after he return'd to *Paris* with another of his Sons, ith a deſign to put him alſo to the ſame place; but under- anding from the firſt, that he was refus'd the Liberty of his onſcience, the Father carri'd 'em both away, with an intent o place 'em in the Colledge of *Sedan:* but a Prieſt, his Kinſ- an, forc'd 'em away from him upon the Road, and ſent 'em o the Jeſuit's Houſe at *Pont a Mouſſon*. The Father proſecu- ed him for a Rape before the Bailiffs of *Rheims*, who, after a edious Suit, conde.nn'd him at length to the Gallies for Contu- nacy. But the Prieſt appealing from the Sentence, remov'd he Cauſe into the Grand Chamber. *Servin*, Advocate General, leaded long and hard for his Client, and put the ſtreſs of the Di pute upon this Iſſue, Whether or no a Father who had re- ounc'd his Right by the Edict, by declaring his Intentions to ut Children under the Tuition of Catholic Regents, which he ould not chuſe but know to be ſuch, could reaſſume when he lea'd his Right to their Education, and take away the Children rom their Catholic Tutors? He concluded, that the Father's decla- ing his Reſolutions to entruſt ſuch Regents with the Education

of

1621. of his Children, was a ſufficient Renunciation of his Right, and that he could not recover it back. For form's ſake alſo the Children were brought into Court in their Father's preſence, the one above Eleven years old, and the eldeſt about Thirteen years of Age: at what time, being prepar'd before-hand what to ſay, they deſir'd to be bred up in the Catholic Religion. Thereupon a Decree was made conformable to *Servin*'s Concluſions: The Prieſt was diſcharg'd from his Condemnation; the Children were ſent to the Colledge of *Navar*, under the Tuition of the Principal, and the Father was condemn'd to pay the uſual Quarterly Penſion, and to ſupply the reſt of their Maintenance; and beſides that, he was forbid to take away his Children from the ſaid Colledge, under the Penalty of Thirty thouſand Livres. Never was Edict ſo Notoriouſly violated as was that of *Nantes* by this Decree, in thoſe Articles which forbid the inveigling of Children to change their Religion, and which permitted the Parents to ſend 'em to Catholic Colledges, upon aſſurance that they would not moleſt their Conſciences. By this the World may judge, whether the Aſſembly had juſt cauſe to complain or no; and whether the Replies of their Enemies were of any convincing force againſt 'em. This Decree was made the 22d of *December*.

Affairs of greater importance, this year, will not permit me to inſiſt upon particular Acts of Injuſtice done the Reformed in ſeveral places, either in reference to Legacies, or charitable Gifts to the Poor, which were ſure to be adjudg'd to the Catholics, as ſoon as they demanded 'em; or in reſpect of their Church-Yards and Burying-Places, which were the occaſion of a thouſand Brabbles every day; or in relation to things that might be reckon'd in the number of Favors. But that I may not make a general Omiſſion, I ſhall only recite two Examples, which deſerve to be remember'd The firſt is, That in *February*, the Parlament of *Paris*, by a Decree, declar'd a Soldier of the Reformed Religion incapable of the benefit of a Monk's place, for which he had Letters of Aſſignation, and condemn'd him to pay back the money which he had receiv'd. Thoſe Places were very ſmall Penſions which ſome Monaſteries were oblig'd to pay to maim'd Soldiers, who were no longer able to work or do duty

for

or their living They that enjoy'd theſe Penſions, were alſo 1621.
ound to wear a Croſs upon their Cloaks; and in regard the
Monks were deſirous to be exempted from admitting the Re-
formed, becauſe they ſcrupl'd to wear a Croſs, the National
Synods had given leave to ſuch as were maim'd and infirm, to
diſpenſe with that Scruple; permitting 'em to wear a Croſs, as
the Symbol of their preſent condition: ſo that before that De-
cree, the Reformed had enjoy'd the Benefit of thoſe Penſions, as
well as others. But in regard this prov'd a fatal Year to 'em,
new Pretences were found out to exclude 'em from it.

The ſecond Example is, That upon a Proceſs remov'd into Parlament, by reaſon of a Corps interr'd by the Reformed in a part of a Catholic Church-Yard, of which they had bin a long time in poſſeſſion, the Catholics bethought themſelves of a brangling ſhift, which exempted 'em from granting other Church-Yards to the Reformed; and gave 'em leave to reaſſume thoſe parts of the old ones which the Commiſſioners had either adjudg'd or left 'em. I have otherwhere obſerv'd the Alterations which the Parlament of *Paris* and the Clergy had caus'd to be made in divers Articles, both general and particular, of the *Edict* of *Nantes*, and principally in the 45th Article of Particulars, that mentions the Delivery of Church-Yards. There was ſo much Honeſty and Juſtice in that Article, as it had bin decreed at *Nantes*, that tho it had been abſolutely alter'd, nevertheleſs it had bin put in execution, as if there had been no Alteration in it from the Original. The Commiſſioners were agreed upon this Point, and it is not above twenty Years ſiuce the Reformed enjoy'd certain places at one end or other of a Catholic Church-Yard, which had been aſſign'd 'em by vertue of their Decrees, with the Advice and Conſent alſo of the Catholic Clergy of thoſe places, and of the Catholic Communities, becauſe they choſe to grant 'em a Portion of the old Church-Yard rather, then buy 'em a new one. Honeſty had alſo prevail'd ſo far in this Particular, that this Article was reprinted according to the Draught as it was at firſt agreed upon, and ſo it is to be found in all the Editions. But this Year the Reformed were depriv'd this petty Convenience: *James Talon*, firſt Advocate General, pretended that thoſe Editions were falſifi'd; but

Catholics diſpenſ'd with granting their Church-Yards at their own Charges.

1621. but accuses no body for being the Author of that Falsification, and caus'd the Edict and the particular Articles, as they were register'd by the Parlament Register, to be brought to the Hearing. But certain it is, that the Alteration of that Article did not exempt the Catholics from allowing the Reformed other Church-Yards in recompence: However *Talon*, a Man of great Wit and Subtilty, found a way to extract out of that Article by the force of Consequences, Interpretations and Meanings, which the Article never mention'd expresly, and gave out a Decree, prohibiting the Reformed to bury their Dead in the Church-yards belonging to the Catholics, and which order'd 'em to provide other Burying-places at their own Charges. About a Year after, he caus'd another Decree to be set forth, which commanded a new Edition of the Edict, according to the Original remaining in the Registers. Wherein there appear'd something to comfort the Reformed for the damage which *Talon* had done 'em by his Cavilling: For they who in our days fought after new Tricks and Shifts to elude the Edict, and chiefly the particular Articles, had the Confidence both to report and write, that those Articles were never register'd in any Parlament. It must follow then that they were torn out of the Register, since they were to be found in that which the Advocate General caus'd to be carri'd to the Audience, and according to which the next Years Edition was printed. I shall add, for the more clearly making out the Falshood of that Pretence, that they had bin verifi'd in the Parlament of *Rouen*, in the Reign of *Henry* IV. upon the 5th of *August* 1609. and inserted into the Register the next Year, upon the 27th of the same Month, in pursuance of Letters Patents dated *July* 15.

Tilenus writes against the Assembly of Rochel.

I do not here pretend to give an Account of all the Writings that appear'd for and against the Reformed upon the subject of the Wars; but I cannot omit a Pamphlet which *Tilenus* wrote under the Title of, *An Advertisement to the Assembly of* Rochel. Nor could the Jesuits themselves write in a more venomous and embitter'd stile. He preach'd Patience as if there could never be any end of it. He maintain'd that Kings were never bound either to their own Ordinances, nor to the Decrees of their Predecessors; which he supported by such weak Reasons, as might be

e eaſily confuted by diſtinguiſhing between the nature of thoſe laws. He aſſerted, That when Kings brake their Words, it ehov'd the People to have ſo much ſubmiſſion as to believe, that s they had good Reaſons to promiſe, ſo they had as good Reaons to retract their Promiſes. He exclaim'd againſt the Tolelation allow'd at *Charenton* for the Luxury of Marriages; gainſt the Flight of *Moulin*; againſt the Aſſembly, of which he greateſt part diſown'd their own Proceedings; and who by heir own ill behaviour had expos'd above Three hundred of he Reformed to great dangers in the Provinces on this ſide he *Loire*. After this, he diſcovers a little too openly the cauſe f his ill humor, by calling in queſtion the Synod of *Alets*, beauſe they had approv'd the Deciſions of that of *Dordrecht*, notwithſtanding the Opinion of ſome Miniſters who by no means pprov'd it; and he accus'd of too much ſeverity the ill uſage f the *Arminians* in *Holland*; and yet, if he might be believ'd, hen the Reformed were deliver'd up to the Fury of their imlacable Enemies, by means of unjuſt Acts, and Breaches of Word, that cry'd loud to Heaven, they did amiſs to complain. uch is many times the Moderation of thoſe that preach up Toeration: they would engroſs it all to themſelves: but if others ſt with never ſo little vehemency more then ordinary, nay, if ey do but ſigh and bemoan themſelves, their very Groans and ighs are not to be endur'd. 1621.

In the mean time, the Dukes of *Rohan* and *Soubiſe*, who had long time refus'd to yield to the Importunities of the Aſſembly, aving bin diſguſted by the Court, where the Prince of *Condé* nd the Conſtable were the Duke of *Rohan*'s Enemies, reſign'd emſelves wholly to the Orders of the Aſſembly; and after me Submiſſions on their part, and ſome Offers from the Court which ſignifi'd nothing, they reſolv'd to hold out St. *John d'Angeli* to the laſt. The Duke of *Rohan* left his Brother n the place, and after he had furniſh'd it with Men and Ammuition, went into *Guyen* to raiſe more Forces. On the other ſide he King, after he had ſummon'd *Subiſe* by a Herald, beſieg'd he City; and *Subiſe*, by the foul Practices of *Loudrieres*, who diſcourag'd both the Soldiers and Inhabitants by his diſcourſes and his counſels, being conſtrain'd to ſurrender the place, march'd *Siege and reducing of St* John d'Angeli.

1621. out sooner then he would have done, had he not been afraid of being forsaken. All the security which either the City or the Garison had, was a wild and general Capitulation; by which the King promis'd only in writing to the Inhabitants their Lives, their Estates, and the Liberty of their Consciences and Persons; reserving to himself the disposal of every thing else as he should think convenient: declaring at the same time that he did not pretend to make any Treaty, but only to grant a Favour. However the Capitulation, as slight as it was, had the hard fate to be but very ill observ'd. The Soldiers plunder'd the Town, and yet constrain'd the Mayor, the Sheriffs, and the principal Inhabitants, to give 'em a Certificate, and forc'd another from the Minister, that they had behav'd themselves civilly. On the other side the King retiring to *Cognac*, set forth a Declaration, which was verifi'd at *Bourdeaux*; wherein to put the greater value upon his Clemency, which had spar'd their Lives and Estates, and given Liberty of Conscience to the Reformed of St. *John d'Angeli*, he order'd the Fortifications and Walls of the City to be raz'd, and the Moats to be fill'd up: He took away their Charters and their Franchises, and made the Town liable to Taxes for the future: He cancell'd their Government by Mayor and Sheriffs, and and annex'd the common Stock of the Town to the Royal Demesnes; leaving 'em, out of his special Grace and Favor, their *Election* and ordinary Jurisdiction. Upon which Declaration a certain Historian, very much devoted to the *Roman* Church, observes, That it would have been taken for a just punishment of that City, had they not since that, us'd many very Innocent and Catholic Cities after the same rate.

Privileges of the City abolish'd.

The End of the Seventh Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Edict of Nantes.

THE SECOND PART.

THE EIGHTH BOOK.

A *Compendium* of the Eighth Book.

Marſhal de Bouillon's *Letter. The King marches into* Guyenne; *the Siege and reducing of* Clairac. *The King's word ill obſerv'd. The Pope's Breve to the King. The Reformed every where unfortunate. The Siege of* Montauban. La Force *defends the Place. The King raiſes his Siege.* Chamiere's *Death. The Duke of* Mayenne *dies. The blame falls upon the Conſtable. The Jeſuit* Arnoux's *diſgrace. The Duke of* Luines *dies. Aſſembly of the Clergy. A violent Harangue of the Biſhop of* Rennes. *The Hiſtory of* Dominic de Jeſus Maria. *Sedition at* Paris. *The Church at* Charenton *burnt. The Reformed forſake their Houſes. They are accus'd of ſetting Fire to the Bridges of* Paris, *and the Priſon at* Lion. *The Circle of* Lower Languedoc *diſplaces* Chatillon. *Great Confuſion in that Circle. The Condition of the Court. The King returns to* Paris. *A remarkable Writing of* Jeannin, *adviſing Peace. The Opinion of thoſe who were more enclin'd to War. The Reformed take new Courage. The King departs from* Paris. *His Succeſs in* Poitou;

in Guyenne, *where he treats with* la Force. *The ſack of* Negrepeliſſe, *and St.* Antonin. Leſdiguieres *interpoſes for Peace. Factions at* Mompellier. *Sedition againſt the Catholics. Either Harangue of the Biſhop to the King. Remarks upon the Style of that Harangue. The Church of* Foix *laid waſte. Attention given to the Monk* Villate. *The King forbids the Reformed to forſake their Houſes. Count* Mansfeild *treats with the Reformed. Propoſals of the Marſhal* de Bouillon *to the Duke of* Rohan *upon that occaſion. The Court gains* Mansfeild. *The King makes uſe of Foreign Catholics in* France. *The Negotiations for Peace renew'd. A Writing ſet forth upon that occaſion. Siege of* Mompellier. *Capitulation made by* Lunell, *ill obſerv'd. Small Cities ill defended. Succeſs of the War in ſeveral Places.* Chatillon *made a Marſhal of* France. *Seditions at* Orleans, Fronſac *and* Lion. *The Original of the word* Parpaillot. *Other Originals. Of the word* Huſt. *Violence of the Sedition. The Reformed are diſarm'd. War againſt* Rochel. Soubiſe *ſollicits for Succor from* England. *Treaty of Peace reaſſum'd near* Mompellier. *Concluſion of the Treaty with an Edict. Rigour of the Parlaments. Advantages of that Peace. Qualifications of the Edict of Peace. All the Cities accept the Peace, which is ill obſerv'd by the Court. Treaty at* Mompellier. *The King returns to* Paris. De Puiſieux *in Favour. The Biſhop of* Luſon *made a Cardinal. Character of that Prelat. After what manner he receiv'd the news of his Promotion. Exceſſive Flatteries. Foul Play offer'd the* Rochelois. *Enterpriſes of* Valence *at* Mompellier; *where he takes the Duke of* Rohan *Priſoner, and makes a diviſion of the Conſulſhip. General Papers. Extravagant Anſwers. Exerciſes forbid. The Reformed excluded from Dignities in the Univerſity of* Poitiers. *The ſinging of Pſalms in the Streets and in Shops forbid. A common Soldier deprived the Benefit of an* Oblate. *Attempts upon paternal Right. A Declaration eſtabliſhing a Commiſſioner in Colloquies and Synods. A National Synod.* Galand *the firſt Commiſſioner ever preſent to a National Synod. He is admitted out of pure Obedience. Deputies ſent to the King, who ſend back the Deputies laden with his Orders. The Court inclin'd to favour the* Arminians. *A Writing publiſh'd by* la Militiere.

Anſwer

Answer of Tilenus. *Authority attributed to the Kings of* France. *Imposture set up against the Synod of* Dordrecht. *Obedience of the Synod of* Charenton *Assignations ill paid. Propositions made to the Synod by* Galand *on the King's behalf. A new Deputation to the King, and the effect of it. Oath of Union. A Citadel built at* Mompellier. Mariald *opposes it in the name of the Reformed of the City. Presages of a new War. The death of* du Plessis. *The death of Marshal* de Bouillon.

WHile the King lay before St. *John d'Angeli*, he receiv'd the Submissions of the Duke of *Tremouille*, who had surrender'd *Taillebourg* without much entreaty. On the other side, Marsh l *de Bouillon* at the same time sent him a Letter full of smart Remonstrances: of which the principal Heads were, The retiring of the Reformed, which he attributed to the notorious violation of the Declaration of the 24th of *April*. He observ'd how the Reformed, notwithstanding their peaceable Demeanor, were disarm'd. How there had been taken from 'em four Towns upon the *Loire*, which had never had any Correspondence with the Rebels: How the boldness of the Preachers was left unpunish'd, who preach'd nothing but Sedition, and equall'd to Martyrdom the death of those who were slain in the War against the Heretics: How severely the Judges put in execution the Declaration of the 27th of *May*; and forc'd not only Men and Women, but ev'n Children too, not Fifteen years of Age, to take the Oath to disown the Assembly of *Rochel*: How they that were desirous to retire, were stopt upon the High-way; which was also done to those who went no farther then *Sedan*, tho that City were under the King's Protection. All which, said he, persuaded those affrighted People, that the King had some design upon their Religion, under pretence of humbling Rebels. To this he added some things that concern'd himself, by reason of the little care that had been taken to observe the Treaty of Protection made with him for his Principality of *Sedan*. 1621. *Marshal de Bouillon's Letter.*

Fra-

1621. *The King marches into Guyenne.*

In the mean time the King, continuing his Conquests, march'd into *Guyenne* with his Army, where he met with the same facility, in reducing all the Places which the Reformed held in that Province, which he had found in *Poitou* and *Saintonge*. The Treaties which the Governors made with him, regulated the march of his Army, and he went from City to City, presenting himself before the Gates of such Towns into which he was sure of being receiv'd. *Boesse Pardaillan* refusing to acknowledge *la Force* for General, out of a jealous Humor quitted the Party, and surrender'd about twenty Towns to the King. 'Tis true, that the greatest part of 'em being betray'd, betook themselves again to their Arms, so soon as they thought they might safely do it. *Panissaut*, animated with the same jealousy, constrain'd *la Force* to quit several Places where he was inferior in number. *Lusignan* surrender'd *Puimirol* with a frankness void of Self-Interest. But when he saw himself laught at for going about to approve himself an honest man, at a time and in an Affair that no body regarded Honesty, he betook himself to his Arms again; and then they were forc'd to give him Ten thousand Crowns to pay his Debts. The City of *Tonneins* also, desirous to signalize her Loyalty, found her self expos'd to the same Raillery. For several Lords of the Army being constrain'd by bad weather to shelter themselves in the Town, together with their Baggage, were well receiv'd and entertain'd by the Burgesses, and some small Parties wandring from the Body of the Army being in no small danger, had the Town had any intention to have fall'n upon 'em, were treated as in a friendly Country. But for all this, when they complain'd of some damages done 'em by the King's Soldiers, and urg'd their above-mention'd Kindnesses as proofs of their Loyalty, Answer was return'd 'em in an insulting manner, That they were not to produce as marks of their Fidelity, what they had done for want of Courage. This was the way to enforce men to be Rebels, thus to brand their Obedience with the ignominious Name of Cowardice. And indeed such usage as this, ought to be a Motive to all Men of Courage, rather bravely to die in the generous Defence of themselves, then stoop to an ignoble and fawning Submission, that renders 'em the Scorn of their Enemies.

The

The Duke of *Mayenne*, who profecuted the War in that Pro- 1621.
vince, had perform'd ſome petty Exploits, and taken in ſome
ſmall Villages, which had put themſelves in a poſture of defence.
But the King met with no reſiſtance till he came before *Clairac*, *Siege and taking of* Clairac.
which adventur'd to ſuſtain a Siege. But 'twas the ill luck of
this City, that there were ſeveral People who ſtaid within it, to
no other purpoſe then to diſcourage others; ſo that the City
did not hold out ſo long as it might have done, had not the Ga-
riſon and others bin treacherous among themſelves. The Town
ſurrender'd at diſcretion; which done, the King granted the
Inhabitants their Lives, and the exerciſe of their Religion. He
excepted ſix perſons only out of Pardon, and hang'd up three
or four, among which was the Miniſter. The King was ac-
cuſtom'd to the puniſhment of ſuch as wore that Character;
and thus it was, that the Jeſuits, under his Name and Authority,
glory'd at the Sacrifices of their Enemies which they offer'd to
their malice. They had perſuaded the King while he lay at
Potiers, to condemn to death *Clemenceau* and *Mallerai*, the one
a Miniſter, the other an Advocate reſiding in the Town. But
becauſe they had eſcap'd their Clutches, the Miniſter being fled
to *Rochelle*, and the Advocate to *Nerac*, they reſolv'd not to loſe
all their ſport, and therefore had 'em executed *in Effigie*, and
their perſons defam'd with ridiculous Satyrs. This Rigor was
obſerv'd in all Places that made any Reſiſtance. The bloody
Council of Clergymen thought it the moſt proper courſe they
could take; in regard that puniſhment always betokening a
Crime in thoſe upon whom it was inflicted, thoſe Rigours fo-
mented in the King's mind that prepoſſeſs'd Opinion wherein
he had bin bred, that the Reformed were Rebels.

The Clemency afforded to *Clairac*, had but little effect; for
that the Soldiers enter'd the Town, and plunder'd as much as
they could carry away. Nor is it true that they were hinder'd
by *Baſſompiere*, as was reported by a certain ignorant and mali-
cious Scribler; for that he was at *Paris* all the while that *Clairac*
was beſieg'd, and did not return till the Siege of *Montauban*.
Beſides, they were the cauſe that a good part of the Gariſon
was deſtroy'd in paſſing the River. True it is indeed, that the
Gariſon had a general Paſs for their ſafeguard upon their
march

1621. marching out, and that the common Soldiers were permitted to wear their Swords. But under pretence of saving 'em from the Fury of the Soldiers of the Royal Army, they were order'd to cross the water. But that was no more then perfectly in order to lead 'em to the slaughter; for the King's Soldiers fell upon 'em, and stript a great many. Which unexpected Violence so terrifi'd the rest, that there not being above two or three Boats provided for their passage, while they crowded too numerously into 'em, the Vessels sank, and left 'em to the mercy of the water. Others thinking to escape by swimming, to avoid one sort of death, met with another. There was also a Rope that cross'd the River for the use of the Ferry boat. But the King's Soldiers seeing that several of those poor Creatures hung by the Cord, most barbarously cut it; so that they perish'd with the rest of their Companions. Had there not bin extremity of foul play among the Commanders, it might have bin an easy thing to have prevented this Disorder, in regard there were then upon the place several Gentlemen of the Constable's Houshold, and some other Officers, who took no care to restrain the Cruelty of the Soldiers. But this Siege as well as that of St *John d' Angeli*, had cost the Lives of several of the Nobility; so that they resolv'd to sacrifice these poor Wretches to their revenge. The Fault of those that permitted these Barbarities, was laid upon the common Soldiers: however, for fear of the same usage at another time, two or three of those who had cut the Cord, were hang'd for a shew of satisfaction.

A Breif from the Pope to the King.

While the King press'd hard upon *Clairac*, he receiv'd a Breif from the Pope, wherein he congratulated his Victories; exhorted him not to lay down his Arms till he had subdu'd *Rochelle*, and depriv'd the *Heretics* of every thing that serv'd 'em for their security. He extoll'd his Enterprize to the Skies, and gave him great hopes of an issue correspondent to such prosperous Beginnings, together with strong assurances of the protection of the Saints. Among the rest of his Eulogies, there was one very particular, *That he had follow'd the Example of his Ancestors, who had paid as much Honour to the Instigations of the Popes, as to the Commands of God.* The more sincere sort of Catholics acknowledg'd this *Breif* to be a real Truth, tho others who

'o were aſham'd of it, would fain had it paſs'd for ſuppoſi- 1621.
ious. 'Twas dated the Tenth of *July*.

During the continuance of this Siege, and the following months, the Duke of *Mayenne* continu'd the War in the Quarters aſſign'd to his Conduct, and made himſelf Maſter of *Mas* *Verdun*, *Mauveſin*, and the Iſle of *Jourdain*, giving ſatisfaction to the Governors: But to the end that all men might have their ſhare in the miſeries of the War, the Sums which were promis'd the Governors were paid 'em by the Inhabitants of the parts adjoining. The Duke of *Eſpernon* employ'd his time in burning the Houſes and Mills about *Rochel*; and the Duke of *Montmo-* perform'd ſome petty Exploits in *Languedoc*, which tended all to annoy the City of *Nimes*. The Duke of *Rohan*, who expected that *Montauban* would be attacqu'd after the reſt, kept himſelf in the parts adjoining to *Caſtres* and *Albi*, to provide for their ſecurity, and held himſelf up with much more Courage then good Fortune. The Aſſembly of *Rochel* ſought for ſuccor from all parts, but nothing ſucceeded to their wiſhes; all Foreigners refus'd 'em the aſſiſtance which they implor'd. The Intrigues of *Vatteville Mont-chreſtien*, whom they had ſent to *Normandy* with ſeveral Commiſſions to raiſe men, prov'd abortive by his death. *Mombrun*, who endeavor'd to raiſe ſome forces in the *Dauphinate*, was not able to do any thing conſiderable, by reaſon of *Leſdiguieres*'s return, who prevented him: and the Count *de Suſe*, who had a deſign upon *Grenoble*, being drown by a Catholic Peaſant that ſerv'd him for a Guide, was led into a Precipice with his Followers, from which he could not ſave ſo much as one ſingle perſon; and he himſelf had periſh'd thro the Rigor of the Parlament, had not the King commanded 'em to ſurceaſe their proſecution: So that till then all things gave way to the King's good Fortune; inſomuch that he made himſelf Maſter of about Fifty Towns, of which ſeveral were able to have given him as much trouble as St. *John* *d'Angely*; yet all ſubmitted, before ſo much as one great Gun was fir'd upon 'em; nor do I reck'n in thoſe which either he or any of his Generals had bin forc'd to beſiege.

The Reformed unfortunate every where

But *Montauban* put a ſtop to the Career of all this Proſperi-
The City and Parlament of *Tholouſe* had engag'd the King

1621. to ſit down before that Place, at a time when the Seaſon was already far ſpent, and that his men were quite tir'd out with labour, and the hardſhips which they had undergone. But *Montauban* was ſuch an annoyance to *Tholouſe*, by reaſon of the Excurſions which the Inhabitants made, ev'n to the Gates of that great City, that the *Tholouſains* promis'd to ſupply the King with ev'ry thing that was neceſſary for the Siege, provided he would but undertake it. And the good Succeſs which had all along till then attended him, made him eaſily believe that *Montauban* would be as little able to withſtand the Torrent of his Proſperity as the reſt. Thereupon the Duke of *Mayenne*, and Marſhal *de Themines* had Orders to make the Approaches. The former of theſe two had made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Towns in the Neighborhood, but he could not ſurprize St. *Antonin* notwithſtanding that he had gain'd the Governor, whoſe name was *Penaveire*. That faithleſs perſon had ſold him the Town for Two thouſand Crowns, for the payment of which the Duke had ſubſcrib'd a Writing. But the Conſuls coming to deſire ſome Order from him which concern'd 'em, he gave 'em the Writing by miſtake. Upon ſight of which, the Conſuls teſtifying their Aſtoniſhment by their Looks, the Governor perceiv'd his Error, but put it off with a good face, and a ready preſence of mind. However he could not remove the Jealouſies which that Accident had rais'd; ſo that after that, he could not deceive the Conſuls, who truſted him no longer, but ſtood upon their own Guard.

La Force defends the Place.

In the mean time the Siege of *Montauban* prov'd unſucceſsful. *La Force* and the Count *d'Orval*, Son of the Duke of *Sulli*, were got into it, and held it out like men of Courage. And as for the Correſpondences which the King held in the place, they all fail'd; becauſe that they who were the chief Conſpirators were ſlain, and the reſt were diſcover'd. The Duke of *Rohan* alſo reliev'd it with a conſiderable Reinforcement, notwithſtanding all the Precautions of the King's Generals, or the Duke of *Angouleſme*, who kept the Field with a flying Camp. After that, ſeveral Propoſals were made for a Peace; but the King refuſing to grant any Accommodation but only to the Duke of *Rohan*, and he denying to accept any other then a general

eneral Peace, thoſe Projects came to nothing; nor could they 1621.
nd any Expedient to colour the raiſing the Siege. However
he King was forc'd to draw off, after he had waſted near three *The King raiſes the Siege.*
nonths time before that place. *Chamier*, a Miniſter and Pro-
ſſor in Theology, who was ſlain with a Cannon-ſhot, was one
f the moſt conſiderable among thoſe whom the Beſieged loſt.
ut the King miſt a great number of brave Gentlemen, and
mong the reſt the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was kill'd in the
ttacques of *Ville-Bourbon*. He was a Prince of a ſurpaſſing
rowes, but who made too great an oſtentation of it, and took
elight to expoſe both himſelf and others without any ſhelter
o the Enemies ſhot, out of a Vanity little becoming a great
oul. However it brought him to his end at length, as he had
in the cauſe that many others by his Example had ſacrific'd
heir Lives to the ſame vain-glorious Emulation. They of
Montauban had notice that the Army would ſuddenly diſlodge,
y a Soldier of the Religion, who the evening before the Siege
as rais'd, fell a playing upon the Flute the Tune of the Sixty
ighth Pſalm: which the Beſieged took for a Signal of their de-
iverance; nor were they deceiv'd.

They who had bin the occaſion that the King receiv'd this
iſgrace, threw the blame upon the Reformed who ſerv'd in his
Army. But the Conſtable, who had collected from ſeveral Cir-
umſtances, that his power with the King was declining, began
o reflect upon the Advice which had bin ſeveral times giv'n
im, to have a care of Civil Wars, of which the leaſt ill Succeſs
would make him bear both the reproach and the loſs. He per-
ceiv'd it more eſpecially at *Tholouſe*, where many ill offices were
done him. 'Tis true, that he was ſtill in ſo much credit as to
procure the Baniſhment of the Jeſuit *Arnoux* from the Court,
who, tho he were beholding to him for his Preferment, ceas'd
not however to plot and contrive his Ruin. The King al-
ſo took another Confeſſor of his recommendation. Never-
theleſs the Conſtable began to conſider, that 'twas high time to
think of Peace, and all that he lookt after was, which way to
recover the Reputation which the King's Military Glory had loſt
before *Montauban*, to the end he might put the more honourable
Concluſion to the War. But he dy'd before the end of the year

1621. during the Siege of *Monhurt*. He also underwent the same destiny with all the rest of the Favorites. For he was neither pitied by any body, nor lamented by his Master. All his Grandeur dy'd with him, and he hardly left behind him sufficient wherewithal to defray the Expences of his Funeral.

During the Siege of *Montauban*, the King gave Audience to the Deputies of the Assembly of the Clergy, which being met, and having began their Session at *Paris*, had bin remov'd to *Poitiers*, and from thence to *Bourdeaux*. They offer'd the King a Million of Gold, provided he would oblige himself to lay it all out in the Siege of *Rochel*. They consented only that the King should erect Receivers Offices, and Provincial and Diocesan Comptrollers of the Tithes. *Cornulier*, Bishop of *Rennes*, made a Speech to the King, and sang triumphal *Pæans* before the Victory. He return'd the King Thanks for what he had done for the *Church*, hoping that in a short time there would be but one Religion in *France*. He reckon'd the War, according to the Principles of Ecclesiastical Charity, among the *wholsom* and *gentle* means, of which the King made use to bring things to a happy Conclusion. He accus'd the Reformed, with great Passion, of all the past Troubles, and of having aspir'd to shake off their Yoke, with an Intention to share the Crown among 'em. He added several Complaints, which he accompani'd with all the Aggravations that could embitter 'em; that they had turn'd the Churches of the Dioceſs of *Rieux* into Stables; that they had carri'd away the Pyxes wherein the Sacrament was kept; that they had shot the Crucifix through and through with their Musquets; that they had ti'd it to their Horses Tails, and dragg'd it to *Tonneins*; that they had salted their Meat in the Fonts of Baptism, after they had carri'd it in Procession round about the Church, as they did in a certain place within the Dioceſs of *Pamiers*; that in a place adjoining to *Mompelier*, they had cut off a Curate's Nose, and when they had done, threw him headlong from the top of the Steeple. However, 'twas not then a proper Season to take notice of these Extravagancies, supposing his Stories had bin true, which could be thought no other then the hair-brain'd Pastimes of Licentious Soldiers; nor to desire that Punishment might be inflicted

Passionate Harangue of the Bishop of Rennes.

1621. ...ted upon the Guilty only, as the Biſhop of *Luſon* did in 1615. when he preſented the Papers of the Chamber of the Clergy at the riſing of the States. There were alſo muſter'd up many more Crimes of the whole Religion; nor were the Innocent diſtinguiſh'd from the Guilty: And he demanded extremity of Remedies, as being to be appli'd for the Cure of extraordinary Miſchiefs; and the more vigorouſly to move the King, he quoted the Examples of ſundry Princes whom Heav'n had puniſh'd for neglecting the extirpation of Crimes of the ſame nature. He applauded the King for having taken up the Rod of Iron, and exhorted him roundly to purſue his Reſolutions. He could not find any milder term, through his whole Speech, for the Reformed Profeſſion, then that of Irreligion: nevertheleſs his paſſionate vehemence againſt the Profeſſors of that Doctrine, did not take him off from thinking of the Affairs of the Clergy, nor from manifeſting his great care for the preſervation of their Immunities and Revenues. He deſir'd that the Reformed might not perform their Exerciſes within the Eccleſiaſtical Demeans and Lordſhips; but above all, that the Agreements which the Clergy had made with the King might be punctually obſerv'd. He built his Requeſt upon a Maxim, which would have bin of great advantage to the Reformed, had it bin inviolably adher'd to. *The Word of God*, ſaid he, *is call'd Truth*: In like manner *the Promiſes of Princes ought to be firm and ſtable, not variable nor feigned*; and this he was for having take place, *chiefly in what concern'd the Church.* But in regard there was no queſtion to be made but his tacitly impli'd meaning was, That the fruit of that ſame conſtancy of the King's word, did no way belong to the Heretics, he farther deſir'd, That the Tempeſt conjur'd up againſt 'em, might not be alay'd after the uſual manner; but that all the places of ſecurity might be utterly demoliſh'd. He blam'd Violence in matters of Religion, when it did not tear up Errors by the Root; and acknowledg'd, That whatever was introduc'd by Force, was neither of long continuance, nor of any value toward the propagation of Faith, which ought to be free. But for all that, he preſt the King to imitate *Philip Auguſtus*, and the Father of St. *Lewis*, who utterly extirpated the *Albigeois*, the Hereſy, and their Habitations. So that according

ing

1621. ing to the Principles of that pious Cruelty, he made no scruple of commending and justifying Violence, so it were put in practice for the extermination of the Reformed and their Doctrine. He exhorted the King more especially to reduce *Rochel* into a Country Town, and to disperse the Reformed into the Villages, in imitation of *Constance*, who confin'd the *Gentiles* thither, and who for that reason were call'd *Pagani*, or Villagers; upon which immediately the whole Empire became Christian. This Harangue, tho full of venom and virulence, was not however without a certain briskness, which is requisite for Invectives, that they may not seem tedious.

But the death of the Duke of *Maine* had like to have caus'd great disorders in the Kingdom. The Reformed were in danger of being massacr'd at *Paris*, when the news was first brought thither. That name was in high veneration among the common People, who bare the League in remembrance. Insomuch that the multitude resolv'd to revenge his death upon the Reformed in that great City, who were the most quiet and peaceable throughout the whole Kingdom. All the whole week, from the 21st of *September*, till Sunday the 26th, was spent in deadly Menaces. Now it happen'd that some days before, a *Carmelite* Fryar, who call'd himself *Dominic de Jesus Maria*, arriv'd in that City, having acquir'd both in *Spain*, in *Italy* and *Germany*, a great reputation of Piety. It had cost him however nothing but the Mops and Mows of a detestable Hypocrisie, and bloody Counsels against the *German* Protestant Princes. He was, by birth, a *Spaniard*, as also by his inclination and education. After some time spent in Travel, and some stay at *Rome*, and in the Emperor's Court, he became so famous, that the greatest Princes thought it an Honour to 'em, to have a veneration for him. He was the Promoter of the *Bohemian* War, by reason of those Acts of Injustice which he persuaded the Princes of the House of *Austria* to commit against the Protestants, and by means of that same inhuman Zeal with which he inspir'd and animated the People. One Artifice which this Monk made use of to inflame their minds, was, that he always carri'd about him an Image, which he call'd, *The miraculous Image of our Lady of Victory*. It was a Picture of about a Foot and an half in height, and about a

The Story of Dominic de Jesus Maria.

Foot

oot broad, wherein the Nativity of Chriſt was painted. It was 1621.
ound under a huge heap of Chips and old rotten Wood: The
igure of the Virgin alſo, by ſome miſchance or other, had
oth the eyes torn out; and this ſame wretched Monk reported
very where, without any other proof then his own word, that
he Heretics were they who had committed that Sacriledge.
His Picture he carri'd always about him, and he never ſhew'd
without a world of Imprecations upon the heads of thoſe
who had ſo rudely disfigur'd it. He made uſe of it in *Bohemia*,
o inceníe the *Imperialiſts*, and ſpur 'em on to a War with the
eople of that Kingdom who were revolted. He made uſe of
in *France*, to animate the Catholics to undertake the utter de-
ruction of the *Huguenots*. At length he carri'd it to *Rome*,
here the Pope ſanctifi'd it with a Conſecration upon the Altar
f St *Paul*, and together with all the Cardinals, all the People,
nd all the Clergy, paid ſuch extravagant Honours to it, as if
e would have juſtifi'd the truth of thoſe Reproaches which the
eformed throw upon the Church of *Rome* in reference to Ido-
ary. After the ruin of the Reformation in *Bohemia*, where it
ad bin ſo potent, this Monk came into *France* to make his ad-
antage of the Civil Wars, and there to do the Catholic Reli-
ion the ſame ſervice as he had perform'd in *Germany*. He was
eceiv'd at *Paris* as a man that was full of the Spirit of God, and
hoſe Actions were all as ſo many Miracles. The People
owded after him, and ſome perſons of Quality alſo; but to
ender himſelf more venerable, he would not be ſeen every day,
ffecting to lock himſelf up in a Convent of his own Order.
Neverthleſs he was obedient to his Superiors, who underſtand-
ng the knack of inflaming the Peoples deſire by feigned denials,
ro nded upon the pre ended humility of this Hypocrite, ſuf-
erd him at length to appear, when they thought it ſeaſonable
o act the Farce. Then this pretended Saint receiv'd the Homa-
es that were paid him, next to Adoration, they kiſs'd his Feet;
ey thought themſelves ſanctifi'd by touching the hem of his
Garment; they carri'd away pieces of it, which they kept as
Reliques; and thought 'em the cauſe of a thouſand Miracles, of
which there was not ſo much as the leaſt appearance. 'Tis eaſy
to apprehend what a predominancy his Speeches had over a

People

1621. People so prepossess'd, to whom this Villain preach'd nothing but Sedition and Violence. But the Chancellor, the Duke of *Mombazon*, together with the *Sorbonne*, abhorr'd these Affectations, and maugre the passion of the People, constrain'd the Monk, who said he was sent from the Duke of *Bavaria* to the King, to depart *Paris*, and pursue the delivery of his message. However, during his Journey, he behav'd himself still after the same manner, and he had like to have bin the cause of a thousand mischiefs, in places where the People bewitcht with his Grimaces, were inclin'd to Sedition. Insomuch that ev'n at *Saumur* itself, where the Catholics had receiv'd so many kindnesses from *du Plessis* for 32 years together, while he was their Governor, they resolv'd to massacre their Fellow-Citizens of the Reformed Profession. But *d'Aiguebonne*, who commanded there in the absence of the Count *de Sault*, by his diligence prevented the fatal effects of that desperate design; and so well secur'd the Gates of the City, that the Promoters of the Conspiracy durst not make any Attempt. These wicked effects of the Monk's piety, lost him his reputation in *France* among all honest men, who perceiv'd that his Zeal had something too much of the *Spaniard* in it, which kept 'em from being deluded by his counterfeit Sanctity; so that after this Journey, there was no farther talk concerning him.

Commotion at Paris.

But at *Paris*, all the care that was taken for the security of the Reformed serv'd to no purpose. They judg'd that they were not to forbear the continuance of their Public Exercises, because of the Threats of the People, in regard it would be a diminution of the King's Authority, who had taken 'em into his Protection, and would shew a distrust of his Word and Justice. Therefore on Sunday the 26th they went to *Charenton*, and the Duke of *Mombazon* order'd all things the best he cou'd for their security, guarding the Road in person, by his presence to protect 'em in their return. But for all that, the seditious Rabble fell upon those that lagg'd behind; so that from words they fell to blows, and some few were kill'd. Among the rest, one Woman that would not bow to the Image of the Virgin set up over St. *Anthony*'s Gate, was murder'd; and a Priest, mistaken by the multitude for a Minister, had much ado to escape their hands, by the

the assistance of the Duke's own Servants. Some Houses also, where the People, out of compassion, had shelter'd some of the Reformed, were forc'd open and pillag'd. And all this was done under the very Noses of the Guards and Archers, who were appointed to conduct the Reformed, and might have prevented these Violences, had they but let fly two or three times among the Rabble. But the veneration they had for Catholic Blood, would not permit 'em to shed the least drop for the preservation of the *Huguenots*. So that in less then a minute the City was all in an uproar: the Chains were drawn up; the Citizens were order'd to stand to their Arms; and Guards were set at the Gates: But Night was more powerful then all the Orders which the Magistrate could give, and sent the seditious Mobile to their own Houses. 1621.

The next day, the Mutineers not daring to attempt any thing in the City, where their Party was not strong enough, ran all to continue their Violences at *Charenton*. Where they pillag'd some Houses; but their chief spite was at the Church, which they burnt; together with the Shops where the Booksellers left their Books of Devotion, which they durst not sell in other place. The Library was robb'd; the Walls of the Cloyster pull'd down; nor did the Fury of these People cease, till their Rage had no more Materials to work upon. 'Tis true, that the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Parlament caus'd two of the chief Actors to be seiz'd, who were also executed for an example to others. But while he was at the Parlament, busy in consultation by what means to stop the Career of these Enormities, the Sedition broke out again in the Fauxbourg St. *Marceau*, where the greatest part of the Reformed Artificers, who are debarr'd from keeping Shops in the City, were set up, to the end they might follow their Employments without molestation; and in this Uproar also one or two of the Reformed were kill'd, and some Houses pillag'd. But at length the Tumult was appeas'd, and the Parlament having issu'd forth a Decree, putting the Reformed under the Protection of the King and the Law, which was presently dispatcht away to the several Bayliwicks under their Jurisdiction, this same Spirit of Violence was suppress'd for some time, to

The Church of Charenton burnt.

1621. the great grief of those who in several places were prepar'd for Insurrections no less dangerous.

The Reformed quit their Habitations

But for all this the Reformed began again to quit their Habitations, and many People left *Paris*, as others quitted other places, who had hitherto flatter'd themselves that they should live in security, so they had no hand in the War. They likewise, who staid behind, lock'd themselves up in their Houses for some days, tho in continual fears; or else they conceal'd themselves among the Catholics, with whom they had contracted a friendship either upon the score of Kindred, or Neighborhood, or some tie of Interest. As for the Ministers, they were in the number of those that retir'd; and tho they alledg'd for themselves St. *Cyprian*'s Reason, fearing, as he did, that their presence made the Sedition more fatal to their Flocks, yet their abandoning their stations was censur'd by a sort of People who are always finding some fault or other in the conduct of other men.

They are accus'd of setting fire to the Bridges of Paris.

But tho the Seditious themselves were suppress't, yet the Spirit of Sedition was not laid; for some Houses hapning to be a fire at *Paris*, and the Flames taking hold of the Houses adjoining with that fierceness as to burn down the two Bridges, call'd *Pont aux Marchands*, and *Pont au Change*, the People presently accus'd the Reformed, as if they had bin the Authors of the Conflagration. Nay, they would have had it believ'd, that they had a design to have set the whole City on fire, to revenge the burning of their Church at *Charenton*. But, after all the most diligent Inquisitions that could be made, they could not find the least Pretence to make good that Calumny: a clear discovery being soon after made, that the Accident happen'd through the negligence of a Maid-servant. There happen'd also such another Mischance at *Lion* much about the same time. A Gentleman returning out of *Germany*, and taking Post in that City, had a Quarrel upon the same occasion with one of the Canons of that City, who assume the Title of Counts of *Lyon*. Upon which the Canon riding before to stay for the Gentleman upon the Road, discharg'd two Pistols at him, but mist with both: on the other side the Gentleman had a better Aim, and kill'd

...ght the Canon fairly, according to all the Maxims allow'd by ...n of the Sword; nevertheleſs he was ſeiz'd and impriſon'd at ... The next day the Jail happen'd to be a-fire, and very ...ch endamag'd both the Priſon and the Palace. Preſently the Catholics knew where to lay the fault: for becauſe it had ſo fal...n out, that the Gentleman's Servants, and ſome of the Re...med had bin heard to ſay, that the Gentleman was wrong...y impriſon'd, in regard he had done nothing but what was ...ounded upon the Law of Self-defence, therefore the Catho...s would have it, that either the one or the other ſet fire to the Priſon. But the Informations acquitted the Parties accus'd, and made it appear that the Misfortune happen'd through the careleſneſs of the Keeper and his Servants. Thus the ſe...ious diſcourſes of the Monks both in public and private, had ...is'd this malignant Spirit among the vulgar Catholics, that ...blame, whatever happen'd, was by them laid upon the Re...med; and that they lookt upon the moſt moderate and moſt peaceable, as People that were always hatching and contriving miſchievous deſigns, and ſeeking an opportunity to put the Kingdom in confuſion. So that they found themſelves in the ...e condition with the Primitive Chriſtians, who were accus'd ...the hot-headed *Gentiles* of all the Misfortunes and Calami...s that befel the State, whether Famine, Peſtilence, Inunda...ons, or Drowth. 1621.

During theſe Events, the Circle of *Lower Languedoc* was in a miſerable condition. *Chatillon* made no other uſe of his Au...hority, then to prevent the Reformed in thoſe Quarters from ...ecuring their Friends in other places; and it may be eaſily ...onjectur'd, what they might have bin able to have done, had he ...n faithful, by what they did in deſpite of all the diſturbance ...ich he gave 'em. *Montauban* was reliev'd, notwithſtanding ...his oppoſition; and as negligent as he was in the preſerva...n of the places, of which the Aſſembly had given him the ...vernment, the Duke of *Mommorancy* made no great progreſs. Nevertheleſs there were ſo many People who were ſenſible that ...*tillon* was intent upon his own Affairs, to the prejudice of the Publick Concerns, that at length the Aſſembly of the Circle ...hich then ſate at *Mompelier*, turn'd him out of his employ- *The Circle of Lower Languedoc oppoſes Chatillon.*

1621. ment; and the 21st of *November*, set forth a very large Declaration, containing the Reasons of their Severity. They accus'd him of having betray'd the Churches, and of making his own Fortune at their Expence: For having rais'd men, not for the service of the Reformed, but to understand the utmost strength of the Circle; what number of Soldiers they could raise; and what quantity of Arms and Ammunition they were able to provide: For having often let the Enemy escape, when they might have been easily defeated: For having thrust out of employment such persons as he knew to be too well affected to the Common Cause: For having giv'n notice to the Enemy to stand upon their Guards: For having represented to the Reformed the Mischiefs greater, and the Remedies more difficult then they were: For having kept private several Matters, which he ought to have communicated: For keeping Spies, which he sent to the Court, to discover the Secrets of the Reformed: For having favor'd and receiv'd into his friendship those who had surrender'd their Strong holds to the King: For having scornfully affronted the Assembly of *Rochel*: For having by his own Authority disannull'd their Resolutions: For having restor'd to the Enemy the Booty taken from 'em in a just War, without so much as demanding, at least by way of compensation, what had bin plunder'd from the Reformed: And for suffering the loss of great quantities of Arms stor'd up with great Expences. But he had done one thing contrary to the interests of the Party, which did him more harm then all that was laid to his charge: For he had drain'd the Province of *Cevennes*, by a Levy of Six thousand men, which he had sent into the *Venetian* Service. And this was the reason that the Province could not raise the one half of the Soldiers that were promis'd, when the Duke of *Rohan* was constrain'd to take Arms.

The great Confusion in the Circle.

This displacing of *Chatillon*, put the whole Circle into an extraordinary Confusion; for that *Chatillon*'s Party was very potent in those Quarters. They who were not Members of the Assembly, nor had any share of the Public Command, complain'd that the Assembly abus'd their Authority, and some Provinces murmur'd against it. *Bertichieres*, whom they had elected for Lieutenant General, endeavour'd to keep his ground without any

Supe-

Superior; to the end that having a more ſpacious Country to 1621.
ſurrender, he might be able to make an Accommodation ſo much the more advantageous with the Court. And indeed there was nothing which preſerv'd to the Reformed what was left in the Circle, but that Affairs at Court were not in much better poſture, where the Conſtable's death had wrought great alterations. Every one aſpir'd to be Maſter of the King's Favour, that they might have the ſole Authority in the Government. But whether it were that the Pretenders obſtructed one another, or that the King, who, as I may ſay, was but juſt got out of Wardſhip, as yet too ſenſibly remember'd the trouble which the greatneſs of his Favourite had put him to; or whether his diſtruſt of thoſe who were about his perſon, kept him upon his guard againſt Surprizes, he would not ſuffer himſelf to be prevail'd upon, all of a ſudden, by any new Affection: ſo that, in the mean while, the Cardinal *de Retz*, *Schomberg*, Grand Maſter and Superintendant, and *de Vic*, to whom the Seals were committed, took upon 'em the greateſt ſhare in Affairs. The Prince of *Condé*, who was deſirous that the King ſhould continue the War, join'd with 'em, in regard they were all of the ſame mind; and this is one thing very remarkable, that the Marſhals of *France*, and ſuch as might pretend to the ſame Dignity, appear'd as much inclin'd to Peace, as the Officers of the long Robe and the Finances were averſe to it. The Prince therefore, and the three Miniſters, who were of his Opinion, did as much as lay in their power to ſtop the King's return to *Paris*, where they expected nothing leſs then to be oppos'd by the old Miniſters; and where the Prince was afraid leſt the Authority ſhould devolve again into the hands of the Queen Mother. To this purpoſe, having perſuaded the King to march toward *Bordeaux*, they propos'd to him the making himſelf Maſter of *Chatillon*, a Town belonging to the Marſhal *de Bouillon*, upon the River *Dordogne*; and the Expedient they had found out to compaſs their deſign, was to treat with the Garriſon of the place, which ſtood Neuter as the Maſter did, in the ſame manner as they had practis'd with *du Pleſſis*. The effect of their Conſultations therefore was, that the King ſhould enter into the Caſtle, under pretence that 'twas his pleaſure to

lodge

1621. lodge there; and that when he was in, he should turn out the Gar-
son that kept it for the Duke of *Bouillon*. But this City, as well a
all the rest, which belong'd to that noble person, was comprehen-
ed in the same Treaty, upon the confidence of which the Du
liv'd peaceably at *Sedan*, and never concern'd himself in th
War; so that the Proposals of surprizing it, was manifestly co
posite to Honesty and Sincerity. However that sort of Polic
that mov'd upon the hinges of Craft and Injustice, was fashi
while the deceased Constable was in favour. Nevertheless,
regard the honest men were more numerous then they wh
gave this pernicious Advice, they perswaded the King to aban-
don the Attempt, and so it fell to the ground.

1622. *The King returns to Paris.*

The King then having left the best Orders he could in th
Provinces to hinder the Reformed, who were brought very lo
in *Poitou* and *Guienne* from rising again, return'd at length t
Paris, where the old Ministers recover'd a little credit with him
and inclin'd him to Peace. The Chancellor and *Jeannin* deem'd
it very necessary, and made no question but that it was more
proper to destroy the Reformed then War. There is to be seen
a small Treatise compos'd by the last of these two, which per-
haps may be lookt upon as one of the most authentic Pieces that
are to be produc'd in favour of the Reformed; and which ut-
terly overthrows the Pretence, which was taken from their sup-
pos'd Rebellion, to exterminate 'em. He acknowledges almost
in express words, That the Catholics were the Aggressors in
that War, and that the Reformed acted meerly in their own de-
fence: at least it is to be deduc'd from his discourse by evident
Consequences. He presupposes, That it behov'd the Reformed
to be united, since it was evident to 'em that there was a design
upon their Religion; and he sets down several Reasons why
they had cause enough to think so: That so long as they believ'd
the King's Intentions to be no other then to chastise Rebels, there
were many who continu'd in perfect Obedience; but that they
found themselves no more kindly us'd then they who had taken
Arms: That the principal Members of the Council publicly gave
out, that the King would no longer permit any other exercise of
Divine Worship then that of the Catholic Religion: That the
Preacher-

A remarkable Writing of Jeannin, after the Peace.

eachers ſtuft their Sermons with Menaces of the ſame nature, 1622.
d endeavor'd to perſuade men, that the following of any other
unſel was profane, and ſavor'd of Impiety: whence it follow'd,
at the War would prove more bloody and univerſal then it had
n, if the Reformed, united as it behov'd 'em to be for their
ommon Intereſt, ſhou'd put themſelves into a poſture of de-
nce. Farther alſo, and that clearly enough, he aſſerts, That
e Aim of thoſe who advis'd a War, was to take their opportu-
ty, becauſe the Foreign Proteſtants being buſi'd at home,
ou'd not attend the ſuccor of thoſe that were oppreſs'd in
ance. He made excellent Reflections upon the Wars which
d been all along continu'd againſt 'em, with the ſame deſign
deſtr y 'em, ſometimes by Fire and Sword, ſometimes by De-
it and Treachery. Thence paſſing to give Sentence upon the
caſion that had conſtrain'd their Enemies to grant 'em ſuch a
mber of Strong-holds, he concludes, That after the Maſſacre
St. Bartholomew, and the Siege of *Rochel*, there was a neceſſity
allowing 'em a greater number, *to ſecure 'em*, ſays he, *againſt*
r Perfidiouſneſs and Infidelity. He obſerves, how much the
ace, which they were ſuffer'd to enjoy for five years together,
nder the Reign of *Henry* III. was to their diſadvantage,
rough the Policy of that Prince, who excluded 'em from all
rtifications: a powerful means to infect the minds of thoſe
ho are overſway'd by their own Intereſts. The King himſelf
orm'd the office of a *Converter*, and his Reaſons, which he
ompani'd with Favours or Denials, as he thought proper,
gain'd to his Religion all thoſe who had a deſign to pleaſe him.
veral alſo who continu'd in the Reformed Religion, for their
n Soul's health, yet bred their Children up in the *Roman* Re-
gion, for the ſecurity of their Fortunes. *Jeannin* adds farther,
demonſtrate how diſadvantageous a Peace would be to the
eformed, for that when they had a mind to betake themſelves
their Arms after a long reſt, they always found it a difficult
ing to rouze up from their Repoſe and Tranquility, thoſe
o had for ſome time bin taſting the delights of Peace;
e ſays, that there was leſs danger in attacking em, after they
d effeminated themſelves with the charming ſoftneſſes of an
ſy life. And he was ſo poſſeſs'd with this Opinion, that as he

wrote

1622. wrote before the Peace, to oblige the King and his Council to make it, so he publish'd another Writing, after it was concluded, to advise 'em to keep it.

The Reasons for the War more prevalent.

But the King's Infirmity lying on his Conscience side, those who assail'd him in his weakest part, prov'd most successful; and for fear the Counsellors of Peace should by their more weighty Reasons deface the Impressions which they had fix'd in his mind, they got him out of *Paris* as it were in hugger-mugger, in hopes they should have more power over him when they had him at the head of an Army. To say the truth, there was a strange alteration of Affairs after the King's return to *Paris*. But it seems, he thought a Peace would not be for his Honor in the present Conjuncture.

The Reformed reassume fresh Courage.

On the other side, the Reformed had almost every where regain'd fresh Courage. The Duke of *Soubise* had recover'd their Affairs in the *Lower Poitou*, and in the Islands. *La Force* had re-incourag'd to the defence of their Liberties some of those Cities which their Governors had sold. He had wrested St. *Foy* out of *Theobon*'s hands, by means of a Female Intrigue, in regard that Gentleman was in love with one of his Kinswomen. *Tonneins*, *Clairac*, and several other Strong-holds once more acknowledg'd the Reformed for their Masters. The Duke of *Rohan*, elected General of the Circle of *Lower Languedoc*, had by his Policy and Prudence, his Frankness and his Patience, reconcil'd the Differences which had for some time disunited that Province; so that the King had almost lost all the fruit of the preceding Campaign, which had cost him so much men and money.

The King leaves Paris.

The King departed from *Paris* upon *Palm Sunday*, and by re-ceiv'd Intelligence, that the Duke of *Espernon* having drawn out all his Forces for the security of his own Governments, there was

His Success in Poitou

not any strength in the *Lower Poitou* that could make head against the Duke of *Soubise*, therefore he was constrain'd to begin his Campaign in those Quarters; where the Duke, either for want of Judgment, or through the Infidelity of those who commanded under him, became the unfortunate Spectator of the slaughter of his men, and in one day lost the fruit of all his Labours. *Royan* was surrender'd to the King, after a Siege of some few days; and these Successes buri'd in oblivion the Trea-

es of Peace which had bin obſerv'd till that time; and the 1622.
Duke of *Rohan*'s Commiſſioners not arriving till after the Rout
f his Brother, were enforc'd to return as they came. On the
ther ſide the King, upon ſome jealouſy of the Duke of *Tre-*
ville, who had remov'd to *Sedan* the Prince of *Talmont*, his
eldeſt Son, afterwards known by the Title of Prince of *Tarente*,
whom he had left at *Thouars* under the tuition of the Dutcheſs
Dowager, diſmiſſed from *Taillebourg* the perſon entruſted with
he Command of that place, and ſecur'd the Caſtle for himſelf,
which was of ſome conſequence at that time. After this, the
King march'd into *Guyenne*, where he preſently retook all that *And Guy-*
he Reformed were Maſters of; and where he utterly ruin'd 'em *enne, where*
y the Agreement which he concluded with *la Force*. In pur- *he treats*
with la
uance of which, he honour'd him with the Batoon of Marſhal Force.
f *France*, which had bin promis'd him above Twelve years be-
ore. Moreover, he gave him a Gratuity of Two hundred thou-
and Crowns, to recompence him for the loſs of his Govern-
ments, which both he and his Children were oblig'd to quit.
Thus it comes to paſs ſometimes, that Rebellion is more for-
unate then Merit; and that a man by rendring himſelf for-
midable, ſecures to himſelf the reward of his Services. *La Force*
urrenders to the King the City of St. *Foy*, where the King ſo-
emniz'd the Feſtival which the Catholics call by the name of
Corpus Chriſti day; the Ceremony of which that City had not
beheld for many years before. But *la Force* treated only for himſelf,
obtaining for his Friends no more then a bare Act of Oblivion;
which created him many Enemies in the Countrey, where ma-
ny of the Nobility had follow'd him before. Moreover, 'twas
twenty to one but that the King had broke his word with him,
when he had left himſelf to the diſcretion of the Court, becauſe
his Son ſtill held out one of the Strong-holds which belong'd to
the Reformed, and made ſome Scruple to ſurrender it; which
reſiſtance they would fain have had to have bin lookt upon as
a Colluſion between the Father and the Son. But that Advice
was rejected, as well for fear of the Conſequences, as for the
Reaſons which the Prince of *Condé* gave, who obſtinately op-
poſed it.

1622. The King now haſtning into *Languedoc*, was ſo fortunate as to meet with no Oppoſition by the way; and for that, the Cities which he had no deſign to have attack'd, ſurrender'd merely out of fear of being beſieg'd. *Negrepeliſſe* and St. *Antonin*, ſmall Cities, not far diſtant from *Montauban*, were taken by Aſſault, and all the Cruelties imaginable committed. The Women ſuffer'd all that could be fear'd from the ſenſuality of Britiſh Common Soldiers, and the Men were almoſt all maſſacr'd. The Pretence was, That *Negrepeliſſe* had cut the Throats of the Garriſon which the King left there the year before; and that St. *Antonin* had ſtay'd took long before it ſurrender'd. They alſo who retreated to the Caſtle firſt of all, after the Town was ſurrender'd, had their ſhare of the ſame uſage: And when they had ſurrender'd at diſcretion, the Council order'd twelve of 'em to be hang'd. There were ſome that follow'd the King, who by no means approv'd theſe Cruelties; who reſcu'd as many as they could out of the Soldiers Clutches, and redeem'd ſome Women and Virgins, that were threaten'd extremity of outrage, with their own Money. But the King, who was naturally good natur'd, and under whoſe Name theſe Cruelties were committed, was more concern'd then any body. So that his abhorrence of ſuch Barbarities prov'd not a little ſerviceable to thoſe that were enclin'd to peace, toward the diſpoſing him to reſume the firmer Negotiations for an Accommodation.

Leſdiguieres, who had no longer any Competitor, renew'd his Pretenſions to the Conſtable's Sword, and promis'd to turn Catholick, upon condition he might have that Dignity conferr'd upon him; that he might be made a Knight of the Holy Ghoſt, and his Son-in-Law *Crequi*, a Marſhal of *France*. But to comfort the Reformed for the loſs of his Perſon, he became an earneſt Interceſſor for Peace. He had already had one Conference to that purpoſe with the Duke of *Rohan* at *Pont St. Eſprit*, where all the Pretenſions of the Reformed had bin reduc'd to four Heads: The Reſtitution of all Places of Security; Liberty of Politic Aſſemblies; Payment of the Sums promis'd for the Miniſters Salaries, and the maintenance of the Gariſons; and the diſingagement of the Nobility that had bin ruin'd by the War. Theſe Articles being carri'd to the King by the Commiſſioners

missioners introduc'd by *Bouillon*, were not agreed to, becauſe the 1622.
King's Forces had defeated *Soubize*, and put him in hopes of an eaſy concluſion of the War. But becauſe the Seaſon of the Year was far ſpent, and for that there were many things to be done, theſe Propoſals were again brought into play, and many Journies were made to and fro, for the obtaining of Peace. The Duke of *Rohan* alſo acted ſo far, that he had render'd himſelf ſuſpected at *Mompellier*, and ſaw his Credit upon the brink of an utter declination. For there were ſeveral Factions in that City, who mutually ſought to deſtroy one another. Among the reſt, there was one which was call'd the Faction of the *Catharinots*. A word, of which I know not the original. However, it was the moſt Seditious of all the reſt, and lookt upon as Traytors all thoſe that did not tread after their ſteps. Now *Leſdiguieres* having ſent the Preſident *Du Cros*, to *Mompellier*, to perſuade 'em to peace, that Faction ſtirr'd up a Sedition againſt him, and baſely murder'd him. But the Duke of *Rohan* caus'd ſome of the moſt guilty to be ſeverely puniſh'd, which did not a little humble the Inſolent Cabal. The Miniſter *Souffrein*, who was accus'd to have a hand in that Murder, choſe rather to remain ſuſpected, than to expoſe himſelf to the Iſſue of a Criminal Proſecution, and withdrew from the City.

Sedition againſt the Catholics.

The ſame Mutineers alſo rais'd another Inſurrection againſt the Catholics of the City; and they carri'd it ſo far, that their behaviour being repreſented to the King by the Biſhop of *Fenouilles*, awaken'd in him that averſion which had been always inſtill'd into him from his Cradle againſt the Reformed. That Prelate was both eloquent and witty; and he made a ſedulous uſe of his Parts to inflame the King's Indignation. He call'd the Conduct of the Reformed a Tyrannical Phrenzy of Rebellion and Hereſy; and the condition wherein they kept the Catholics in his City, an Oppreſſion great in it ſelf, ingenious as to the Invention, exquiſite in Cruelty, and univerſal in the Ravages it committed. He ſaid, that Hereſy, animated by Rebellion, which is the uſual ſpirit that attends it, was demonſtrable by the accumulation of their Crimes; and he imputed to it what e're Impiety durſt ever preſume to think of, and put in execution, in oppoſition to that Veneration which is due to the Holy Saints. He laid before the

1622. eldeſt Son of the Church, the Outrages that had bin committed againſt his Mother, ſo dreadful for their Number, ſo violent in the exceſſes of Fury, ſo ſolemn for the impudence of the Authors, ſo horrible for the Sacrileges that attended it, ſo abominated by Heav'n and Earth, that ſuch Hyperboles would have been hardly tolerable in ſetting forth the horrors of a St. *Bartholomew*'s Maſſacre. And to render the Reformed of his time more odious, he compar'd the modeſty of the growing Reformation with the Reformation eſtabliſh'd; and in regard he had borrow'd that ſame common place from the Letter of that ſame *Charpentier*, whom *Bellievre* had gain'd to write an Apology for Maſſacres, he envenom'd this Compariſon likewiſe with Impoſtures, and perpetual Imputations of Rebellion. By the by he girded the Edicts of Peace, which God, as he ſaid, had never bleſt, and which had been as yet of little force to exorcize the ſpirit of Rebellion; ſo that his whole Speech was an expreſs Exhortation to revoke 'em. He aggravated, as heinous Crimes whatever the Laws and Neceſſities of War had enforc'd the Reformed to act in their own defence; and to raiſe a more tender Compaſſion, he complain'd, that after they had ſo ill us'd the Catholics, they depriv'd 'em of the liberty to bemoan their miſerable Conditions. Yet all theſe horrid Crimes amounted to no more, then that they had impriſon'd the Catholics at *Montpellier*; that they had conſtrain'd 'em to bear their ſhare in the expences of the City; and that they had either demoliſh'd or deface'd their Countrey Houſes. But in regard all this might be eaſily excus'd by Reaſons drawn from the conſequences of War, or the neceſſity of putting themſelves into a condition to ſuſtain a Siege, for which the City was oblig'd to prepare themſelves; he drew an Inference from thence, that they had threaten'd the Catholics with a general Maſſacre. The name of *Hereſy* made a great noiſe throughout all his Speech; 'twas ſtuft all over with deſcriptions of thoſe Propenſities which it infus'd into men to ravage and deſtroy. He upbraided the Reformed with having romag'd the Graves of the dead, and digg'd 'em out of their Sepulchres; as if the ſame thing had not been done every day by the Catholics, who held it to be a duty of their Religion. This Crime was aggravated as if it had bin very uſual, and

gave

gave him an occaſion to call the Reformed by the name of *damned Souls*, which by the counſel and inſtigation of Hell committed all manner of Crimes. And in the *ſeries* of his Harangue he added, that they ſurpaſs'd the Devils in wickedneſs. The Body of a Nun, being found buri'd in the habits of her Order, gave him a new occaſion to diſplay the whole force of his eloquent Fury. And ſome Eccleſiaſtics being put out of the Town, for fear they ſhould betray it, and ſome of the Canons being detain'd as Hoſtages, for the ſecurity of the Miniſters, afforded him a large Theme for another moſt embitter'd Complaint. Some Diſtreſſes alſo levi'd in the Houſes of thoſe that refus'd to contribute toward the Public Charges, were lookt upon as Plund'ring: And the Crime was repreſented ſo much the more heinous, becauſe the Prieſthood was advanc'd above Angelic Excellency. Afterwards appear'd a long and pathetic deſcription of a Church, without the exerciſe of Divine Worſhip; a Reproach for making uſe of the Materials of demoliſh'd Churches in their Fortifications, and for having forc'd thouſands of Catholics to abjure their Doctrine. The War alſo which the King had undertaken was call'd Sacred, and he was exhorted to make no more Treaties with Rebels. 1622.

Remarks upon the ſtyle of this Harangue.

It would be a difficult thing to meet with ſuch a violent Harangue, and where the moſt innocent things, or at leaſt the moſt to be excus'd, by the neceſſity that conſtrain'd em, were blacken'd after the moſt odious manner imaginable. The torments of an infinite number of poor Creatures that were deſtroy'd in all places where the Catholics came, the burning of *Tonneins*, *Nimbart*, *Negrepeliſſe*, and other Towns; their frequent Inſurrections againſt the Reformed, their *forcing Converſions*, of which that War afforded various Examples, would make thoſe tremble, and their hair ſtand an end, that read the Story, ſhould I ſet 'em forth in the ſtile of this Harangue. But this is the Character of the Catholic Prelates; whatever it be that never ſo little touches the Reſpect which is due to their Grandeur, is by them cry'd down for Sacriledge, and is never to be excus'd: But whatever they do in order to the deſtruction of thoſe that offend 'em, though never ſo oppoſite to all the Laws of God and Nature, is lawful and clear from all Reproach and Cenſure.

Thus

1622. *Desolation of the Church of Foix.*

Thus the City of *Foix*, the Metropolis of that Province, being inhabited by some Reformed Families, the Monk *Villarte*, a *Capuchin*, being sent thither by the Bishop of *Pamiers*, went thither toward the end of the last year, to do all the mischief he could, under pretence of preaching the Advent Sermons, and return'd thither to preach the Lent Sermons of this year. But his seditious Declamations, his Monastical Controversies, his Conferences offer'd to the Ministers, the pious Violences of the Governors of the Province, and the City, and the Treachery of some persons won over to their Party, brought over all the Families to the Church of *Rome*. There was not one withstood this Hurricane, but the Minister and his Wife, who was permitted to retire, not so much out of Humanity or Justice, but to give the greater lustre to the Monk's Victory. And the Minister was spar'd, to be a testimony of the desolation of his Church, and to carry the news to the places of his retirement. To which purpose they caus'd a Trumpet to attend him, who under pretence of conducting him, sounded forth the Triumphs of the Monk over the Minister and his Flock, both in the streets of the City and in the Countrey. Nor had the Reformed at *Foix* any other then a limited Exercise, as I have said already.

Attestations given the Monk Villarte.

In the mean time the Ecclesiastics of *Foix* gave this Monk a Certificate, which made him lookt upon as the only Author of these goodly *Conversions*, and which assur'd the world that no other violent means was made use of then that of the Word of God. But 'tis observable, that they never bethought themselves of attesting in behalf of these *New Converts*, that there was nothing but what was free and voluntary in their change. The Art of *Converting* was then but in its Infancy: Time brought it to some perfection; for that in our days they never fail to cause these sort of Attestations to be sign'd by those that had suffer'd the utmost extremity of Violence at their hands. Moreover, the demolishing the Church, which was done by the bare Authority of the Inhabitants, without staying for the King's Orders, follow'd the Monk's Victory close at the heels; and the Catholic Churches of the City shar'd among 'em the Spoils of the Reformed. It may be judg'd with what moderation this

Affair

Affair was carri'd on by the precipitancy of the Catholics, who never conſulted their Sovereign upon two Points of that importance. It may be ſaid, perhaps, in their behalf, that they did nothing without the private encouragement of the Court, who took in good part what ever was ſerviceable toward the Converſion of the Heretics. But the Archbiſhop of *Ambrune* haranguing the King upon his return to *Paris* after the Peace made, went a little farther then all this: He made the King an *Apoſtle* in his Speech; and, to ſupport his new Eulogy with a Reaſon, he added, that the King procur'd Converſions by his Prudence, and the concurrence of his juſt Arms. The meaning of his words is eaſily apprehended, which ſeem'd to intimate, that in Converſions of this nature, Terror wrought no leſs effectually then Inſtruction. 1622.

While the King lay at *Bezieres*, where the Biſhop of *Mom* had made him a Speech, he put forth a Declaration dated 25. which renewing the ill-obſerved Promiſes of the King's Protection to thoſe that liv'd in Obedience, and ſtaid at home under the benefit of the Edicts, forbid all the Reformed to quit their Habitations, whether in City or Countrey, upon pain of forfeiting all the Favours that had been afforded 'em, and to be proceeded againſt as guilty of High-Treaſon, Deſerters of the Kingdom, and Diſturbers of the Public Peace. The Pretence for theſe Prohibitions was, That the Reformed forſook their Houſes, to join with thoſe that were in Arms; or with Forreigners that drew toward the Frontiers, and threaten'd the Kingdom with an Invaſion. The truth is, that the greateſt part of thoſe that quitted their Houſes, were forc'd to wander ther where in ſearch of their ſecurity. The heats of the Catholic Rabble, the ſeditious roaring of the Monks in their Pulpits, the uncontroul'd Licentiouſneſs of the Soldiers, the promiſes of Protection a thouſand ways broken, Capitulations ill obſerv'd, the frequent Tortures of thoſe who ſurrender'd at diſcretion: the enormous fury of the Raſcally Mobile againſt the bodies of thoſe who had undergone the utmoſt extremity and tormments, yet ſtedfaſt to the end; and ſeveral other Circumſtances of the preſent condition of the Reformed in *France*, were terrible, that they expected a Maſſacre every day, which every bod*y*

He forbids the Reformed to quit their Habitations.

1622. body ſtrove to avoid, by withdrawing into places where there was more probability of ſafety. But to ſpeak the truth, the Court was not free from Alarums; and if the Confederates had but had a little ready money, they would have made the Court repent their declaring War againſt 'em.

Count Mansfeild treats with the Reformed.

Count *Mansfeild*, who was enter'd into the Confederacy againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and who after the overthrow of the King of *Bohemia*, had maintain'd his ground with good reputation, at that time beſieg'd *Savern* in *Alſatia* with a conſiderable Army: but before he could take the place, he was conſtrain'd to retreat, for fear of the *Imperialiſts*, who were within ſome few days march of him with three Bodies of an Army much ſuperior in number to his. In his retreat, he was conſtrain'd to croſs *Lorrain*; which the Duke, who had not his Forces ready, durſt not deny him. Now the Count, not having money, had no other way to keep his men together, but by the liberty which he allow'd 'em to do what they pleas'd: ſo that there was no likelihood that he could ſubſiſt any long time, provided his Parties could be hinder'd from roaming about from their main Body. Marſhal *de Bouillon* therefore liking well the opportunity, and weary of the Neutrality which he had obſerv'd ſince the beginning of the War, and deſirous to make one ſmart Blow ſay before he dy'd, for the ſupport of a Religion, of which, as he clearly perceiv'd, the Catholics had vow'd the deſtruction, he thought himſelf of treating with the Count, and found it no hard matter to gain him. To that purpoſe he promis'd him money, and that he ſhould be conducted into *France* by numerous reinforcements of men that would very much augment his Army. He promis'd alſo to ſend him the Prince of *Sedan* his eldeſt Son, and the Duke of *Trimouille* to accompany him; and in a word, thoſe Lords, aſſiſted by the Counts of *Suze* and *Rouſſi*, and ſome others, ſent their Friends and their Servants who rendevouz'd from all parts at the places that were aſſign'd 'em. Theſe motions perſuaded the Court, that all they who quitted their Houſes, went to ſtrengthen this Foreign Army, and make a conſiderable diverſion upon the Frontiers of *Champagne*. For which reaſon, ſeveral perſons were ſeiz'd, upon ſuſpicion of favouring the Duke of *Bouillon*'s Enterprize; and beſides ſome Officers

ficers of his Houſhold, who were impriſon'd in ſeveral pla- 1622.
es; the Son of the *Vidame* of *Normandy* was ſecur'd at *Paris*,
he Count of *Saze* at *Lion*, and the Duke of *Sulli* at *Moulins*,
s being ſuſpected to be of the Confederacy. In the mean time
Marſhal *de Bouillon*, who had promis'd money before he knew
here to have it, made it his buſineſs to ſeek where to raiſe it:
nd he wrote to the Duke of *Rohan*, to ſee whether he could
et any that way. His Letters however contain'd two things
ry oppoſite one to another: for at the beginning he exhorted
e Duke to Peace, for fear the continuance of the War ſhould
mpleat the ruin of the Reformed. He obſerv'd that their ill
ucceſſes proceeded from the diſperſing of thoſe who were able
bear Arms, but who were made uncapable of ſuccouring one
nother by their ſeparation. He added, as it were, to lead him
t of one diſcourſe into another, that this misfortune was oc-
ſion'd by the want of Foreign Soldiers. For the ſupply of
hich defect, he offer'd the bringing in of Count *Mansfeild* to
e aſſiſtance of the Reformed; in order to which, he de-
anded three things; an expreſs approbation of his deſign;
oney for the payment of his Foreign Forces, and aſſurance
at he ſhould be comprehended in the Peace, both he and his, if
happen'd to be made. But money was more difficult to be
und, then the demanded Approbation and Aſſurances; ſo that the
ourt had time enough to gain *Mansfeild*, and prevent his entring
to *France*. Propoſitions therefore were made him of being enter- Mansfeild
in'd in the King's ſervice, and ſome ready money fix'd his reſolu- gain'd by
ons. But the Biſhop of *Alberſtadt*, a Prince of the Houſe of *Brunſ-* the Court.
ck, to whom ſome part of the Forces belong'd, was willing
hearken to Marſhal *de Bouillon*'s Propoſals, and to be contented
ith the ſmall Sum which the Marſhal offer'd for preſent neceſ-
y, till a more conſiderable could be rais'd: which differing
clinations ſet the two Generals at variance, who never after
at did any thing conſiderable; ſo that after ſome Sieges at-
mpted without Succeſs, *Mansfeild* retir'd into the *Low-Coun-*
es, where his Army was utterly ruin'd.

France would have bin very much incumber'd with him, had
e hir'd his Army into her Service: She had no Foreign War,
r would the Council of Conſcience permit the King to con-

1622. cern himself with the King of *Bohemia*'s Broils: and therefor there was an Expedient found to get rid of him, by sending hi into the Service of the *Low-Countries* then in amity with th King, chusing rather that he should join with the *States*, the with the King of *Spain* or the *Venetians*, who both courted him Thus the Churches of *France* were flatter'd with an appearanc of hope that vanish'd as soon. Nor were the Reformed the firs that treated with Foreigners: for the King had set 'em an Ex ample, and sent into *Languedoc* some *German* Troops that serv'd under the Duke of *Montmorancy*: so that it could not be justly laid to their charge, that they went about to expose their Coun try to the Plunder and Ransack of Foreigners, since the Catho lics were the first who had call'd the *Reiters* and the *Lansquenets* into the Kingdom.

Negotiations of Peace renewed

In the mean time the fear of *Mansfeild*'s Army render'd th King's Council more pliable, so that the Propositals of Peac were renew'd. But whether it were that the Duke of *Rohan* Demands were too high, or that the Council were freed from the terror of *Mansfeild*'s ever coming to hurt 'em, the Negotia tion came to nothing, and *Lesdiguieres* spent all his pains and hi time to no purpose in promoting it. Nevertheless the Cour began to hanker after Peace, of which they who were desirous to advance themselves in the King's Favour, or by the manage ment of Affairs stood in great need, to the end they might no have too much variety of business to trouble their heads wit at one and the same time. For as for the Cities that remain'd they were of quite another consequence then the paltry Towns the gaining of which had bin, till that time, the sole Fruit o the War. Only they were desirous that the King should gra the Peace, like the Lord and Master of it; and they avoided General Treaty, for fear the Union of the Reformed should b justifi'd, and as it were legitimated by a Treaty of that nature These Sentiments were sufficiently express'd by the Author of Treatise that appear'd upon this Subject, after the enterview o *Lesdiguieres* and the Duke of *Rohan*. And indeed, no less than three persons, of a different character, deliver'd their Opinions upon the Peace. The one a Reformed, who was desirous to ob tain the Four Articles upon which the Lords were agreed; the other

ther was a Zealous Catholic, who was altogether for Exter- 1622.
ination. The third a moderate man, who took the middle
ay between the other two Extreams; but who rejected the
ur Articles as contrary to the good of the State. The Author
ve himself the name of *Francophilus*, becauſe he was willing
give his judgment for thoſe of the truly honeſt *Frenchmen*,
ho lov'd the Honour and Repoſe of the Kingdom.

He aſſerted, that it was not proper to allow the Reformed
y longer poſſeſſion of Places of Security, becauſe the time al
ted for 'em to hold thoſe Places, was expir'd; That the Rea-
ns why they were granted were out of doors; That the League
as the true motive which induc'd *Henry* IV. to truſt 'em in
e hands of the Reformed: That he was willing to permit the
eformed to be in Arms, that they mig't be ſerviceable to him
caſe of neceſſity: That the particular ſafety of the Reformed
er ſo many Wars, was but a ſecond motive of leſs importance,
d only ſerv'd as a pretence for the other; That the ſame Prince,
fore his death, began to re-aſſume 'em indirectly; and ex-
ted Promiſes in writing from the Governour, which he ſent
ther, that they would keep 'em for his Service: That the Re-
rmed had made an ill uſe of 'em, and by conſequence, that they
d forfeited their Right, if they had any: That they were the
rpetual occaſion of renewing the Troubles: That it was be-
w a King to think there ſhould be ſuch Reaſons of miſtruſt
tween him and his Subjects, that his word and Faith ſhould
t be as good as Places of Security. 'Twas alſo there main-
in'd, That at firſt thoſe Cities were not giv'n to the People,
t to the Princes of the Blood, who had ſided with 'em: That
realiy, they were of no uſe to the Reformed, becauſe the
ant of 'em never could warrant 'em from being attacqu'd by
e King; That 'twas not to be thought that the King had any
ſign to ruin the Reformed, tho he had taken their Cities from
m: And he prov'd, That 'twas not the Aim of the Council
ther, by an Extract out of a Book call'd, *Les Armes Victori-
ſes du Roy*, wherein it was made out, that it was a great piece
injuſtice to force the Conſcience; and that there was nothing
compatible with the welfare of the State in the Toleration of
o Religions. This *Francophilus* was of opinion, That the

1622. Reformed might be suffer'd to hold Ecclesiastical Assemblies under certain Conditions; to reduce Colloquies from four to one in a year; but to hold Provincial Synods but once in three years; nor for one Province to hold correspondence with another; not to have any more National Synods; or if they had, not to meet above once in six years with the King's permission, and in such a place as he should be pleas'd to appoint, under the oversight of a Commissioner to be present on the King's behalf. As for Political Assemblies, he deem'd it necessary that they should be suppress'd as pernicious, or to suffer 'em only at some time three years after the National Synods. He observ'd that the Nobility were never present at those Assemblies, but only to flatter, and get Pensions whether in Peace or War, at the expence of the Common Cause: That the Commissioners of the Third Estate had the same Ends: That it was dishoneſt, unprofitable, and dangerous, for Ministers to leave their Churches, to be present at those Meetings. And in a word, he would have all these Meetings to be very rarely held, and after another manner then till that time they had bin allow'd. As to the Money, of which the Reformed demanded restitution, he was of opinion, That it ought not to be restor'd: 'Twas in his opinion Money ill bestow'd, which serv'd only to defray the Expences of Assemblies where nothing but War was talk'd of. The disingaging of private Persons was to be referr'd to the King's Prudence; who was to judge upon whom it was proper to confer his Favours, and how far it was fitting for him to extend 'em; provided those Favours were requested not with their Arms in their hands, and with Rebellious Expostulations, but with tears in their Eyes, and testimonies of Repentance. He concluded, That if Peace were offer'd upon Conditions dishonourable to the King, a War would be more advantageous.

The Contents of that Treatise may well be thought to be written by a Person well inform'd of the Court's Intentions, since that afterwards they put in practise every thing that he asserted. The War then was continu'd; and after the taking of several Little Places that might annoy the Army, the King sate down before *Mompellier*. But the Prince of *Condé*, who had the Command of these petty Enterprizes, discharg'd his duty after a most cruel

The Siege of Mompellier.

uel manner. Always ſome unfortunate Creatures were 1622.
re to be executed in thoſe Cities that were ſurrender'd
himſelf; and 'tis a wonderful thing, that thoſe Rigorous Pro-
edings did not animate the Reformed to be more obſtinate in
eir Reſiſtance: For there was not any Place that yielded,
hich could not have held out much longer, or that might not
ve obtain'd at leaſt an honourable Capitulation. *Lunel* was
e of thoſe unfortunate Cities, where the Gariſon that ſuſtain'd
e Siege, underwent all the Cruelties that could be expected or
r'd from a faithleſs Enemy. For that inſtead of being ſafe
nducted, as they ought to have been, they were almoſt all
t to pieces by the Soldiers of the Prince's Army, who gave but
y ſlight and ſuperficial Orders to prevent the ſlaughter. All
e Baggage which they carry'd out was pillag'd; and they who
d committed this Barbarous Action, re-enter'd *Lunel* with a
ring confidence, carrying away thoſe people Priſoners who
ve them any hopes of Ranſome, and making them the Porters
their Booty, as if it had been the Prize of a juſt and lawful
ar. But by good luck for ſome of thoſe Priſoners, *Baſſom-*
re happen'd to be at the Gate as the Soldiers were coming
t, who caus'd ſome of 'em to be hang'd; order'd the Priſo-
rs to be ſet at liberty, and their Baggage to be reſtor'd 'em.
owever this was all the juſtice that was done to recompenſe the
ughter of the greateſt part of the Gariſon that march'd out.
ch an Action as this committed by the Reformed would have
en a copious Subject for *Fenouillet*'s Eloquence to have en-
g'd upon.

Moreover, Several of theſe Places had bin half demoliſh'd:
nd the Reformed being too late convinc'd of the truth of what
ad often formerly repeated to 'em, that the too great
mber of Places which they coveted to hold in their hands, did
t weaken up, and keep their Forces too much ſeparated, they
re deſirous to preſerve their Men for the moſt important Ci-
es, as *Nimes*, *Uſez*, *Montpellier*, and ſome others. Their Re-
ſtance in thoſe of leſſer Importance was only to amuſe the Ene-
y's Army, and that they might waſte their Time, their Am-
unition, and their Men. Which makes it apparent whither the
atholicks had any reaſon to complain that the Reformed de-
moliſh'd

1622. liſh'd their Houſes, and levell'd the Fortifications of their Caſtles, ſince they as little ſpar'd their own Houſes, as ſuch Towns alſo which they had no mind to defend.

Succeſs of the War in divers places.

The Duke of *Mommorency* likewiſe obtain'd ſome ſmall Advantage over the *Reiters*, and the *Lanſquenets*: But the reducing of *Aigueſmortes*, which *Chatillon* ſurrender'd to the King, was of greater conſequence. He had held it a long time as it were, in truſt, and he was ſo well fix'd there, that the Aſſembly, who depriv'd him of the Government of the Circle, and who put him out of *Mompellier*, notwithſtanding the numerous Party which he had there, could not diſpoſſeſs him of that Place. All that they could do, was to declare the City an Aſſociate with *Chatillon* in his Deſertion, and to look upon it as a Town in hoſtility againſt 'em. Nor had they made but a very lame Anſwer, in the behalf of that Nobleman, to the Manifeſto publiſh'd againſt him by the Aſſembly. The whole was reduc'd to a bare denial of thoſe things which were laid to his Charge, which in reality were too evident; or to excuſe ſome things, as done out of a good Intention: All the reſt was only ſtufft with Recriminations and Reproaches. But his Advancement after all this made it appear, that their Suſpicions were not ill grounded. For at length the Promiſes of the Court, with which he had bin ſo long time held in play, were fulfill'd to him; and the King created him a Marſhal of *France*. But the Duke of *Vendome* had no ſuch good ſucceſs in Upper *Languedoc*, where the King had left a ſmall Body of an Army. At firſt, he took in ſome Places inconſiderable for their ſtrength; but having laid ſiege to *Briteſte*, he was foil'd before that Pitiful Hamlet, where the Gariſon behav'd themſelves ſo manfully, that after two Months time loſt, he was ſo happy as to receive an Order to attend the King before *Mompellier*, which gave him an honourable Occaſion to raiſe his Siege.

Chatillon made Marſhal of France.

Among ſeveral Perſons of Quality that laid their Bones in the Approches of *Mompelier*, the Duke of *Fronſac*, a young Gentleman of great hopes; and the only Son of the Duke of St. *Paul* was ſlain; and his Death had like to have bin revenged by a Maſſacre of the Reformed. For the People of *Orleans* of-

r'd to the Count of St. *Paul*, their Governour, to avenge the death of his Son upon the Reformed, their Fellow-Citizens; 1622.
Sedition at Orleans.
d he had much ado to put a ſtop to their Fury, upon his refal of their inſolent Offers. But when the Corps of the young rince was carri'd to *Fronſac*, where he was to be entomb'd, e Catholics could not be hinder'd from ſacrificing ſeveral of e Reformed to his Ghoſt, notwithſtanding the preſence of e Count of St. *Paul* himſelf, whoſe menial Servants join'd emſelves with the Catholics. Nor were they ſuppreſs'd, till ey had in ſome meaſure appeas'd their bellowing Rage with e Atonements of Blood and Plunder. However the Count, ſhew that he by no means approv'd ſuch Acts of Violence, u'd one or two to be hang'd. Nevertheleſs, I know not hat excuſe he could make for his Indulgence to his Servants, hoſe puniſhment would have bin much more exemplary, then at of any one cull'd out of the multitude. But the Sedition *Lion* could not be ſo ſoon pacifi'd, where it brake forth moſt olently upon the 27th of *September*. It began among the bble, intermix'd with Lacqueys, who ſeeing a Reformed paſs ng in the Piazza of the Grey Friers, where he liv'd, began abuſe him, but he made his eſcape to a Neighbour's houſe. owever, his Goods were plunder'd and burnt; at what time me others of the Reformed croſſing the Piazza in like manr, were ſet upon, and moſt injuriouſly handl'd by the ſame *mult*. There was then a certain new word, which was beme in faſhion, and which the Catholics had always in their ouths, when they had a mind to affront one of the Reformed. he word *Huguenot* was grown ſo ſtale, that they were acſtom'd to it; and many very prudent and moderate People ade uſe of it as a word equivalent to that of *pretended Reormed*. But inſtead of that, they afterwards invented anoer, which the Rabble ſwallow'd with extraordinary greedi-ls. This was the pleaſing Nickname of *Parpaillots*; the Oriinal of which word lies very obſcure. Some aſſert, that e firſt time it was made uſe of, was at the Siege of *Clairac*. he Gariſon, ſay they, made a Sally one night, and to the end ey might diſtinguiſh each other in the medley, they put their irts over their Cloaths; which made the King's Soldiers, by whom

The Original of Parpaillots.

1622. whom they were repuls'd, give 'em the Nickname of *Parpaillots*, because that under that dress, they resembl'd Butterflies which have white wings, and of which there were great numbers flying about the Fields at that time: For the Vulgar in Guienne and *Languedoc* call those little Insects *Parpaillets*, or *Parpaillots*. This word being pronounc'd by some in view of the Soldiers as they march'd out of *Clairac*, was taken up by others and in a moment spread over the whole Army; from whence it flew over all the Kingdom where the Soldiers were quarter'd. Nor were there many places in *France* where this word was more in use then at *Paris*, and it miss'd but very little of being as common in *Guyenne*; which renders that Province the most likely place from whence the word was first of all deriv'd.

Others refer it to some Surprizes of the Reformed, who either innocently or imprudently fell into the Snares that were laid for 'em. And some making the Original of this word almost as ancient as the Civil Wars, refer it to the simplicity of the Reformed Chieftains, who went to *Paris* under the Pretence of the Marriage of the Prince of *Navarre*, to lay themselves at the mercy of their Enemies. For that upon the Massacre which ensu'd, they were compar'd by those People who insulted over their Credulity, to Butterflies, that fly of themselves to burn in the Candle. And because the Comparison might first of all perhaps be made by some one that liv'd in the Country where those Insects are call'd *Parpaillots*, therefore the *Gascon* word was retain'd, in derision, rather then the *French*. There are others who derive the word, with probability enough, from the white *Mandillions* which the Reformed wore in the first Wars; more especially in that which the Prince of *Conti* began, by his attempt upon *Meux*. Those white *Mandillions* behav'd themselves so well at the Battel of *Paris*, in the judgment of the *Turkish* Envoy, who beheld the Combat from the walls of the City, that he wish'd his Master but Six thousand such as they, to subdue the whole world. That sort of Habit was the reason that they were call'd *Papillons*, or *Parpaillots*, in *English* Butterflies, in regard their best men came from that Province where that word is in use. These Derivations might seem natural

atural enough, were it certain that the word was known long before the Wars of *Lewis* XIII. But ſome derive it from an Original leſs noble, and ſay, that among thoſe who were executed after the taking of Towns, ſome poor Wretch or other at the time of his approaching death, with an aſſurance that his Soul, ſo ſoon as it parted from the Body, ſhould fly to Heaven, made uſe of the compariſon of a *Papillon* or Butterfly; which being ridicul'd by the Spectators, they took an occaſion from thence, to call all the Reformed *Parpaillots*, or *Butterflies*. 1622.

However it were, certain it is, that the Reformed were highly offended at this Nickname; nor did they look upon the word *Huguenot* as half ſo great an Affront. And indeed there are two things of which it is equally difficult to give a reaſon; the Original of certain words, which of a ſudden become univerſally in uſe, though no body can tell either who was the Author, or what was the occaſion; and the *Idea* of the Injury which People believe attends the uſe of 'em.

Thus the word *Huſt* in *Normandy* was a Reproach which the vulgar ſort of People threw upon the Reformed. Nevertheleſs, the word in it ſelf has no ſignification, and concerning the Original of which, I never could hear but ridiculous Stories without any probability; however the word was lookt upon as very ſeditious. And I have ſeen Petitions preſented to the Magiſtrates, which have produc'd Informations, Sentences and Decrees of Parlament, which forbid the uſe of that word, the onely Crime mention'd in the Complaint. *Of the word* Huſt.

'Twas the ſame thing with the word *Parpaillot*, of which the Reformed complain'd as of a heinous Injury, though perhaps they would have found it a hard task to have told what was ſo offenſive in it, unleſs it were that they from whoſe foul mouths it came, ſpoke it with a deſign to affront 'em.

The Reformed then being aſſail'd at *Lion* by that ſeditious Rabble, were, among other foul language, call'd *Parpaillots*, and threaten'd with the Halter. To which, while ſome were a little too forward to return as good as the other brought, they inflam'd the fury of thoſe that were already ſufficiently heated, and whoſe number was already ſwell'd to three or four thouſand, by the concourſe of Lacqueys, Children, and the Rifraff *Violence of the Seditious*

1622. of the People; so that at last, they broke into the houses of the Reformed, plunder'd whatever was of value, burnt what they could not carry away, beat, wounded and kill'd several of those that fell into their hands. This Fury lasted three days; neither the Magistrates, nor the Governor being able to stop the Career of those Violences. And yet, to say the truth, considering the condition the City was in at that time, they must needs have bin very remiss, or else it ne're could have bin so difficult a matter to have reduc'd that *Canaille* to reason. For *d'Alincourt*, the Governor of the City, had his Guards, the City was divided into Quarters, which had every one their Captains and their Streamers, and could have easily rais'd men enow to have dispers'd those Rakehells. The Queen and the Queen-mother were both at *Lion*, together with the Bishop of *Luson*, soon after made a Cardinal, with some Soldiers to guard 'em. But at *Lion*, as well as at *Paris*, they were much afraid of spilling Catholic Blood. Otherwise, they might have drawn together a little Army able to have done much more, then stop the Insolence of a handful of Lacqueys. But they would not take any other course to suppress the Mutineers then by Remonstrances; and perhaps they would not have put themselves to the trouble of giving 'em any molestation, had they not bin afraid lest the Rabble, having once tasted the sweets of Pillage, should have flown upon the Catholics, after they had got what they could from the Reformed. All the severity of the Magistrate went no farther then to place Guards in some places, and to threaten some of the most tumultuous to send 'em to Prison. At length indeed the Queenmother caus'd herself to be carried to the place where the disorder was most violent, and then the seditious Rout, already almost aweary, began to retire. But there was no body punisht for all this Insolence but the Reformed; for instead of giving 'em satisfaction, *d'Alincourt* disarm'd 'em. Nor was there any care taken to revenge the death of those that were massacr'd, or to repair the damages of those who had bin plunder'd and burnt. Nay, they were made believe, they had a great Favour done 'em, that so much care had bin taken to prevent their being torn in pieces by the multitude. As for the Catholics, there were some indeed committed

The Reformed disarm'd.

Prison, but releas'd agen in a few days after, without either Fine, or any other punishment. The only harm that was done em, was only their being forbid to use the word *Parpaillot* for the future. A little violent Rhetoric would have made these Acts of Injustice look very odious. And had the Reformed happen'd to have done such a thing in the very sight of both their Queens, all the blood in their bodies would not have suffic'd to have expiated their Crime. 1622.

While the King lay before *Mompelier*, the Count of *Soissons* press'd hard upon *Rochel* by Land, and the Duke of *Guise* by Sea; and that potent City was every way hard beset. The Count laid the Foundations of *Fort Lewis*, which was like to prove a great Annoyance to it, in regard it commanded the Channel; so that the Sea was no longer open to her, nor could she be reliev'd on that side but with great difficulty. Nevertheless the Assembly stood their ground, and issu'd forth the best Orders they could for the support of the common Cause. They held Correspondences in several places, and sometimes some of the Nobility, and some Soldiers of good Note, got into the City to defend it. However, several of their Enterprises had no success; and though *Rochel* had bin the occasion of sufficient damages to the Royal Army and Navies both by Sea and Land, she was at last reduc'd to fight for her own Walls. The Duke of *Soubise*, after the Overthrow he had receiv'd, went into *England*, and left no Stone unturn'd to procure some considerable Succor from the King; but that Prince, always obstinate in his Maxims, would not hear a word of it, but forbid his Subjects to assist the Reformed, whom he made no scruple to call Rebels. Nevertheless he offer'd his Intercession with the King of *France*, for obtaining a tolerable Peace between him and his Subjects. In short, he order'd his Ambassadors to make their business, as he had done before, when *Montauban* was besieg'd, where *Hay* his Envoy had already made some Overtures; and when the Conditions were resolv'd upon as a ground work for entring into a Treaty, he earnestly prest the Duke of *Rohan* and the *Rochellers* to submit to 'em. In the mean time the *English* were not of his mind as to the War of *France*: for they gave such considerable Assistance to the Duke

Soubise *sollicits for Succor in England.*

1622. *Soubise*, that he got together a Fleet of ten or twelve Sail, laden with all things necessary for the relief of *Rochel*. But that Fleet was unfortunately cast away in the Harbor before it set Sail; so that when the Duke came to take shipping, he found nothing but the ruins of his warlike Preparations, and all the marks of a terrible Shipwrack.

But before *Mompelier*, things did not succeed according to the King's Wishes. The City held out stoutly; the Season spent apace; and the ill success of the Siege of *Montauban* was not forgot; and though on the one side, the Reformed had reason to fear that the King at last would take the City; on the other hand, the King had as much reason to believe that he should be forc'd to lose all his labour, and go without it. These Fears, on both sides, bent their Inclinations to Peace: but the Prince of *Condé* would by no means so much as hear talk of it; and therefore the design of concluding it, was to be kept private from him. *Lesdiguieres*, created Constable but a little before, undertook the Negotiation once again, and after several Obstacles surmounted, which had like, several times, to have dash'd the whole Negotiation to pieces, at length it was decreed, and the Constable came to the Army to put a final end to it. One of those things which occasion'd the greatest trouble, was that the King would needs enter into the City, and that the Inhabitants were afraid that if they did admit him, he would make 'em pay dear for the Expences of so long a Siege. Nevertheless, the King disdaining to promise one of his Cities, by a formal Treaty, that he would not have entrance into it, there was a necessity of endeavouring to perswade the Inhabitants to submit. To this purpose the Duke of *Rohan* had leave to enter, and make the Proposal to the Citizens. He did so; but whether he undertook that Commission rather to inform himself of the true state of the Town, then to perswade the People to a good liking of the Proposal; or whether it were, that he could not remove out of their minds the fear of being made a new Example of the Infidelities of the Court, he return'd, without being able to obtain the Consent of the City to admit the King. Upon that, he promis'd to send 'em Relief, because the Town was in great want of men: but he met with so ma-

y difficulties, after the Duke of *Vendome*'s and the Conſtable's 1622.
hen were arriv'd in the King's Camp, that at length he reſolv'd
pon a Peace.

Thereupon it was concluded in deſpight of the Prince of *Conde*, who for madneſs, to ſee that he had ſo little Credit, and that an Affair of ſuch Importance ſhould be conceal'd from his knowledge, quitted the Court, and travell'd into *Italy*. On the other ſide, the Duke of *Rohan*, with the Commiſſioners of *Cevennes*, *Nimes*, and *Uſez*, came to *Mompellier*; and the 19th of *October* the Edict of Peace was publiſh'd in the Camp before *Mompellier*. This Edict was ſet forth in the Form of a Pardon, wherein the King, before all things, took care to aſſert the Juſtice of his Arms taken up againſt the Reformed; whoſe Rebellions he aſcrib'd to the Artifices of thoſe who thought to make advantage of their Simplicity, and the Troubles of the State; and he took God to witneſs that his Intention had always bin to procure the Peace and Welfare of his Subjects. After which, he declar'd that he had granted a Peace upon the humble Petitions and Supplications of the Reformed, who had beſought it by their Commiſſioners ſent on purpoſe, together with a Pardon for their Offences. By this Peace he confirm'd the Edicts not only of the deceaſed King, but his own. He likewiſe confirm'd the Secret Articles; but he added the word *Enregiſter'd*, wherein he had an Aim that nobody miſtruſted; and which was afterwards the foundation of many Cavils. He reſtled the *Roman* Religion in ſeveral places where the exerciſe of it had bin interrupted, and reſtor'd to the Eccleſiaſticks their Tenths, their Revenues, and their Houſes. He alſo re-eſtabliſh'd the Reformed Religion in places where it had bin diſturb'd by the War. He ordain'd that the Cities remaining in the hands of the Reformed, preſerving their ancient Fortifications, ſhould demoliſh their new ones; for which they gave Hoſtages; and he forbid the fortifying of any place, under any pretence whatever. He extended the benefit of the Peace to all thoſe that would ſubmit in fifteen days after publication of the Edict. He put down all Politic Aſſemblies, if they were not authoriz'd by his Expreſs Permiſſion; but he conſented to their holding Conſiſtories,

The Treaty concluded with an Edict.

Collo-

1622. Colloquies and Synods, according to custome, provided that nothing were handl'd therein but meerly Ecclesiastical Affairs. He granted an Act of Oblivion for all that had happen'd since the first of *January* 1621, as full, and with the same Restrictions as that which had been granted by the 76th, 77th, and 86th Articles of the *Edict of* Nantes. He added a particular Amnesty for what had happen'd at *Privas*, wherein he comprehended *Brison*, who had been the Author of those Commotions, and who had kept his ground there ever since the beginning of the year. As for the Accompts, and the Sentences or Decrees that had bin issu'd out against the Reformed who had born Arms, they were regulated according to the Articles of the Edict of *Nantes*, that mention'd the same things; and the Judgments pronounc'd between Persons of their Party by the Judges setled in the Provinces by Authority of the Chieftains, were confirm'd; the Prisoners on both sides were releas'd without Ransom. All Persons of what quality soever were restor'd to their Estates, their Dignities and Employments. The observation of this Edict was regulated according to the Form prescrib'd by the 82d Article of *Nantes*; and the King promis'd to send Commissioners into the Provinces to see it duly executed.

Right of Parliaments.

This Edict free'd from much trouble a great many Persons, against whom the Parlament had issu'd forth very severe Decrees, which were put in execution without mercy. Thus the Unfortunate *Lessius*, who had been proscrib'd at the beginning of the Troubles, not being able to escape his being surpriz'd at *Bourdeaux*, was put to death, in pursuance of a Decree set forth against him the 18th of *May*. For they thought it more proper and more agreeable to their nature, to look upon his Actions as Acts of Rebellion against his Prince, then effects of Zeal for his Religion and Countrey. He was suspected for one of those who had a great share in the Intrigues of the Reformed, and they coupl'd him with *Chamier*, who was slain at the Siege of *Montauban*, and *Hautefontaine*, who liv'd with the Duke of *Rohan*. The Parliament of *Rennes* no less violent then that of *Bourdeaux*, had upon the 10th of the same Month issu'd forth a most terrible Decree against the Marquels

Luce, and *le Noir* his Miniſter. They condemn'd 'em for Con- 1622.
tumacy to the * *Amende Honorable*, and to be drawn by four Horſes. Their Poſterity was degraded, and declared Peaſants: *de la Luce*'s Houſes and Caſtle were demoliſh'd, and his Wood cut down to the eighth of a Man. Moreover, their Goods were confiſcated, and themſelves fin'd the Sum of Ten thouſand *Livres*, and Six thouſand *Livres* to be beſtow'd upon ſome Churches and Monaſteries. *La Luce* was alſo levell'd with the Earth; though in Decrees of Contumacy the Proceedings were not wont to be ſo ſwift: But in regard the perſons condemn'd were out of the Parlament's reach, they were diſcharg'd for an Execution in Effigie. There were alſo ſeveral other very Rigorous Decrees according to the Paſſionate Humour of the Parlaments, which were to take cognizance of the Parties accus'd. Nay, the Duke of *Rohan* himſelf had bin declar'd a State-Criminal by a particular Decree made on purpoſe. However they ſpar'd him, while the Conſtable *de Luines* liv'd; but after his death a Declaration was publiſh'd againſt the Duke and his Adherents; yet though it came forth 27th of *December* of the preceding year, it was not verify'd till the fourth of *July*, 1622. So that the Duke bore Arms above a year againſt the King, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral Places, reliev'd *Montauban*, and committed all manner of Hoſtilities all the while, before he was declar'd a Rebel.

* *That is, to walk barefoot and bare-headed through the Street with a burning Taper in their hands to ſome publick place, and there to acknowledg their Offence.*

This Peace prov'd very honourable for the Duke of *Rohan*, who notwithſtanding that the Reformed had loſt about fourſcore Towns, was yet in a condition to gain a General Peace, which the King had refus'd at the Siege of *Montauban*; but the Private Articles were ſtill more to his advantage then the General. The remaining Places were left in the hands of the Reformed, not under the Title of Security, Marriage or Hoſtage, but by way of free Gift, and voluntary Conceſſion; which did not only alter the name, not the thing. 'Tis true, that the King would no longer tye himſelf to pay the Gariſons, nor what was due for the time paſt, as the Sums promis'd either by himſelf, or his Father, for the Salaries of the Miniſters:

The Advantage of the Peace.

Yet

1622. Yet he gave 'em ſome hopes that he would pay 'em for the future: But that Article was ill obſerv'd as well as the reſt.

By a particular *Brevet*, the King promis'd that he would neither keep any Gariſon, nor erect any Citadel at *Montpellier*; that the City ſhould remain in the Cuſtody of the Conſuls; and that there ſhould be no Innovation, other then the demoliſhing of the new Fortifications: which Breif was deliver'd to the Duke of *Rohan*, who lodg'd it in the Conſul's hands. By other Breifs, permiſſion was given that *Rochel* and *Montauban* ſhould preſerve their Fortifications in the ſame condition as they ſtood; and that the Works about *Nimes*, *Caſtres*, *Uſez*, and *Milhau*, ſhould be but half demoliſh'd. But when that Article about the demoliſhing of the Fortifications came to be put in execution, notice was giv'n to the Parlament of *Thoulouſe*, that the Reformed went to work after ſuch a manner that by diſmantling their Cities, they made 'em better and ſtronger then before: ſo that upon the 14th of *December* there came forth a Decree, which forbid thoſe counterfeit diſmantlings: which was the reaſon that that ſame Article of the Edict was laid aſide, and the places left in the ſame condition as the Peace found 'em.

Nor did the Parlament verify the Edict of Peace but with ſeveral Qualifications. The Parlament of *Paris*, inſtead of the words, *Cities of the pretended Reformed Religion*, put in, *Cities held by thoſe of the pretended Reformed Religion*: and in the room of the words, *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*, they alter'd 'em into, *Affairs concerning the Regulations of the ſaid pretended Reformed Religion*. Theſe petty Niceties however diſplay'd no ſigns of Embitterment: But the Parlament of *Bourdeaux* laid about 'em with the ſame paſſionate Fury as they had ſhewn during the Frenzies of the League. They verifi'd the Edict, without approving any other then the Catholic Religion, or admitting the words *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*. They ordain'd that the diſmantling of their Towns ſhould be continu'd, till it were thoroughly finiſh'd: that ſuch Judgments as were in favour of the Catholics, ſhould ſtand good; but that thoſe which were advantageous to the Reformed, ſhould be revokable upon a bare Petition; and that no Foreigners ſhould be capable of being Miniſters in the King-

dom.

om. Theſe affected Severities in the Verification of an Edict, 1622.
ight well be lookt upon as a Preſage, that the Repoſe which it
ontributed to the Kingdom, would not be of long conti-
uance.

Nevertheleſs, all the Cities which had join'd together in the *All the Cities accept the Peace.*
ommon Cauſe, accepted of the Peace, though there were
me that were afraid of the Conſequence. *Privas*, and *Briſon*,
ho had held it out, notwithſtanding the Conqueſts which *Cha-*
lon had ſuffer'd the Duke of *Mommorency* to make in the
eighbouring parts, came in upon the general Conditions.
ontauban proud of having held out a Siege where the King
as in perſon, and of preſerving her Fortifications as a Tro-
y of her Victory, accepted the Conditions alſo. *Rochel* preſt
Sea and Land, and fearing to be aſſailed by the whole
rength of the Kingdom, if ſhe refus'd the Conditions pro-
os'd, ſubmitted to the Count of *Soiſſons*, who commanded the
ing's Forces that attacqu'd her. However, the Duke of *Guiſe*,
ough well inform'd that the Peace was concluded, adventur'd
engage the Fleet of that City; and becauſe he could not
d out a way to excuſe that Action, which coſt a great deal
Blood on both ſides, 'twas given out that *Rochel* knew it as
ell as he, and that ſhe would not have accepted the Peace,
d ſhe got the better. To ſay truth, her loſs was not ſo great,
t that ſhe was ſtill in a condition to appear formidable. And
may be ſaid, that her damage conſiſted in this, that the leaſt
des of a City, that has no other aſſiſtance to truſt to but her
n, are always conſiderable, rather then in her receiving any
eat harm by the King's Fleet. But after the tidings of the
ace, all Acts of Hoſtility ceas'd, and the City thought her
lf deliver'd from all her fears of a long Siege. *Uſez*, *Nimes*,
ilhau, all the reſt of the Cities obey'd, and flatter'd themſelves
ith ſeeing the Edicts better obſerv'd for the future, then hitherto
ey had bin.

But Catholic Zeal had not yet alter'd her Characters: nor *Ill obſerv'd by the Court.*
as it lawful for the Council to make a Peace of that nature,
t with a reſolution to violate it. One of the firſt effects of
e Infidelity of the Court, was her defrauding the moſt part of
e Deſerters of the common Cauſe, and denying 'em the Re-

1622 compences which had bin promis'd em; for the performance o
which Promiſes they never had bin urgent. The King though
that the Peace which he had granted to all the Reformed ha
diſingag'd him from the Promiſes which he had made to parti
cular men, meerly to retain 'em in their obedience. Nor woul
many People have murmur'd at this piece of Infidelity, had the
ſtopp'd there: and it was agreed on all ſides, that they who ha
ſold for ready money, the Towns that were the ſecurity of the
Religion and their Conſciences, deſerv'd no better uſage: bu
the Court-Deſigns ſoon after broke out into Frauds of highe
importance. For they had promis'd the *Rochelois* to demoliſh
the Fort which the Count of *Soiſſons* had built, to curb and an
noy the City. But they were ſo far from obſerving that Ar
ticle, that the Fort was not finiſh'd till after the Peace was made
nor could all the Complaints of the *Rochellois* obtain any
other then feigned Commands to demoliſh it; of which
they to whom they were ſent, had private Orders to take n
notice.

Among the ſecret Conditions which were granted to the City
of *Mompelier*, there was a Promiſe made to the Inhabitants, tha
the King ſhould not enter with above four Colours of Foo
which ſhould march out back again with him. To elude which
Promiſe, the whole Regiment of Guards was order'd to enter
under no more then four Colours, unworthily abuſing the am
biguous ſignification of the word; though, as time has made
it out, the word *Colours* or *Enſign*, ſignifies much more uſually
in common ſpeech, a Company of Soldiers marching under on
Enſign, then the Colours or Enſign it ſelf. But they carri'd th
Fraud yet higher; and to enforce the Inhabitants to ſuffer
Gariſon 'twas thought fit to demand Hoſtages of 'em, for ſecu
rity of the Commiſſioners which the King intended to leav
there, under pretence of looking after the demoliſhing of th
Fortifications: and the number of Hoſtages was ſo great, o
which there muſt be ſo many that had no kindneſs for the Court
or well affected to the Reformed Religion, that they were
equally terrifi'd with the choice and the number. Beſides, that
Propoſal was made 'em with ſuch an air, as made it ſufficient ſ
apparent that Hoſtages were demanded of 'em to no other pur-
poſe

oſe, then to make 'em redeliver the Breif which exempted 'em 1622.
om admitting a Gariſon, and which made 'em afraid that if
ey did not provide for themſelves, they ſhou'd be forc'd not
nly to give Hoſtages, but receive a Gariſon alſo. At laſt ſome
eople, who had bin none of the moſt zealous during the War,
ected a ſervile compliance with the good-will and pleaſure
the Court, in hopes of reconciling themſelves to the King,
d made it their buſineſs with great fervency to diſcourage
ers, ſo that they accepted a Gariſon, and thought it their du-
to receive it, though they had a mortal reluctancy againſt it,
if it had bin a favour done 'em to abuſe and then laugh at 'em.
Nor did the Court ſtop here; the Conſulſhip of *Mompelier*
as intermix'd half Catholics, half Proteſtants, and a Citadel
oreover erected.

In the mean time the King return'd to *Paris*, and in his march *The King return to* Paris.
ok from the Reformed all thoſe places which were under their
overnment. The Conſtable, though he were turn'd Catho-
, could hardly preſerve his own in the Dauphinate. Nay,
had bin deſpoil'd of 'em, had not his Son-in-law, *Crequi*, pro-
s'd to reſign 'em after his death. The Adviſer of theſe tart
oceedings was *Puiſieux*, who began to grow into favour. The
ath of the Cardinal *de Retz*, who poſſeſs'd a great ſhare of
e Royal Authority, and the abſence of the Prince of *Condé*,
o ſhar'd another part, gave him an opportunity to engroſs
e whole; and as if the King had bin weary of governing alone,
reſign'd himſelf up almoſt without any limitations, into the
nds of this new Favourite. The *Spaniards* had already got
e Aſcendant over him, and had infus'd into him their own
litics. The Court of *Rome*, which at that time acted only
Concert with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſupported thoſe Foreign
axims to the utmoſt of their Power: ſo that *Puiſieux*, full of
neration for thoſe two Potentates, did nothing but with a
ſign to render himſelf their Minion, and who was therefore
ly guided by their Counſels. And indeed till then there was
certain kind of Fatality which intangl'd the Favourites in
reign Intereſts: As if they could have erected their Gran-
ur upon a better Foundation, by correſponding with an Ene-

1622. mies Court, then upon the good-will of their Sovereign, and the prosperity of his Affairs.

The Bishop of Luson made a Cardinal.

But this Favour lasted not long; for while it seem'd to be almost Battery proof, there was an Alteration prepar'd for him which no body suspected in the least: For the Queen Mother had not quench'd as yet her violent thirst of Rule; and in regard she had a great confidence in the Bishop of *Luson*, she us'd her utmost endeavour to advance him, perswaded that he would be so grateful for her Favours, as always to depend upon her. That Prelat had wound himself into the King's good opinion because he had more then once contributed to patch up the Differences between him and the Queen his Mother, whose restless spirit gave him cause of vexation enough: so that he was look'd upon with a favourable Aspect by both sides, and both Parties thought themselves beholding to him for what he only did to gratify his own Ambition. So that he readily obtain'd of the Queen-mother the utmost of her endeavours to put the King upon demanding a Cardinal's Cap for him; nor did the King make any great scruple to consent to her Request. Nevertheless, this Negotiation held off and on for above two years before it took effect, as being thwarted, perhaps, by those that were unwilling by so fair and proper a means to hand a man of his *Genius* into Authority. But the Sollicitation was redoubl'd this year so luckily and so effectually, that the Pope granted the Cap to this Bishop at the beginning of *September*. As for the Bishop, he had waited the success of the Nomination with extraordinary Impatience, despairing almost of success, by reason that *Puisieux* seem'd to him a dreadful Enemy and such an one in whose power it was to put a stop to his Preferment, more especially because his Kinsman *Silleri* was then Ambassador at *Rome*. So that the News could not chuse but be a pleasing Surprize to him.

The Character of that Prelat.

Nor could the towring *Genius* of that Prelat hinder him from being extremely sensible of the Impressions of unexpected Events, and he was no less prone to commit great Absurdities, when he had not time to compose himself. Never was any man less the Master of his first Transports. But he was so lucky, that he easily got time enough to recollect himself; and he was so dextrous

dextrous, that he never let the opportunity ſlip. So that he ſeem'd to have a heart that nothing could ſurprize, and which was equally provided againſt all Accidents. I ſhall here relate what was told me upon this occaſion, by one of the moſt conſiderable perſons in the Court of *France*. There was at the Court of *Savoy* a *French* Gentleman who had bin forc'd to quit that of *France*, by reaſon of ſome diſtaſte which he had given to the Biſhop of *Luſon*. That Gentleman, who paſſionately ſought all means to be reconcil'd to the Biſhop, was in the Duke of *Savoy*'s preſence when the Courier, who brought the News of the Promotion of Cardinals, came to preſent him with the Letters: which were immediately open'd by reaſon of the Curioſity, which is common to all Courts, to know the names of thoſe whom the Pope has advanc'd to that Dignity: and then it was that the Prince read aloud the names of four who had a ſhare in that Honour. But then the Gentleman hearing the Biſhop of *Luſon*'s name, began to conſider with himſelf, whether if he ſhould be the firſt that carri'd him the tidings, it might not be enough to reſtore him to his favour: and thereupon finding he had time enough to get before the Courier, he took Horſe immediately, and made ſuch ſpeed, that he got to *Lion* two hours before the Courier. 1622.

How he received the News of his Promotion.

Preſently away he went directly to the Biſhop's Apartment, who was no leſs ſurpriz'd at his Arrival, then to ſee him at his feet. But when he underſtood from the Gentleman the News of his Promotion, and how he came by his Intelligence, he abandon'd himſelf to ſuch an exceſs of Joy, and after ſuch an unuſual manner, as if the giving him the Cap, had depriv'd him of his Reaſon. He forgot all the gravity and *decorum* of his Character, and diſplay'd his ſatisfaction by motions and geſtures ſo unbecoming a man of his Age and Quality, that the Gentleman was more afraid of his hatred then ever, as having bin ſo unfortunate to be the Witneſs of a piece of weakneſs which the Biſhop had reaſon to be aſham'd of as long as he liv'd. But after a little time had giv'n the firſt tranſports of his Joy leave to evaporate, the Biſhop deliver'd him out of his fears, and only very ſeriouſly admoniſh'd him not to let any body know what he had ſeen, nor to appear at Court till the Courier was arriv'd.

But

1622. But though the Gentleman were very trusty in observing the last Injunction, he could no more forbear his disobedience to the latter then *Midas*'s Barber. In the mean time, the Bishop came to himself agen, and had time to compose the Disorders of his mind; so that when the Queen sent for him, to impart the welcome News to him, he receiv'd it with such a careless Hypocrisy, as if his Soul had bin above such a Transitory Dignity. That Gravity, which he had had time to study, begot him a world of Admiration, and caus'd the Courtiers to speak many things in his commendation. Thus many times in Eminent Persons, the Hits of Chance are imputed to Prudence; Prosperity is admir'd as the Architecture of the Man's Genius, and the Praises belonging to Vertue, are bestow'd upon outward Appearances.

Excessive Flatteries. The King lay then before *Mompelier* when the New Cardinal came to pay him his returns of Thanks, so that he could not give him the Bonnet till after the Peace, when he return'd to *Paris*. I would repeat the Prodigious Flatteries of those *that* harangu'd the King all along where he lay upon the Road, did I not find that the Reformed imitated the Catholics; and strove to outvy 'em in their Excesses and Hyperbole's. Nevertheless, I cannot forbear to say something of the Consul *Montelimar*, who extended the extravagance of his Style, and his Eulogies, farther then any other. He insisted upon the *Divine Aspect* and presence of the King: He attributed to him Vertues *that Heaven rever'd, and the Earth ador'd,* and a Life so holy in the midst of *Crowned Exaltation, and Royal Grandeur*, that he deserv'd *both the Altars and Sacrifices of Sacred Veneration.* These Fulsome Flatteries are either the Effects or Forerunners of Pusillanimous Servitude; and Subjects renounce their right of complaining that their Soveraign exalts his Power above Justice, when they make him more then mortal by such soaring Adulations. Which is the reason that now-a-days we find that Flattery has no bounds, where the People have lost their Liberty beyond recovery.

While the King lay at *Lion*, whither the Duke of *Rohan* follow'd him to sollicit the performance of the Treaty of Peace, the Commissioners from *Rochel* arriv'd there the same time, to obtain

gain an Order for demoliſhing *Fort Lewis*. 'Tis true, they re- 1622.
ceiv'd ſome ſhew of ſatisfaction, becauſe they had a Letter gi-
ven 'em under the Privy Signet, directed to *Arnaud* Commander
of the Fort, wherein he was order'd to level it with the ground
within eight days after the *Rochelois* had diſmantl'd ſome of
their New Fortifications. But at the ſame time there was ano-
ther Letter written, which was ſent by a ſhorter way, wherein
Arnaud was order'd to give no credit to the former Letter. So
that when the *Rochelois* deliver'd him the Letter which their
Commiſſioners had brought, they were ſcornfully us'd, and re-
turn'd without any hopes of ſatisfaction. Soon after alſo, not-
withſtanding theſe Counterfeit Letters from the Court, they
saw quite finiſh'd what remain'd to be done, in order to put-
ting the Fort into a perfect poſture of defence. On the other
ſide *Valencé*, who was left by the King in *Mompelier*, with a
conſiderable Gariſon, endeavour'd to make himſelf Maſter of
ſome places in *Cevennes*, under pretence of quartring ſome Sol-
diers that were only upon their march through the Countrey.
Upon which the Cities of *Sauve* and *Gange*, either too credulous,
or becauſe they had not ſufficient warning, gave the Soldiers ad-
mittance. But the Duke of *Rohan* took ſuch care, that the reſt
preſerv'd themſelves from being ſo ſurpriz'd.

Soon after, the Duke went to *Mompelier*, to regulate ſome 1623.
things which *Valencé*, to whom, in his return from *Lion*, he *The Duke of* Rohan *detain'd Priſoner.*
carry'd a Letter from the King which concern'd the Execution
of the Peace; But no ſooner was he enter'd the City, but *Va-*
lencé being inform'd of his Travailing by himſelf, and by conſe-
quence, having had leiſure to prepare himſelf for ſuch an
Action, ſeiz'd upon him as his Priſoner. His Pretence was,
That he was come to raiſe Commotions and that he did not
purſue the Intentions of the Court in the Execution of the Peace.
'Tis true indeed, he was not privy to the Intentions of thoſe
who never made the Peace but with a deſign to break it: He
obſerv'd the Terms of the Declaration and Briefs: But *Valencé*,
who was *Puiſieux*'s Brother-in law, better underſtood the My-
ſtery. That Miniſter had promiſ'd the Pope's *Nuntio*, That
the Peace ſhould ſerve to no other end then to ruin the Reform-
ed; and he made uſe of all the moſt palpable Frauds that could
be

1623. be devis'd, to bring it to paſs. But the news of the Duke of *Rohan*'s being detain'd a Priſoner, begat both aſtoniſhment and indignation in all the Reformed who had any thing of courage leſt; and *Soubiſe* threaten'd to renew the War. Nor was the Court leſs aſtoniſh'd at the News, then they were in the Provinces: And the boldneſs of the Action appear'd ſo great, that they were in no ſmall perplexity what courſe to take. There were ſome, who neither conſider'd the King's Honour, nor the ſcandalizing all Europe, that were for putting the Duke to death: But Moderation was thought the better way: He was releas'd upon condition he ſhould quit the City, and the Lower *Languedoc*, and execute his Commiſſion in the Upper. This Proceeding of the Court may be attributed to ſeveral Reaſons; ſome will ſay, that it was infus'd into 'em by that little reſpect they had to Honeſty and Sincerity, which would not permit 'em ſo publickly and egregiouſly to violate a Peace that had been ſo lately concluded; or becauſe they thought it not juſt, to ruin a Man of that importance as the Duke, who had done nothing which deſerv'd death, ſince the Pardon that the King had granted him. On the other ſide, it may be ſaid, That either they they had not time to examine the Conſequences of ſo violent an Action, or that they fear'd to arm againſt 'em all the Lords that had ſubmitted to the King, if they us'd the Duke after ſuch a manner as might give them juſt occaſion to be afraid of the like uſage upon the firſt opportunity that offer'd. Yet ſome have written, that none of theſe Motives induc'd the Court to releaſe the Duke, but that the Intereſt of a Ball decided the Diſpute. For the Queen had appointed one, wherein the Dutcheſs of *Rohan* was to bear a part; and every thing was ready, when the News of the Duke's Impriſonment arriv'd. Which Accident would have quite broken off the Match; and the Queen muſt either have loſt, or been forc'd to have deferr'd a Paſtime ſhe was juſt about to enjoy; which would have bin a very great diſappointment to a Princeſs of her Age: and therefore it was better to let an Enemy live, then diſturb the Pleaſures of a Young Queen. So that the Duke was more beholding for his Liberty to a Dancing Match, then to the Publick Faith.

In

In the mean time *Valence* made the beſt of this Accident : 1623.
for while he kept the Duke in Priſon, he proceeded to the Election of the Conſuls, and caus'd the one half to be choſen Catholics ; as he had already done by the Marine Conſulſhip, out of which he had taken out one half of the Reformed. Both the one and the other was againſt the expreſs terms of the Breif, by which it was promis'd that no Innovation ſhould be introduc'd into the Conſulſhip : and there is great probability that the Duke of *Rohan* would have very much obſtructed *Valence*'s Enterprize, had not the latter prevented him by Impriſonment. But when the Duke was ſet at liberty he found the thing done, and the Order which oblig'd him to retire into *Upper Languedoc*, depriv'd him both of time and means to apply any Remedy. The Reformed complain'd, that *Valence* had made uſe of Violence in the electing what Conſuls he thought fit himſelf ; and that he had kept the Conſuls that were going out of their employments, a whole night Pris'ners in his own houſe, to force their conſent to the election of Catholics. But the Court took no notice of theſe Complaints ; and all that the Duke cou'd obtain from 'em was, that *Valence* ſhou'd recall the men that he had quarter'd up and down in *Cevennes*. *Valence*'s Credit was then ſo great, that though he were no more then Governor of *Mompelier*, he was conſulted by all *Languedoc*, to know the ſecret intentions of the Court ; and that 'twas enough for him to ſay, that 'twas the King's pleaſure that ſuch or ſuch a thing ſhould be done, to have it put in execution. Orders of the ſame nature, given out of the Juriſdiction of his Government were obey'd, as if they had come from the King himſelf : and Acts, of which the purport only was, that *Valence* had written that the King's Pleaſure was ſo or ſo, have paſt in our days for definitive, in Affairs of great importance. Nevertheleſs it was both contrary to Probability and Cuſtom, that the Governor of a particular Town, ſhould be the Arbitrator of a whole Province But in Affairs of Religion, 'twas enough to authorize Fraud and Injuſtice againſt the Reformed, for a Catholic to ſay *Le Roy veut*, *'tis the King's Pleaſure*. As for the Duke of *Rohan*, when he was got clear of *Mompelier*, he went to *Milhau*, where he underſtood that the Duke of *Eſpernon*, to whom the

1623. King, a little before had giv'n the Government of *Guyenne* instead of that of *Saintonge* and *Angonnois*, went about to hinder the Cities held by the Reformed in *Rouvergne*, to elect their Consuls as they were wont to do; and that he had written to 'em not to make any new Elections, till they understood from his mouth the King's further Pleasure. But the Duke of *Rohan* explaining his Pleasure by the terms of the Peace, perswaded 'em to elect their Consuls at the usual times, and after that to send Commissioners to the Duke of *Espernon*, to know his Will. They took his Advice, and by that means preserv'd their right to keep the Catholics out of the Consulship.

several Papers.

But while things thus past in *Languedoc*, the general Commissioners, *Mommarton* and *Miniald*, who had been substituted in the rooms of *Flavas* and *Chalas*, present a Paper to the King, wherein they demanded several things necessary for the preservation of Peace. It consisted of Twenty two Heads, the substance of which was, That Commissioners should be sent into the Provinces to see the Peace duly executed; That the Garison might be remov'd out of *Mompelier*; That the Brief which promis'd there should be no Innovation, might be observ'd; That Fort *Lewis* might be demolish'd; That the Reformed who had bin condemn'd to the Gallies, might be set at liberty; That the Sums promis'd for the Ministers Salaries, for the low state of Pensions, and the payment of the Garisons, might be discharg'd both for the time past and for the future; That *Candal*, who had paid some money before-hand, might be reimburs'd; That the King should provide for the payment of the Ministers of the Country of *Gex*, to whom there had been assign'd a Fund upon the Toll-money, in recompence of the Ecclesiastical Revenues which had bin taken from 'em; That the King would be pleas'd to contribute something toward the rebuilding of the Church at *Charenton*, which was burnt down in the War-time; That he would be pleas'd to cause the Church at *Tours* to be rebuilt at his own charges, in the same place where it stood before the Sedition, according to his promise; That he would vouchsafe to let the Church of *Bourg* be rebuilt, notwithstanding that the Catholics disputed their Right to the Ruins of it; That free Exercise of their Religion might be restor'd

reſtor'd to the Reformed at *Villemur*, *Fontain*, *Luſon* and *Tal-* 1623.
mont, in which places they had carri'd their Violences ſo high againſt thoſe that went about to aſſemble together, as to level their great Guns againſt 'em; That the ſame liberty ſhould be alſo allow'd at *Surgeres*, *Bagnols*, *St. Giles's*, *Figeac*, *Puimirol*, *Vic en Armagnac*, from whence they had expell'd the Miniſter, and laſtly at *Quilleboeuf* in *Normandy*; That the Reformed of *Poitiers* might be diſcharg'd from the payment of Twelve hunder'd Livres, which had bin laid upon 'em by way of Tax for the Guard of the City, though they would not do 'em the honour to truſt 'em with it, as they did the reſt of the Inhabitants; That the Edict of Compenſation might be executed in *Bearn*, and that the Exerciſe of the Reformed Religion might be reſtor'd to the *Navarreines*; And that the Churches, Bells, Church-yards, which the Reformed enjoy'd there, by the Decree of the Commiſſioners, might be preſerv'd to 'em, ſince they had reſign'd all the reſt to the Catholics; That the Party-Chambers might ſet up again in thoſe places where they had bin reſtor'd, during the Wars; That the Reformed might be exempted from the building of Churches, to which the Catholics of *Arnai le Duc* went about to conſtrain 'em; actually proſecuting 'em at the Council-board, in order to have 'em comprehended in the raiſing Six thouſand Livres, deſign'd toward the building of a Church for the *Capuchins*; That the Church of *Remorentin*, burnt in the time of the War, and that of *Gergeau*, pull'd down ſince the Peace, might be rebuilt; That the Cities of *Berac* and *St. Foy* might be eas'd of ſeveral Grievances; And laſtly, That for the re-eſtabliſhing a mutual confidence between both Parties, the Forces left in *Languedoc*, *Cevennes*, and other places, might be disbanded

Uncertain Anſwers.

By the Anſwers that were return'd the 4th of *March* to the Heads of this Writing, there was nothing expreſly granted, but an exemption from contributing toward the building of the *Capuchins* Church, and the releaſe of thoſe who had bin condemn'd to the Gallies for having born Arms. All the reſt contain'd no more then uncertain and conditional Promiſes, or References to the Commiſſioners, who, as they were told in their Anſwer to the firſt Head, were already upon the Road. There

1623. was only a Promise, that as to the Garison of *Mompelier*, care should be taken about it, so soon as satisfaction should be given to the Edict of Peace. The Alteration made in the Marine Consulship was confirm'd, as being grounded upon the definitive Decree of the Chamber of *Castres*; and for the Consulship of the City, 'twas referr'd to the usual Forms. As to the Article about the Toll-money, and the Affairs of *Bearn*, they were referr'd to the Breif of the 24th of *October*, which promis'd to take care of those matters. The Ministers of Gex were paid with general words. As to the rebuilding of the Churches of *Tours* and *Charenton*, the Reformed were referr'd to their own care and diligence. All the Articles that mention'd any places, or demanded free Exercise of Religion, were referr'd to the Commissioners: and by a Reference of the same nature, they evaded the Article touching Fort *Lewis*. The Article about the money advanc'd before-hand by *Candal*, was referr'd to a Petition which he was left at his own liberty to present himself: as to the Twelve hunder'd Livres which the Reformed were tax'd at *Poitiers*, their Answer was to be imparted to the Sheriffs; and they promis'd to write to the Duke of *Espernon* about easing the Grievances of *Bergerac* and St. *Foy*.

But the most part of these Promises were so ill fulfill'd, that the Condition of the Reformed was never a whit the better: On the contrary, the exercise of their Religion was forbid in many other places, then those where it had bin interrupted by the War. Particularly the Duke of *Guize*, who had marry'd the Daughter of *Joyeuse* the *Capuchin*, forbid it at *Poiré*, a place depending upon the Principality of *Roche sur Yon*, which belong'd to himself. The Church grounded her Right upon a Possession well prov'd by the Terms of the Ninth Article of the Edict of *Nantes*: But then they began to demand the Consent of the Landlords, who were Catholicks, as a thing which was very necessary. So that the Parliament of *Paris* quite ruin'd that Church by their Edict of the 21st of *February*, allowing only to the Inhabitants a place for the burial of their Dead. There was also a Decree of Council, dated the sixth of *July*, which took away from the Reformed Members of the University of

Exercise of Religion forbid.

Poitiers,

Poitiers, their Right of being Rectors and Deans, of preſiding in Aſſemblies, or of having any determining Voice in thoſe where any Diſputes were handled in reference to Divine Worſhip and Eccleſiaſtical Ceremonies. There was moreover one wicked piece of Fraud in that Clauſe, which tended to exclude the Reformed out of all Aſſemblies; in regard the Catholics of the Aſſembly being oblig'd to a Proceſſion every Month, which they mention'd at the opening of all their Seſſions, they concluded from thence, that the Reformed could not give their Voices upon any of thoſe Occaſions, becauſe there was none of thoſe Aſſemblies wherein Eccleſiaſtical Ceremonies were not handl'd. There was likewiſe another Decree of Council, dated the 19th of *Auguſt*, which forbid the Reformed to ſing their Pſalms either in the Streets, or in their Shops; a Liberty which they could not aſſume ſince that, without bringing trouble upon themſelves; though many times the Catholics were aſham'd of their ſetting forth Prohibitions of that nature. The Seventh of *September* came forth a Decree of the Parlament of *Paris*, which depriv'd a Reformed Soldier of the Benefit of an * *Oblate*, which the King had granted him in the Abby of *St. Julian* at *Tours*. The Abbot oppos'd him, and a Catholick Soldier interpos'd his claim to that ſmall Penſion; by which means the Reformed Soldier was excluded by a diſadvantageous Judgment given againſt him. But that which was moſt remarkable, was the Pleading of the Advocate-General *Talon*, full of Bitter Paſſages againſt the Reformed Religion. He call'd thoſe that embrac'd it *Apoſtates* in down-right *Latin*: And to thoſe who had always made profeſſion of it, he appli'd the words of Chriſt, *It is not good to give the childrens bread to dogs.* To evade that Right to Charity and Alms, which the Edict had granted to the Reformed, he diſtinguiſh'd *Alms* into two ſorts; the one which he call'd *Alms* of Charity, and the other which he term'd, *Alms* of Precept. He pretended that the Reformed were not to be admitted to the firſt by vertue of the Edict; and that they who receiv'd the benefit of *Oblates* were of the ſecond ſort. Which was a malicious diſtinguiſhing where the Law it ſelf never made any diſtinction, and to teach others a general way to evade the moſt expreſs Intentions of the Edict, by inventing a deſtructive

1623.

* *The Benefit of a Monk's place aſſign'd a Soldier grown impotent and maim'd in the King's Service.*

1623. destructive Distinction. But every thing began to be of force against a Religion, of which they had vow'd the ruin. There were also several Decrees issu'd forth against the Authority of Fathers over the Education of their Children; and the Reason which they always alledg'd for taking away that Right, was, That in regard they had by some Expres's or Tacit Act consented that their Children should be educated by Catholics, they had renounc'd the priviledge of the Edict. This was the reason that the Advocate-General *Talon* refus'd to restore a Daughter to her Mother; because, said he, by having put her for some time into a Nunnery, she had resign'd the power of her Education.

Attempts upon Paternal Authority.

Nevertheless, these were not the greatest Acts of Injustice that were done the Reformed: I shall recite two that deserve particular consideration. The first is the Declaration which was set forth at *Fontain Bleau* the 17th of *April*, to deprive the Reformed of the Liberty of their Colloquies and Synods, which till then, were left 'em almost entire. By that Declaration it was ordain'd, that for the future, a Royal Officer, and of the *Roman* Catholic Religion, deputed by the King himself, or by the King's Governors and Lieutenants in the Provinces, should sit in those Assemblies, to take care that nothing should be there treated of, but Matters permitted by the Edict. It forbid the summoning or holding Assemblies, before the Commissioner was appointed; and commanded his admittance without any scruple or reluctancy. Which Innovation was grounded upon two Pretences: The one, that they meddl'd with Politic Affairs in their Synods; the second was, that they gave admittance to other persons besides their Ministers and Elders; and that they took Resolutions contrary to the Intentions and Opinions of the generality and most considerable of the Reformed. However, the Reformed made no opposition to a Declaration of this importance, at least they carri'd it not very far; seeing that three months after, they held Synods in all the Provinces, and summon'd a National Synod at *Charenton*, to meet the first of *September*. They thought they might, by Submissions and Petitions, discharge themselves from this Restraint, more injurious by reason of the Motives which induc'd the other Party to subject

A Declaration for giving a Commissioner in Colloquies and Synods.

National Synod.

ubject 'em to it, then inconvenient, becauſe of the neceſſity 1623.
hich lay upon 'em to expoſe to the view of the Court the Se-
ret of their Diſcipline, and the diſplay of their Policy. In a
ord, at firſt it many ways perplex'd 'em. For there were ſe-
eral Provinces where the Governors ſtarted a thouſand Diffi-
ulties about the nomination of a Commiſſioner; and took that
ccaſion to vex 'em, as moſt proper to exerciſe their malignant
nd no leſs ignorant Zeal againſt 'em. Inſomuch, that all the
Commiſſioners which arriv'd at *Charenton*, came not till after
he day appointed for the ſitting of the Aſſembly; and that
eral excus'd their ſlowneſs, as being occaſion'd by the Obſta-
les and Delays, by means of which the King's Governors and
Officers protracted the ſummoning of the Synods in their Pro-
inces.

The Commiſſioner appointed by the King for this Synod was
Auguſtus Galland, a perſon who lov'd the Reformed Religion,
nd whoſe Off-ſpring of later years have given great Teſtimo-
ies of their Zeal and Affection for the Truth. But he was one
f thoſe Reformed who made the Service of God and the King
un almoſt equally parallel; and who perſuaded themſelves
hat a blind obedience of Subjects to their Prince was eſſential
o Chriſtianity. He believ'd that Sincerity was altogether on
he Court-ſide: and he had reaſon to believe it, becauſe his Re-
gion was no hindrance to his Advancement, and his being made
Councellor of State. But he was not aware that this was but an
ffect of Policy, to cover the Deſign that was laid to ruin all; to
eap Favours upon ſome, to lull others aſleep, till they were in
condition to oppreſs all together. He therefore ſerv'd the
Court with great Affection and Conſtancy; and in regard he
drew from thence conſiderable Recompences for his good Ser-
vice, he found himſelf expos'd to the Reproaches and Indigna-
tion of his Brethren. The Commiſſion which was given him
was worded ſo, as ſeem'd to render it perpetual, and made
People conjecture that for the future there ſhould be no Natio-
nal Synods held any other-where then at *Charenton*; to the end
the Court might be more near at hand, to obſerve the Proceed-
ings of thoſe Aſſemblies. Nevertheleſs they were afterwards
permitted to be held in other places.

As

1623. As for this Synod, they receiv'd him with respectful Protestations, that they did it out of pure Obedience: to which they added some Complaints, to see their Liberty so narrowly confin'd, and the Synods accus'd of going beyond their permitted Limits, by medling with other Affairs then their Church-Discipline, and they decreed to make their humble Remonstrances to the King upon these Heads. The general Commissioners declar'd, that they had done what lay in their power to hinder the registring of the Declaration, which had bin drawn up and publish'd without any regard to what they had represented; though their Importunities had put off the verification of it for above a month. After this, they sent their Commissioners to the King, to return him thanks for his permission. The Commissioners were kindly receiv'd, and enjoin'd to assure the Synod of the King's good-will, if they continu'd in their Obedience. But he charg'd 'em by word of mouth to carry back two things. One, That the King was willing to tolerate such Foreign Ministers as were already admitted, but that he would not that any more should be admitted for the future. The other was, That he took it ill that they had resolv'd to uphold the Doctrine decided in the Synod of *Dort*, which he call'd a new Doctrine, which he would not afford his protection. To which the Commissioners return'd for answer, That that Doctrine was the same with their Confession of Faith. Whereupon Reply was made, That the King left the judgment of their Doctrine to themselves, nor would he concern himself with it; but that he did not understand the making any person swear to another man's Faith, or that any man should be depriv'd his liberty of believing what Faith he pleas'd; so that in those times there was a great latitude allow'd to Liberty of Conscience.

He is admitted in Obedience to the King.

They send Commissioners to the King.

Who return laden with Orders.

The Court inclin'd to favour the Arminians.

It may be wonder'd from whence it should proceed, that the Court was so inclin'd to favour the *Arminians*. 'Tis not probable certainly, that they had any other reason then to make some great division, by giving free course to a Doctrine which had created so wide a chasm in the *Low Countries*. Besides the *Arminians*, who saw themselves quell'd and born down by the censure of their Doctrine, flatter'd the several Potentates, in hopes to raise themselves by means of their Protection, if it were pos-

sible.

ible. *Tilenus* proceeded to very great extremities upon this subject against the Reformed of *France*. He wrote against 'em upon all occasions, without any moderation or curb upon himself. Besides his Admonition to the City of *Rochel*, which he publish'd in 1621. he printed the next year an Answer to a Treatise which was attributed to *la Milletiere*, and which was entitl'd, *A Discourse of the true Reasons for which the Reformed of* France *both may and ought, in good Conscience, resist, by force of Arms, the open Persecution with which they are oppress'd.* The Author of that Discourse, after he has cited the History of *Brochard Baron*, which I have mention'd in another place, compares the Edict of *Cyrus* in favour of the *Jews* to that of *Nantes*; those who exclaim'd against the first, to those that ruin'd the second; the Calumnies of those that sought to render *Cyrus* jealous of *Jerusalem*, to those that were made use of against the Protestant Cities. He distinguish'd the ancient and natural Subjects from those who had bin subdu'd. He asserted, That if the Rights of the latter could be grounded upon no other then upon Concessions and Favours; the Immunities of the other were founded upon a relative Obligation of the King to his Subjects, and of the Subjects to their Sovereign. He said, that *Henry* IV. was bound to grant the Edict of *Nantes* by a twofold Obligation: the one Personal, which oblig'd him to preserve those who had preserv'd himself: the other Royal, which engag'd him to maintain the Liberties of those who had supported his Crown. After this, he justifi'd the taking of Arms, and that there is sometimes a Reason for lawful Self-defence, upon which he forgot not to enforce the example of the *Maccabees*. He answer'd the contrary Arguments, and shew'd that the War proceeded from the Pope and his Maxims. He concluded with the necessity of expelling the Jesuits out of *France*, as they had bin driven out of *Venice*, and accus'd 'em of the King's death, and several other Assassinations. 1623.

Writing of la Milletiere.

Tilenus answer'd this Discourse by a Writing, wherein excepting the Portraicture which he gives of *Milletiere*, which is natural enough, it may be said that he had neither sincerity nor judgment. And a man may judge of it, by the ridiculous Answer which he gives to the Example of the *Maccabees*, and which he

Answer of Tilenus

1623. thought to evade by saying, that the History that relates it was held at *Geneva* for Apocriphal, as if neither Examples or Reasons avail'd any thing in point of Policy or Right, if the Books out of which they were taken were not Canonical. Moreover, he makes an Apology for the Jesuits which justifies the Assassination of Kings: and with the audaciousness of a Missionary, he revives the reproach of having suborn'd *Simon de Mar*, hang'd at *Paris* for other Crimes, to attempt the murder of *Katherine de Medicis*. Nor did he forget *Poltrot*, who assassinated the Duke of *Guise*; and fain would have one *Philip de Colombault*, Sieur *de Varcieux*, executed at *Paris* in the Court of the Palace, without any noise, and without expressing the cause, to be a Ruffian of the same stamp; grounding his Conjecture upon the privacy observ'd in his execution. He also spends a great deal of time, to prove that Kings are not bound to observe the Laws. Nor does he spare for Testimonies and Examples; and disingangles himself from the Testimonies on the other side, by saying, That a Prince is bound to go according to the Laws; but if he breaks 'em, it is not lawful to resist him: which is as much as to say in a word, that nothing obliges Sovereigns to the observance of the most sacred Laws; seeing there is no lawful means to defend the Laws in opposition to their violence, when they break 'em. Whence it follows, that every man who submits himself to a King, plainly renounces his own safety, since he only grounds it upon Equity and Probity; for which, it may so happen many times, that neither the Prince nor Counsellors have any regard. 'Tis for the People to consider whether such Politics as these are convenient for 'em.

Above all things, *Tilenus* advances the Authority of the Kings of *France* to the highest degree. The Emperor's Authority, in his Opinion, was much more limited. Nevertheless all that the most powerful of Kings have ever aim'd at, has bin to be *Emperors in their own Dominions*; and those Lawyers who attribute the highest power to 'em, say nothing more of it. But that which might, beyond all this, encline the Court to protect the *Arminian* Theology, was the Imposture supported against the Synod of *Dort*: For they made *France* believe, that the secret Design of that Assembly, was to form a Protestant League to

Imposture advanc'd against the Synod of Dort.

o deſtroy the Church of *Rome*. *Tilenus* alſo reveal'd this im- 1623.
portant Myſtery in his writing, and from thence concludes, That
he King did very well not to permit the Miniſters of his King-
om to go thither: as if ſuch a great Affair could not have bin
eſolv'd upon for want of *French* Miniſters. It may be judg'd
y theſe little Remarks what kind of Anſwer *Tilenus*'s was;
nd at the ſame time, why the Court of *France* ſeem'd ſo averſe
o the Doctrine of that Synod.

The Obedience of the Synod of Charenton

But I return to that of *Charenton*. They reſolv'd upon a punctual Obedience in reference to the two Articles, of which their Commiſſioners made their Report, reſerving to themſelves he liberty of addreſſing to the King for his permiſſion, when hey had a deſire to ſend for any Foreign Miniſter. As for the Doctrine decided in the Synod of *Dort*, they order'd it to be worn to under the name of the Doctrine of the Synod of *Alets*, without any appearance in the wording of the Oath, that it ad any relation to the Aſſembly of *Dort*. And the Articles of hat Doctrine were printed, together with the Doctrine of the ynod; and they were cri'd publicly upon *Pont Neuf*: But they ho were not pleas'd with thoſe deciſions, endeavour'd to diſ- arage 'em by a thouſand Obſervations, wherein Calumny was . Argument that carri'd the greateſt ſtroke.

Aſſignations ill paid.

The Commiſſioners had in charge to demand the reſettlement f Aſſignations which had bin given, and which were due for e preceding years: for thoſe which the Churches had obtain'd r the year 1621, were allotted to other uſes, nor had there n any for the year 1622. and at firſt they had order'd bad ones r the preſent year: But *Candal* refuſing to accept 'em, they der'd better. Nevertheleſs, becauſe they lay far remote, they emanded ſuch as were nearer at hand, and of which they might ave a quicker benefit. At length the Commiſſioners obtain'd orty thouſand Livres in ready money, for which they had Bills pon the Exchequer. They had alſo fair Promiſes for the fu- ure, but were put quite out of hopes for what was paſt.

Propoſals made to the Synod by Galand.

During the ſitting of the Synod, the King wrote a Letter to he Commiſſioner, dated *September* 25. and containing three hings to be propos'd to the Synod. The firſt was, That the King would not give leave that either *Primroſe* or *Cameron*,

1623. whom the Catholics could not pardon the Affair of *Bourdeaux*, ſhould exerciſe the Function of the Miniſtry, or profeſs Divinity in the Kingdom. He ſaid, That that Excluſion was not grounded upon their being Foreigners, but upon Reaſons that concern'd his ſervice. The ſecond was, That when the King permitted Politic Aſſemblies, it was his pleaſure that no Miniſters ſhould be deputed. He alledg'd, That they were taken off from their proper Duties; and he added, that he could have wiſh'd they had prevented his Commands. But if they did not obey, he ſhould by an expreſs Declaration give farther Order about it; or elſe in the Brevets of Leave which he ſhould grant 'em for holding their Aſſemblies. Nevertheleſs, he did not extend the Excluſion to the Paſtors of the place, who had his permiſſion to be preſent. The third was, That this Declaration of his Intentions ſhould be inſerted among the Acts of the Synod.

The ſecond Article was paſt, becauſe they ſaw well that it would be in vain to oppoſe it; and for that other Synods had already taken a Reſolution conformable to it, which nevertheleſs had never bin obſerv'd. The third Article paſs'd in the ſame manner: But they ſent a new Deputation to the King upon the former, to beſeech him that he would remit ſomething of his Severity in favour of *Primroſe* and *Cameron*. And that Affair made 'em alſo bethink themſelves of *Moulin*, whom the Court would not permit to return into *France*. The King made Anſwer, That he did not think they would have repli'd, after he had both writ and ſaid what he had done: That he had good Reaſons, which the Synod would readily allow, if they underſtood what they were; nevertheleſs that he gave all the three Miniſters leave to ſtay in the Kingdom, upon condition that for the preſent they forbore all manner of Exerciſe of their Functions: adding, that time would bring all things to paſs. In ſhort, *Cameron* was call'd next year to the Academy of *Montauban*, but dy'd within a little while after, before the ſecond War brake out. *Du Moulin* returning from *England*, was diſcover'd at *Dieppe*, though in diſguiſe, and had Orders to ſtop there, though 'tis true they were not very exact in purſuit of him. After that he liv'd quietly at *Sedan*, even after the King had diſpoſſeſs'd

A new Deputation to the King.

ſeſs'd the Duke of *Bouillon* of it. As for *Bergerac*, ſhe had 1623.
r ſhare of the ſeverity of the Court, which forbid the Synod
allow any thing toward the maintenance of the Colledge of
at City: But the Commiſſioner never hinder'd the Synod
om reviving the Oath of Union in Diſcipline and Doctrine; *Oath of Union.*
or was the Court offended at it.

The ſecond Act of Injuſtice done the Reformed, was the *A Citadel at* Mom-
ilding a Citadel at *Mompelier*, directly contrary to the Treaty *pelier.*
f Peace, and the Breif granted in purſuance of it. Nor was
e Artifice made uſe of to juſtify the doing it very much to the
onour of the Authors of it. For *Valence* permitted the Sol-
iers of the Gariſon to live as licentiouſly as they pleas'd them-
lves, on purpoſe to give an occaſion of making Complaints.
nd becauſe it ſeem'd a difficult thing to ſuppreſs 'em, he
ckt an Aſſembly of the Citizens, who were to conſult upon
xpedients moſt proper to reſtrain 'em within the Bounds of
eir Duty. Now the Catholic Conſuls order'd as many of
eir own Religion as they could to be there: But as for the
eformed, who were wont to rely upon others for the Govern-
ent of the City, and knew not the Myſtery of that Conſulta-
on, for the greateſt part they never came, and others durſt
ot appear: ſo that the Catholics were far ſuperior in number
o the others, among whom alſo many were gain'd; which
ave an occaſion to ſay, that the Reformed and the Catholics were
greed in the ſame demand. Now then the Queſtion being put,
hich was the beſt way to ſecure the Burgeſſes from the Inſolen-
ies of the Soldiers, the Catholics preſently embrac'd the Propo-
al of demanding a Citadel, where the King might lodge his
Gariſon, and diſcharge the City of quartering Soldiers. 'Twas
n vain for the ſmall number of Proteſtants that were at the
Meeting to oppoſe it; and ſo the buſineſs was decided as it were
y plurality of Voices, and Deputies were ſent to Court to ob-
ain the King's conſent, who was not very ſcrupulous of giv-
ng it.

But *Maniald*, who was one of the Deputies, being inform'd Maniald
of this Enterprize, and entruſted with the Memoirs of the Re- *oppoſes it in the*
formed of *Mompelier*, made a Speech to the King upon this *name of*
Subject, the 14th of *September:* complain'd of the foul Play *the Reformed.*
that

1623. that had been us'd; declar'd that the Inhabitants of *Montauban* were forc'd to make this demand; proteſted that their Names were abus'd; requir'd the demoliſhing of Fort *Louis*, and produc'd the Reports of the Works demoliſh'd by the Reformed according to the Treaty of Peace; to the end there might not be a pretence of their not having done their duty. But they could not be better inform'd at Court; they were reſolv'd to believe *Valencé*, and the Catholicks, to the contempt of the Proteſtants which the Reformed made; and the Decree of the Parliament of *Tholouſe*, put forth on purpoſe to elude their Obedience, paſſed for a conviction that they had not done fairly as to the demoliſhing their Fortifications.

Preſages of a new War. 'Twas impoſſible that all theſe Acts of Injuſtice ſhould be committed without cauſing great alterations in the minds of men; ſo that the Court expected to ſee the Peace ſuddenly broken. Nevertheleſs, as yet ſhe had no great inclination to the War, becauſe the Government was not as yet well ſetled. The Old Cardinals were jealous of Cardinal *Richlieu*. The high Favour wherein *Puiſieux*, and the Chancellor his Father-in-law were, began to totter: And there wanted a little longer time of Peace for every one of thoſe who ſought the advancement of their Fortunes, to ſecure and ſettle their Affairs. But the Council of Conſcience, the *Spaniſh* Faction, that ſtill held up its head, the Clergy unanimous, were all for a War. And Cardinal *Richlieu*, who would not ſeem to be lukewarm ſo ſoon after his Promotion, nor offend the Queen Mother, who embrac'd the ſame Intereſts, lean'd that way as well as the reſt. Therefore as a foreboding of the Troubles that were ſuddenly to revive agen, a Declaration was given out the 10th of *November*, againſt thoſe who went from Province to Province to ſow Jealouſies of the Infidelity of the Court, furniſh'd with Letters and Inſtructions of the Dukes of *Rohan* and *Subiſe*. The King however declar'd, That he would not believe that either of thoſe two Noblemen were any way concern'd in thoſe Intreagues, or that the Reformed in general had any thoughts of turning aſide from their Obedience: However, to give 'em more perfect aſſurances of the reality of his Intentions, he confirm'd the Edicts and his laſt Declarations; he order'd, that the Commiſſioners

ſſioners ſhould continue in the Provinces till they were abſo-ely fulfill'd; and forbid all manner of perſons to ſpeak, ite, ſuggeſt, perſuade or give ear to any thing that was con-ry to his good intentions, or the Publick Tranquility; to go nd into the Provinces, or to Aſſemblies that might be held the ſame effect, and to act nothing that tended toward a War on pain of being puniſh'd as Diſturbers of the Public poſe. *Du Pleſſis* lay drawing on, when this Declaration *Death of* Du Pleſ-ſis. ear'd, and God took him out of this World before the ond War, to ſpare him the grief of ſeeing the Ruin of e Churches brought to perfection, to which he had ſo g been ſerviceable by his Writings, by his Counſels, and his Example. He had a little before come to an agreement h the Court about the Recompence which he was to have all his Labours, which after he had been ſo long put off, and de the ſport of his Enemies, was reduc'd to a hundred thou-d Franks. Marſhal *de Bouillon* dy'd ſome months before him, upon his Death-bed recommended nothing to his Children, perſeverance in the Reformed Religion, and never to bear ms againſt the King ſo long as he ſecur'd the Peace of the urches. Which laſt Injunctions of his, his Daughters obey'd ch better then his Sons: For his eldeſt Son forſook his Reli-n, and quitted the King's Service betimes.

The End of the Eighth Book.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Edict of Nantes

THE SECOND PART.

THE NINTH BOOK.

The Heads of the Ninth Book.

THE Commiſſioners impair the Condition of the Reformed Gergeau: *at* Remorentin: *at* Tours. *Commiſſioners* Poitou, *and* Saintonge. *The Character of* Amelot, *who r the Churches by outward Shews of Honeſty and Probity. Writing of the Clergy of* Saintonge. *The Malignity of ſe ral Articles. Complacency of* Chalac. *Enterpriſes of the tholics at* Rochel. *Alterations at Court. Maxims of Car nal* Richlieu. *Propoſals of Marriage between the Prince* Wales, *and the Infanta of* Spain; *fruitleſs. A Match ſo for with* Henrietta *of* France. *Negotiation of the Archb of* Ambrun; *the Match concluded upon advantageous Condi for the Catholics. Death of* James I. Charles *conſumm the Marriage. Suit between the City of* Pamiers, *and Biſhop. Cavils upon the Right of proſecuting the payment Legacies and Donations. Exemption of Miniſters. Tr reviv'd. Enterpriſe of the Duke of* Rohan *and* Soubiſe *cover'd.* Soubiſe *ſeizes the King's Ships, and is block'd up*

the Port of Blavet. *He is thought to be loſt, and is diſown'd by* 1623.
all the world. The King's Declaration upon that occaſion. Sou-
biſe *diſingages himſelf, which changes the face of Affairs. Poli-
tic Devotions of the Duke of* Rohan. *Seconded by his Wife. Ma-
nifeſto of the Duke of* Soubiſe. *Anſwer. Diſpute about the
Priviledges of* Rochel. *Peace talk'd of. Cruelties of the
Royal Army in* Foix. Soubiſe's *Succeſſes. Remonſtrance of
the Reformed preſented to the King. Anſwers to the Articles
with which the Reformed are not content. The Court recovers
her Affairs. Aſſembly of the Clergy; that furniſhes out money
with reluctancy. The King excepts* Rochel *out of the Peace;
which delays the concluſion of it. Particular Laws which the
King would impoſe upon that City. A powerful League againſt
Spain. A Deſign of the Cardinal, of which he is forc'd to for-
bear the execution. Inſtances of the* Engliſh *Ambaſſadors for
the peace of Religion.* Rochel *accepts the Conditions ſomewhat
mitigated. Divers Acts upon occaſion of the Peace. Why the
Court demanded ſuch Writings. Act paſt by the* Engliſh *Am-
baſſadors. In what ſenſe the King becomes a Guaranty for the
Peace. A new Edict which confirms all the reſt Foul Play
ſhew'd by* France *to the* Confederates. *Jealouſies between the
Cardinal and* Buckingham *The Cardinal's weak ſide. Enter-
priſes of the Catholics of the Queen of* England's *Houſhold.
Conſpiracy againſt the Cardinal. Condition of* Rochel. *Nation-
al Synod. Decree relating to Commiſſioners. Inſtructions of
the Commiſſioners.* Chauve, *the Moderator's Anſwer. Surprize
upon the Synod of* Realmont. *Infidelity of* Maluyer: *at which
the Catholics triumph. They would fain hedge in the Miniſters
into the Treaty of the Duke of* Rohan *with* Spain. *Article of
the Synod of* Realmont, *which orders enquiry after ſuch as were
guilty, which offends all the Churches, and is diſown'd by the Na-
tional Synod. Leave to nominate general Deputies: from which
the Synod deſires to be excus'd, and ſend Deputies to the King.
Remonſtrances of the Deputies.* Maniald *dyes, to whom the King
ſubſtitutes* Hardi. *Return of the Deputies, and the King's An-
ſwer. The Synod names general Deputies. Several Reſolu-
tions of the Synod. The City of* Caſtres *refuſes to receive the
Duke of* Rohan's *Deputies. Memoirs of Complaints. Bury-*

ing of Lords that were the Founders in Churches. Legacies given to the Poor adjudg'd to Hoſpitals. Marriage of a Knight of Maltha *vacated. Vexatious Declarations. Meeting of the Notable. Converſions forc'd in* Bearn; *at* Aubenas; *at St.* Amand. *Extraordinary Acts of Injuſtice. Innovations at* Mompelier. *Foundation of that City. Declaration againſt Foreign Miniſters.* Rochel *remains block'd up; the* Engliſh *declare War. The* United Provinces *aſſiſt* France. *The* Engliſh *land in the Isle of* Ree. *Irreſolution of the* Rochellers. *Letters of the Court intercepted. A nice Queſtion, Whether* Huguenots *ought to be ſuffer'd in the King's Army?* Rochel *determines and publiſhes a Maniſeſto. The Duke of* Rohan *does the ſame. Intrigues of* Galand *againſt the Duke. Rout of the* Engliſh. *Second Fleet of the* Engliſh *of no uſe to the* Rochellers. *A third Fleet as ineffectual. The beginning of a Treaty of* Peace *with* England, *and Surrender of* Rochel. *The City refuſes to ſubmit to the* Engliſh. Spaniſh *Fleet at the Siege of* Rochel. *Severities exercis'd toward the Ladies of* Rohan. *The Courage of* Guiton, *Maire of* Rochel. *How the City was us'd.*

1623. *The Commiſſioners make the condition of the Reformed worſe at* Gergeau.

IN the mean time the Commiſſioners that were promis'd to be ſent into the Provinces, went thither in earneſt; but the courſe which they took in the execution of the Edicts, ſerv'd only to convince the moſt incredulous among the Reformed that the Court did but make a Maygame of 'em. For the Church which they had at *Gergeau*, that had bin one of their Cities of ſecurity, and where they had held ſome general aſſemblies, was taken from 'em in a City where they had always enjoy'd one: and to make 'em amends for this Act of Injuſtice, they had leave giv'n to build another at the farther end of all the Suburbs. The Catholics of *Remorentin*, who had burnt the Church, would never permit the building of another: but the Commiſſioners, inſtead of puniſhing the Miſdemeanor, and doing Juſtice upon the Offenders, were ſo kind as to leave things in the ſame condition as they found 'em. But the Injuſtice which they did the Reformed of *Tours*, was much more notorious. For the King had promis'd, after the Sedition, of which I have given an account in another place, to preſerve to the Proteſtants

At Remorentin.

At Tours.

ants of that City their priviledge of meeting in that place where they were wont to assemble, and to supply 'em with the um of Six thousand Livres, towards the rebuilding of the hurch which the Mutineers had fir'd. But the Commissioners ted quite contrary to this Promise. They arriv'd at *Tours* in y, and would needs persuade the Reformed to accept of ano- her place; which Proposal being rejected by the poor People, ho demanded the performance of the King's word, the Com- issioners departed without making any regulation. Toward he end of *September* they return'd agen to *Tours*; at what time hey took a view of several places, of the situation of which hey drew up a long Report in writing, and design'd the Re- ormed one for the building of a Church, which the Reformed ould not accept of; but they got nothing by it; for the Com- issioners enforc'd 'em by an Order, to sell the place where their d Church stood, and to lay out the money in the purchase of hat which was design'd 'em. 1623.

Amelot and *Chalas* had a Commission to see the Edict per rm'd in the Provinces of *Poitou* and *Saintonge*. *Chalas*, who as made choice of by *Amelot*, as the Catholic Commissioners ad almost every where the priviledge to nominate their Asso- iates, was one of those complying sort of People who have not udacity enough to oppose another man's Opinion; and who eing men of sincerity themselves, cannot believe that other men ill deceive 'em. So that the Reformed complain'd very much f his softness, and never thought themselves beholding to him or any Justice th t was done 'em upon some Articles. *Amelot*, n the other side, was one of those People that never did any hing without a great deal of Pomp and Ceremony, and who ake it their strife to please all the world, at least to outward ppearance. He made Mountains of Molehils, and thought o advance himself at Court, by giving the Grandees Informa- ion of every diminutive Trifle. He made a great noise of cer- in Designs which he had discover'd, and which he would needs ave had to have bin lookt upon at Court as important Conspi- acies. He endeavour'd also to bring *du Plessis* into trouble, ho thought of nothing at that time but of dying, and setling is Family. But they understood him at Court, and knew that *Commissioners in* Poitou *and* Saintonge.

1623. all these great Secrets were nothing but Illusions; and that was evident enough, because they never molested any of those persons that *Amelot* sought to blacken with his pretended Informations. But to bring himself off like a person of credit, after it appear'd that all his discoveries were no other then Dreams, then he gave out that those designs would have wrought terrible effects, had he not prevented 'em by his foresight, and broken the measures of the Contrivers by opposing 'em betimes. And indeed his pretence for those *Chimera's* with which he was intoxicated, were no more then civil Visits which some Gentlemen thought proper to pay the one to the other; which *Amelot* took for Meetings cover'd under the name of Visits, where Affairs of State were debated.

He ruines the Churches under appearance of Honesty.

He also endeavour'd to get the favour and esteem of both Parties; by the Court he sought to be valu'd as a man faithful and open trating, so eagle-ey'd that nothing escap'd him whatever happen'd in the Provinces belonging to his Allotment. By the Reformed he strove to be priz'd for a man of honesty, who preserv'd 'em from a world of misfortunes by his moderation and his prudence, preventing 'em from committing great Errors. By these petty Artifices it cannot be imagin'd how much mischief he did the Reformed; not only because he sometimes oblig'd em to renounce their Priviledges which they had duly obtain'd, but because he seduc'd 'em with his vaunting Flourishes of Probity and Affection to accept of his unjust Acts as so many Kindnesses done 'em. Thus it was that he made 'em lose their Right to the performance of their Exercises in the City of *Montenai*, and that he made 'em remove into one of the Suburbs. And they were so simple as to consent to his entreaties, because he told 'em, that in so doing they would oblige him. All the recompence they had was, that *Valade*, the Minister of the place, who had bin forbid to preach there, yet whose resettlement could not be obstructed, because the Right of Public Exercise in that Town was not to be deni'd, was restor'd to his Functions by *Amelot*'s consent. So that to make 'em amends, he only granted 'em a Priviledge that could not lawfully be taken from 'em; a thing which it was impossible to refuse 'em without a great deal of Injustice. In like manner at *Bourgueil*, where they had a Right

ight duly acquir'd, and upon a good foundation, *Amelot* made 1623.
n consent to remove their Right to another place, contrary to
e advice of *Chalus*, who would have maintain'd 'em in that,
e they were accuſtom'd to meet. But that which was
ore particularly ſingular in their ſubmiſſion, was this, That
melot told the Reformed a fair Story, and made 'em believe it
o, that their conſenting to their removal, was but a compli-
ce of good nature in honour to the Biſhop of *Chartres*, their
mporal Lord to whom they acknowledg'd themſelves to be
holding. And thus did *Amelot* ſo ſtrangely put upon 'em by
s treacherous Wheedles, that he made 'em confeſs themſelves
bliged to him, who at the ſame time deſpoil'd 'em of their
rivileges. And with the ſame deluſions he fool'd the eaſineſs
f the Inhabitants of *Mallezais* and *Luſon*.

There was nothing more conſiderable in all this Commiſſion, *Paper of the Clergy of Saintes*
en the Paper preſented by the Clergy of *Saintes* in the name
f the whole Province, and ſupported by the Mayor and Sheriffs
f the City. Had you read it, you would have ſaid, That the
eformed had bin the prevailing Religion, and that the Catholic
d bin perſecuted. Nevertheleſs Complaints were intermix'd
ith thoſe Demands, which made it appear that the Catholics
d great Deſigns in their eye, in order to the oppreſſion of
thers: which will appear by the Abſtract of thoſe Demands
d Complaints. The Reformed were therein accus'd of af-
onting the Prieſts when they ſaw 'em paſs by; of obſtructing
e Proceſſions of the Catholics; the Adminiſtration of the Sa-
ament to the Sick; the Burial of the Dead, with the ac-
ton'd Ceremonies: Of not permitting the Catholics to viſit
e Reformed when Sick, which, as it was preſuppos'd, were wil-
ng to be *converted*; or that the Communion ſhould be admini-
r'd to 'em; or that they ſhould be bury'd after their *Conver-*
n: and the Gentlemen were chiefly accus'd of expelling the
rieſts out of their Lordſhips. They complain'd of the Uſur-
tion of Churches, Houſes, Tenths and Rights appertaining to
e Eccleſiaſtics, and of Church-yards, where the Reformed bu-
ed their dead by force. They demanded that the Reformed
ould be prohibited to bury in Catholic Chappels, under a
Penalty,

1623. Penalty of 3000 Livres. They remonſtrated that the Church-yards, which the Reformed had adjoining to thoſe of the Catholics, not being enclos'd with Walls, were the occaſion of ſeveral Seditions; that the Reformed had made themſelves Maſters of the Bells in ſome places, and in others made uſe of the Bells belonging to the Catholics, to give notice of their Sermon time; that they would not ſuffer Carpets to be ſpread before their Houſes; that they took no notice of Holy-days; that at *Saintes*, they met in private Houſes, where they read Prayers and ſung Pſalms aloud; that they ſold Fleſh upon days prohibited. They demanded, That to avoid the meeting of People that attended the Dead to their Graves, the Reformed ſhould be bound to give notice of their hours of Burial to the Mayor and Sheriffs. 'Twas ſaid, That they caus'd armed men to walk about a Nights, who committed ſeveral Diſorders. They deſir'd Prohibitions to the Reformed Miniſters, by which they might be enjoin'd not to call themſelves *Paſtors* of the Churches wherein they ſerv'd; or to ſtile their Religion Reformed, without adding the word *Pretended*. Laſtly, Preſuppoſing that the Liberty of the Reformed was ſo great, that it could not be ſuppreſs'd by Authority of the Edicts, they demanded that the Obſtinate ſhould be condemn'd to great Forfeitures, actually to be incurr'd, and to be adjudg'd from that time forward.

The Malice of ſeveral Articles.

The ſtrain of the whole Paper was full of Malice: For they made particular and private Facts the ground of a general Complaint, when perhaps the Fact had never been committed above once during the War; nevertheleſs they would have it an Affair wherein all places were concern'd, and the miſdemeanor of every day. Others were aggravated, as being of great importance, when there was nothing at all in 'em. However in the main, it made the Reformed to be lookt upon as very criminal, and threw an *Odium* upon all their Actions. So that all men wonder'd, and that not without reaſon too, that *Chalas* went hand in hand as he did with *Amelot*, in whatever Sentences he paſs'd upon all the Articles, and ſtill gave his Verdict againſt the Reformed. More eſpecially the Articles about viſiting the Sick by the Magiſtrates, to know in what Religion they dy'd: The Prohibition to pray and ſing Pſalms aloud, upon the Forfeiture

Chalas's Complaiſance.

re of Five hundred Livres: The neceſſity of giving notice to 1623.
e Mayor and Sheriffs of the hour when they intended to bury
eir Dead, to avoid accidental meeting of Catholic Funerals
the ſtreet: the immediate adjudging of Forfeitures, under
ence of forcing the Reformed to obſerve the Edicts: The
egiſtring of theſe Ordinances, as if they had bin to paſs for
ntaign Laws and Edicts: Theſe Articles, I ſay, a man
ould have thought, ſhould not ſo eaſily have bin condeſcended
by a Reformed, whom it became to have underſtood the con-
quences. There was but one Article wherein they differ'd;
at is to ſay, upon the words *Paſtor*, *Church*, and *Reformed Reli-*
, without adding the word *Pretended*. *Amelot* was for pro-
biting the Reformed from making uſe of thoſe expreſſions, but
alon was for petitioning the King, that the Reformed might
e left to their ancient practice in thoſe Particulars. Beſides,
ere was ſomething of Juſtice in the Anſwer made to the Ar-
cle concerning Burials: For the Commiſſioners order'd, that
nvenient places ſhould be allow'd to the Reformed for that
rpoſe within fifteen days; and for defect of ſo doing, that it
ould be lawful for the Reformed to bury in the Church-yards
longing to the Catholics. Which Article moſt aſſuredly *Ame-*
granted, to the end he might the more eaſily hook in *Chalas*
r all the reſt. And this the Reformed ſuffer'd, through the
eakneſs of their Commiſſioner, and this was that which the
atholics principally deſir'd; in regard the current of Affairs
d run ſuch a courſe for ſome years, as to make the Reformed
ieve they were all in the wrong. Nevertheleſs theſe Regula-
ons had not ſo much efficacy, but that the Reformed ſtrove to
aintain their Priviledges, of which *Amelot* endeavour'd to de-
ive em to the end.

In this manner it was that the Catholics drew from the peace as much Advantage as they could have expected from a Succeſsful War; and while by a thouſand Quirks and Artices they evaded the Promiſes made before *Montpelier*, the Catholics were everywhere put in poſſeſſion of all that they could pretend to. *Rochel*, alſo, that beheld Fort *Louis* ſtill ſtanding undemoliſh'd, mauger all the Promiſes which the King had made

Enterpriſes of the Catholics at Rochel.

1624. made to raze it; yet gave her Consent that the Catholics should recommence their Exercises. Mass was publickly said there at the beginning of the year 1624. but the Catholics being desirous to extend their Liberty a little farther, and to appear with their Procession in the Streets, they met with a Band of Soldiers that forc'd 'em to retire. And it was a prudent Design in the Honest Burgesses. For they were willing to prevent the Disorders which such an Innovation would inevitably have produc'd. But the Verbal Process which they drew up to justify their Intentions, serv'd to no other end, but to exasperate the Court against 'em, and to confirm the King in his Resolution to humble that City, all whose Actions were represented to him, as too haughty and insolent.

In the mean while there happen'd an alteration of the Change of Affairs at Court. For *La Vieville*, who was beholding for his Advancement to *Sillery*, ruin'd his Benefactor, and brought *Puisieux* into disgrace. And it may be said that they justly deserv'd their Fall. For their Politics were so Spanniz'd, that they made all the King's Power prove serviceable to advance the Grandeur of the House of *Austria*; nor was it their fault that *Europe* was not to become a Slave to that Family. But *Vieville* follow'd Maxims altogether opposite; and caus'd *France* to reassume a good liking of her Ancient Alliances. But he did not go far before he receiv'd the punishment of his ingratitude. Acknowledgment is seldom the Vertue of a Courtier; and an Ambitious Man rarely lets his Fortune slip, when he can procure his Advancement by betraying his Friend. He never holds that man to be his Friend, whom he looks upon as his Competitor. *Vieville* therefore having been the occasion that *Richlieu* was admitted into the King's Council, the Cardinal was accus'd of having banish'd him the Court, that he might have no Superior in the management of Affairs. But he follow'd the New Maxims that *Vieville* had introduc'd: And turn'd all his Designs to raise *France* upon the Ruins of the House of *Austria*.

Cardinal Richlieu's Maxims.

This was one of the Reasons why he labour'd to hasten the Destruction of the Protestants, already much weakened by the Success of the preceding War; while *Spain*, unfortunately for

for her self and them, neglected to assist their Party by her In- 1624.
treagues. The same Design render'd him suspitious of the Je-
suits, so that he kept them low and despicable all the time of
his Ministry, and that they suffer'd many Mortifications, while
he held the Raines of Authority; of which the chiefest was,
that they had a very small share in the management of Affairs.
A most piercing Grief to a Society which had had the pleasure
of riding paramount for so many years, and filling all *Europe*
with Violence and Treachery: But lost by this Disgrace the
fruit of all their Attempts, and all their Crimes; and saw, by
means of the Cardinal's New Politics, all the hopes of the
Universal Monarchy quite frustrated, which *Spain* had so well
concerted, and of which she had so long pursu'd the Design.
In order to this it was that he renew'd the Alliance between
France and the *Hollanders* upon such Conditions, as if he had at
the same time design'd the Siege of *Rochel*. But one of those
things of which he hop'd to make the greatest advantage, was
the Marriage of *Henrietta* of *France* with the Prince of *Wales*,
who reign'd, after the death of King *James*, by the name of
Charles I. *Spain* had a long time amus'd that Prince with
hopes of Marriage with the *Infanta*, who was afterwards marry'd
to the Emperor: And that Prince, as well as the King his Fa-
ther, fell so cordially into the Snare, that he made a long Jour-
ney into *Spain* in order to the Conclusion of this pretended
Match. And indeed the *Spaniard* flatter'd him with it, so long
as the Council of *Spain* thought it necessary to act this Comedy
to prevent King *James* from intermedling with the Affairs of
Germany. But when the Council had had sufficient Experience
of the Weakness of that Prince, to assure themselves, that let
'em use him how they pleas'd, he would be never in a capacity
to revenge himself, they broke off the Negotiation, and sent the
Prince of *Wales* back agen into *England*.

Propositions for marrying the Prince of Wales to the Infanta.

Fruitless

Nevertheless, the thing was carry'd so far, that all the Arti-
cles were agreed upon; and such great Advantages were ob-
tain'd for the *Roman* Religion, that a Prince, who had had
never so little zeal for his own, would never have endur'd the
allowance of 'em. The Pope made no scruple to grant the
Dispensation which was demanded, and the Prince of *Wales*

1624. acting with a Sincerity, that might be rather call'd Simplicity, 'twas only the fault of the *Spaniſh* Politics that the Match was not concluded. The Cardinal therefore ſeeing the Treaty of that Alliance broken off, and *England* diſguſted, was willing to make the beſt of the Conjuncture, and to faſten that Crown to the Intereſts of *France* by the Marriage of a *French* Princeſs. The ſecond of *Henry* the Fourth's Daughters had bin deny'd the Prince of *Wales*, who had demanded her, while *Lewis* the Thirteenth's Council was in the Houſe of *Auſtria*'s pay, and the Prince of *Piemont* was preferr'd before him. But the Cardinal altering the Deſign, had chang'd the Maxims of the Court, and he thought good to make the firſt Offers to a Prince, for whom they had had ſo little value before. Nor did he find any great trouble in cauſing the Overtures to be accepted. *William de Hugues*, Archbiſhop of *Ambrun*, had a great ſhare in that Negotiation; and if there be any credit to be given to the Relation of what he did in *England*, which he drew up by the Cardinal's Command, he had almoſt brought the Religion and Kingdom of *England* to the brink of a general Revolution. He relates that before the Cardinal came into favour, he had bin ſent into *England* to perſuade the King to return to the Pope's Communion: That he diſguis'd himſelf to go *incognito*, and took upon him the Name and Habit of a Counſellor of *Grenoble*. That at his arrival, he found the Duke of *Buckingham* inform'd both of his Diſguiſe and his Commiſſion; of which both the King and the Prince had giv'n him notice: That the King appear'd to him fully reſolv'd to embrace the Catholic Religion: That he came to an agreement with him upon the greateſt part of the Articles in controverſie; more particularly concerning the Soveraignty of the Pope over all Chriſtians: That upon this Occaſion he wrote a large Letter to the Pope; that it was ſent privately by an *Engliſh* Gentleman, who was a zealous Catholic: That he promis'd to declare himſelf openly, ſo ſoon as he had taken order for certain things which were concluded on: That the principal reaſon of his making ſo many delays, was the deſire he had to be ſure of the King of *Denmark* his Brother-in-law, to the end he might be the better able to prevent the Troubles that might ariſe by reaſon of the Changes in his

his Kingdoms: That he had invited him under other Pretences to take a Voyage into *England*; and that when he came, he made no queſtion but to convert him too: That he deſir'd the Pope to ſuffer the *Engliſh* Lords to enjoy the Church-Lands, that were now become their Inheritance, for fear they ſhould oppoſe his Deſigns, if he went about to diſturb 'em in their Poſſeſſion: That he promis'd there ſhould be no farther ſearches made after any Prieſts that ſhould be ſent into the Kingdom, either by the Pope or the King of *France*: That he excluded the Jeſuits only from that favour, becauſe he lookt upon 'em as the Authors and Contrivers of the Powder-plot, by which they deſign'd to have blown him up in his Parlament-Houſe: That he ſhew'd the Archbiſhop ſeveral Favours while he was in *England*: That he gave him leave to Confirm in the *French* Embaſſador's Houſe above 18000 Catholics, who were exempted from all proſecution upon it, tho there were many of the *Engliſh* that ſaw the performance of the Ceremony; ſo little did the Archbiſhop care to be openly ſeen. That ſome of the more Zealous Proteſtants having made their Complaints to the King about it, the King ſtopt their mouths, by telling 'em it was done with his permiſſion: That the Duke of *Buckingham* had promis'd to imitate the King his Maſter, and that he was really engag'd in the Intreage. In a word, The Archbiſhop had Letters from him which ſhew'd him too deeply concern'd, to believe that all this Negotiation was no more then a feigned Buſineſs. 1624

This was the Condition of Affairs when they began to treat of the Marriage of the Prince of *Wales*; and it may be eaſily judg'd by the bending of the King's Inclinations, that they ſhould not meet with any great oppoſition: So that the Cardinal obtain'd what he pleas'd himſelf, and drew from him Conditions more advantageous to the Catholicks, then thoſe which the King of *Spain* had demanded. Alſo, after all that was concluded, there was a way found to add new Clauſes, which the King was ſo complaiſant as to condeſcend to without any heſitation. 'Tis true, *Berulle*, who was afterwards made a Cardinal, being ſent to *Rome* to ſollicite the Diſpenſation, ſuffer'd ſome things to be ſlipt in, which went a little farther

Marriage concluded upon Conditions advantageous for the Catholics.

1624. farther then what had been agreed upon. But they who drew it up were easily pardon'd upon making a shew of being sorry for it, and imputing it to the simplicity of the Prelate, whose Zeal for his Religion had made him exceed the Bounds of his Power. But the Court of *England* being in a good humour to refuse nothing, suffer'd her self to be vanquish'd without the least Resistance, and was willing to take any Excuses for the Alterations in good part.

But the unexpected Death of King *James* put a stop to the Rapid Course of the Prosperities of the Catholic Religion, and suspended for some time the accomplishment of the Marriage propounded. But *Charles* his Successor would not retract from his Engagements during the Life of his Father; so that the Marriage was accomplish'd to the great satisfaction of the Court of *Rome*. *England* in some measure beheld the Catholic Religion sprouting up agen in her Bosom. For the new Queen was permitted to have a Chappel in all the Royal Houses; to keep in her Family a Bishop and twenty eight Priests, without any preferring one Order before another; that they should have liberty to wear the Habit of of their Order publickly; and that all her Domestic Servants should be of the same Religion; besides that, she should have the Education of her Children till they came to be Thirteen years of Age. But God permitted the Jesuits to spoil all by their unquiet and Seditious Politicks, and to put the Kingdom into such terrible Jealousies of their Practises, that order was taken for the suppressing 'em. However, the Treaty of this Marriage was spun out till *May*, 1625. tho because I would not interrupt the series of the Story, I was forc'd to insert it in this place.

Process of the City of Pamiers against the Bishop.

In the mean time there were several particular Affairs that were regulated after a different manner; among which, that of the City of *Pamiers*, in opposition to her Bishop, was one of the most considerable. That Prelate took upon him to dispose of the Consulship and Council of that City, and to make himself Master of the sole Power of rating the Taxes upon the Inhabitants. And his Zeal for Religion serv'd for a Pretence to justify his undertaking. He would have no body in those Employments but Catholics; and the Parlament of *Tho-*

louse,

f, whither he had remov'd the Cauſe, were not wanting to 1624.
our his Pious Deſign. But for the bringing it to paſs, there
s a neceſſity that the Laws muſt be violated, and that the
ections of Officers muſt be carried on after a new manner;
regard that otherwiſe the Reformed, who were richer, more
nſiderable, and more numerous then the Catholics, would
uredly carry all before 'em by the plurality of Voices. As
any reſpect to the Laws, that was ne're able to ſtop the
ergy, when the violation of 'em ſerv'd for the good of their
fairs: And it was the Biſhop's aim to prefer none but his
iends and his Kindred, under pretence of excluding the Here-
ks. Nevertheleſs the Catholics were ſo wiſe, as not to
nble their Religion and the Civil Government together; and
derſtood their own Intereſt ſo well, as to join with the Re-
rmed againſt the Biſhop: So that after all the Cavils imagi-
ble, that Affair was determin'd, and the Catholics as well as
e Reformed bore an equal ſhare of the charges of the City.

They began at the ſame time to elude the Donations and *Cavils upon the Right of purſuing the Payment of Legacies and Donations.*
gacies which the Reformed bequeath'd to their Miniſters
d their Poor. And the moſt dangerous Cavil of which they
thought themſelves upon this occaſion was, that they refus'd
ſuffer the Conſiſtories to name Syndics and Proctors, to pro-
cute the Effect of ſuch Contracts and Wills in their own
mes: So that thoſe Acts were made invalid, by refuſing Ju-
ce to thoſe who were nominally empowr'd by authentic Let-
s of Attorney, to ſue for the payment of the money when
e. The Pretence was, That the Right of empowring Attor-
es did not belong but to authoriz'd Corporations; and there-
re they would needs have the Churches and their Conſiſtories
be abominable Communities, which were not to enjoy the
me Priviledges with others. But this Cavil was ſo contrary
the Edict, which in the 42d Article of Particulars, declar'd
expreſs terms, That ſuch Suits might be proſecuted by *a*
ctor, in the Name of the Body and Community of thoſe of the
formed Religion, who *were therein concern'd*, that 'twas im-
ſſible to erect it into a Law all of a ſudden; and if there were
y Inferior Judges where that Cavil was favour'd, the Supe-
or Judges redreſs'd it. Thus the Judge of *Saintes* being de-
ſirous

1624. ſirous to have hinder'd *Garillon*, a Proctor belonging to the Co
ſiſtory of the place, from ſuing for the Donations and Legacie
left for the ſupport of Miniſters, Doctors, Scholars, and poo
People of the Reformed Religion, there was a Decree of th
Council bearing date the 19th of *March*, which maintain'd th
Reformed of *Saintes* in the enjoyment of the Priviledges grant
by the Edict; tho it be true indeed that the Decree added th
Condition, that the King's Advocate or Proctor ſhould be p
ſent at the giving up of the Accompts.

But in revenge they fruſtrated the effects of a Favour wh
the Reformed had bin a long time ſolliciting; that is to ſay, th
the Miniſters might be diſcharg'd from paying Taxes. True
is, that about twelve years before there was a Declaration
forth in their Favour; but the Court had ſo little deſire that
ſhould be executed, that there was not the leaſt care taken
have it enregiſter'd in the Sovereign Courts; ſo that the Gen
ral Deputies, after they had loſt all their Sollicitations, and th
extraordinary Pains, were forc'd to preſent a Petition upon t
ſame ſubject. Upon which they obtain'd a Decree of the 17
of *July*, which exempted the Miniſters only from being tax'd
their Moveables, Penſions and Salaries; but, which left
liable in reſpect of their Inheritances and immoveable Goo
which indeed was to leave 'em to the diſcretion of the Aſſeſſ
and Collectors. In ſhort, that Decree was the occaſion of
thouſand Suits, in regard that Acts of that nature are never loo
upon as Law, but only as Regulations upon particular matte
of Fact. The leaſt diſtaſte of a Collector was enough to oblig
thoſe who challenge the enjoyment of a Priviledge, to cauſe th
ſetting forth of another Decree which might perſonally concer
'em; and the ſame Brabbles might be renew'd every year.

Troubles renew'd. In the mean time, *Spain* having obſerv'd the change of th
French Politics, and well foreſeeing that there would be an alter
tion alſo of the general face of affairs, whereby ſhe ſhould becom
a great loſer, if ſhe did not cut out ſome work within doors f
the *French*, ſhe reſolv'd not to let ſlip the opportunity which th
Diſcontents among the Reformed gave her to renew the Civ
War. The Peace of *Mompelier* was ſo openly violated, tha
there was not one Article of it left unbrok'n; ſo that all th
Churche

urches had reaſon to complain. But *Rochel*, that notwith- 1621.
ding all her Submiſſions, had not obtain'd the demoliſhing of
Lewis, and ſaw herſelf as it were blockt up at a diſtance by
ces quarter'd in places proper to diſturb and annoy her, at
ſame time ſtruck the reſt of the Reformed Cities both with
and Terror. They beheld, with ſorrow, the approaching
of that powerful City, and were in fear of ſome deſign in
d to deſtroy 'em all, ſo ſoon as *Rochel*, which was the
t important, ſhou'd once be ruin'd. So that all thoſe who
ev'd that the ruin of the Reformed Religion would prove a
ſary conſequence of the ſubduing thoſe Cities which were
condition to ſupport it, expected ſome deliverance from
ven for the recovery of their Affairs. But no body minded
et a helping hand to the work, only they wiſh'd that Provi-
e would take care of their ſecurity without 'em. However
Duke of *Rohan*, and *Soubiſe* his Brother, meditated great
gns, of which the conſequences would have prov'd no leſs
arkable, had they bin well ſeconded. 'Twas ſaid that the
ſecretly ſpurr'd 'em on, and flatter'd 'em with hopes
conſiderable Succor, if they could procure a general Riſing
whole Party; but that was a Condition which the Duke
not undertake to perform. 'Tis true, that finding him-
abandon'd by almoſt all the world, he gave an ear to cer-
Overtures of a Treaty propounded to him by the Council of
; not out of any hopes that that ſame Court would aſſiſt
in good earneſt, but in ſome meaſure to raiſe the ſpirits of
Party, and that he might be in a condition to make an ad-
geous Peace.

Enterprize of the Dukes of Rohan and Soubiſe.

The Dukes of *Rohan* and *Soubiſe* then were the only perſons
renew'd the War; and the reaſon that determin'd 'em to it
, becauſe the Court made open preparations for the Siege
. There was a Fleet getting ready at *Blaver*, to ſmall
upon the Coaſt of *Bretany* to block up the City by Sea, and
ve 'em of all ſupplies of Relief, which chiefly conſiſted in
keeping the Sea open. The *Rochellers*, on the other ſide,
d at theſe Preparations, which they well knew were aim'd
em, implor'd the Aid of the Duke and his Brother, who con-
together to ward off the Blow if it were poſſible. They
agreed

1624. agreed that *Soubise* should rig out some Vessels, under pretence of a long Voyage; that he should endeavour to surprize those that were making ready at *Blaver*; that if he succeeded, the Duke should take Arms in the Provinces where he had most Reputation: but that if the Enterprize fail'd, he should disown his Brother's Actions. Their own Estates, and what ready money they had, were the Fund upon which they laid the Foundations of this great Design. But when all things were ready *Discover'd* *Soubise* was betray'd by *Nouailles*, one of his principal Officers who reveal'd the Secret; yet for all that, *Soubise*'s diligence was so great, that he had prevented the measures which the Court had taken to hinder the effect of the Enterprize, had he but had a little more time to have made his Retreat. For with those few men he had, he made himself Master of all the Vessels *Soubise gets possession of the King's Ships.* which lay then in the Port. But he could not get possession of the Fort, by reason that upon the Intelligence which *Nouailles* had given, they had put a Garison into it much more numerous then the Party that follow'd *Soubise*. Besides, that the Duke of *Vendosme*, Governor of the Province, had time to muster a little Army together, and to bar up the Haven with an Iron Chain, and a Cable of an extraordinary thickness. By which means *Soubise* was shut up within the place without either Men or Ammunition, and expos'd for three weeks together to the Cannon of the Fort, and the Small Shot of the whole Army.

He was thought lost, and disown'd by every body. There was no body in the Kingdom but thought him lost beyond recovery, so that every one strove which should be the first to disown him. *La Trimouille*, *la Force*, *Chatillon*, and several others of the highest Quality, disown'd him in writing. The general Deputies, and those of the Church of *Paris* follow'd their example. The Cities of *Rochel*, *Nimes*, *Usez*, and *Montauban*, together with the Communities of *Cevennes* did the same, either by authentic Acts, or by the mouths of their Deputies. And this it was that disappointed all the Designs which the Duke of *Rohan* had form'd upon several places, because no body would engage in a War which had prov'd so unfortunate in the first Attempt. In the mean time the King publish'd a Declaration at *Paris*, dated *Jan.* 25. eight days after the Sur-
prize

rize of *Blavet*. I know not what to say of this date: but it seems naturally impossible, that all the Disclaimers and Renunciations as are mention'd in the Declaration should come in so short a time from so many places so far remote, and where the News of the taking of *Blavet* could not be arriv'd so soon. However it were, the stile of it was like the language of all the rest; and if the Prefaces of Edicts were always true, it might be said that the Reformed were much too blame to make such loud Complaints. The Peace of *Mompelier* was therein mention'd as a Favour, by vertue of which the Sentiments of a just Indignation had bin over-rul'd by *the natural Benignity of a King, the Father of his People, toward Subjects submissive and repentant.* It spoke of the performance of the last Treaty in terms so violent, as if they would have enforc'd the most clear-sighted to have given their eyes the Lye; and to believe that the Citadel built at *Mompelier*; the numerous Garison which they had put into it; the Alterations in the Elections of Consuls; *Fort Lewis* compleated to block up *Rochel*, after solemn promise to demolish it; the Public Preparations made to seize the Priviledges and Liberties of that formidable City; and a hundred more Acts of Injustice put upon the Reformed in several places, were no palpable Breaches of the Edict of Peace. After this, the King confirm'd the Edicts in favour of those that continu'd in their Obedience; declar'd *Soubise*, his Adherents, and all those that directly or indirectly kept any correspondence with him, guilty of High Treason; depriv'd all the Cities and Corporations that favour'd him, of their Priviledges and Immunities; gave a month's time to him and his Adherents to return to their Duty; and upon that condition, from that very instant, granted 'em a full oblivion of their Rebellion; or if they refus'd to accept of mercy, threaten'd 'em with the utmost rigor of the Laws.

1625. *The King's Declaration upon this occasion.*

But before this Declaration was verifi'd, *Soubise*, being favour'd by a high wind, that blew directly for his purpose, broke the Chain and the Cable, and maugre all the great and small Shot that was fir'd upon him, sav'd his Men, and brought away the Vessels which he had taken, only two that struck in the mouth of the Haven. When he was thus Master of the Sea,

Soubise disingages himself.

1625. he made himself easily Master of the Islands of *Ré* and *Oleron*, and after several Refusals oblig'd the City of *Rochel* to declare for him. This unlookt-for Success of an Action which all the World had condemn'd for rash and inconsiderate, made both Friends and Enemies change their language. Almost all those who had disown'd *Soubise* before, repented of their precipitate Renunciations: and excepting some of the Grandees, into whose minds either their own Interest, or the Jealousy of such a glorious Exploit infus'd other thoughts, all others were desirous of being engag'd, and asham'd of having baulk'd their Cause. The Duke of *Rohan* resum'd fresh courage, and flatter'd himself that some of the Provinces would arm in his behalf when he appear'd among 'em. To which purpose he made incredible efforts, that shew'd an invincible courage, and a diligence indefatigable; and at length he obtain'd a good part of what he desir'd. On the other side, the Court did all that lay in their power to hinder Religion from appearing to be the pretence of this War, and therefore endeavour'd to make it a particular quarrel of the House of *Rohan*. And they were oblig'd to proceed thus gingerly, through their fear of augmenting the Party, and offending *England* and the *Low-Countries*, with whom they had not long before made an Alliance. On the other side, the Duke did all that he thought proper to persuade the world, that it was upon no other account, but only upon the score of Religion that he had tak'n Arms. And because he was not ignorant how far some certain extraordinary demonstrations of Zeal and Piety prevail among the People, he affected all the outward Shews of an extreme Devotion. He paid the Ministers extraordinary Honours. When he enter'd into any City, he caus'd a Bible to be carri'd before him, as the Catholics in their Religious Wars advance the Cross in their Forefronts. He alighted from his Horse at the Church-door of every City, and never spoke of business to any body, before he had said his Pray'rs upon both knees. And this made him so much the more to be taken notice of, because the Churches of the Reformed having neither Ornaments nor Reliques, nor any thing of pomp or magnificence to invite a man, it could not be thought that such Actions proceeded from any other Principle than

Which changes the Face of Affairs.

Politic Devotions of the Duke of Rohan.

hen that of a moſt profound Piety. The Dutcheſs his Wife 1625.
lſo, was a notable Second to him in all his Enterprizes. She *Seconded by his wife.*
labour'd with great ſedulity in perſuading the People to take Arms, in all places where ſhe came; and becauſe ſhe travell'd more by night then by day, the equipage, wherein ſhe appear'd, ſtruck a kind of awe into the Countrey People. Beſides that, being in mourning, the People that attended her were all in black; her Coach alſo, cover'd with mourning, was drawn by eight black Horſes: which, together with the Flambeaux that were carri'd to light her along, ſolemniz'd her Train with an Air ſo unuſual, that the Peaſants were affrighted at it more then once. Nor were theſe little Formalities without ſome ſucceſs; for at laſt ſeveral Corporations join'd with him one after another.

In the mean time *Soubiſe* gave an account to the Public of *Manifeſto of the Duke of* Soubiſe. the Motives that induc'd him to take Arms, by a Manifeſto, wherein, looking a good way backward, he renew'd the remembrance of the Services done the deceas'd King by the Reformed, and complain'd that ſince his death the Edicts had bin openly violated, and that the Churches had bin only amus'd with Promiſes which never had bin obſerv'd. He upbraided the Catholics with the ſurprize of *Saumur*, which was detain'd from *du Pleſſis*, though he had bin promis'd to be reſettl'd in it. He forgot not the hard uſage exercis'd at *Mompelier*, contrary to the Faith of the Breifs which had bin granted to the Duke of *Rohan*: and afterwards he added, that the exerciſe of the Reformed Religion had not bin re-eſtabliſh'd where it ought to have bin: that the Reformed had been excluded from all manner of Employments, ev'n from the Offices of Serjeants: that the Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies were depriv'd of their former Liberty: that the Reformed were deni'd common Juſtice in their Affairs; and were often made to loſe their Suits, for no other reaſon but upon the ſcore of their Religion: that at St. *Gilles*, the Miniſter *du Teroné* attending a Corps to the Grave, was knockt o' the head, yet no puniſhment inflicted upon the guilty: that *Briet*, a Judge in the Iſle of *Ré*, a man made up of Fury and Frenzy, had caus'd an unfortunate Wretch to be burnt alive, as being convicted to have burnt a Crucifix, which

1625. nevertheless was found without the least harm done to it, after the execution of that miserable Creature: and that *Rochel* was unjustly oppress'd, which had voluntarily submitted to the Crown.

But in regard that Writings of this nature rarely remain unanswer'd, a Reply to *Soubise*'s Manifesto soon appear'd abroad, though the Author observ'd no Rule or Measure. He had the boldness to assert, that the Reformed had done *Henry* IV. but very little service, because they had neither supply'd him with Money nor Men. He made Reason of State an Excuse for the Alteration of the King's Promises; though in the main he disown'd the Maxim, which permits Princes to break their Words either with their Subjects or with *Heretics*. He evaded the Promise of the Restitution of *Saumur*, by saying, that it was never made, but in case there had been no War. As if, though that had been true, it had not been justice to have restor'd the City, at least after the Peace concluded. He thrust in by head and shoulders an Invective against *Favas*, who never regarded the ruin of his Party, provided he could make himself great. He intermix'd the Recital of the Jealousies which the Assemblies apprehended of the Authority which the Duke of *Rohan* and his Brother went about to usurp. He evaded the rest of the Complaints after various manners, but with very little sincerity, as may be judg'd by the foregoing Examples. As to the Exercises not being re-establish'd, he said, that the Processes were depending in Council; but he did not say, that thence arose the occasion of complaining, because those Causes hung undetermin'd for several years together. He pretended that Employments were conferr'd upon the Reformed; but he conceal'd, that that was only done to draw 'em off from the Cause of the Churches; and that it was for that reason only that *La Force* and *Chastillon* had been made Marshals of *France*, and *Augustus Galand* a Counsellor of State. He averr'd that *Teron* dy'd of an Ulcer in the Lungs; whereas it was prov'd, that he had preach'd in his Church not above fifteen days before he dy'd.

Dispute about the Privileges of Rochelle.

At the same time also a new Dispute arose about the Privileges of *Rochelle*, of which I have spoken in another place. I shall

hall therefore ſay no more here, then only this, that the Pre- 1625.
enſions of that City to their Franchiſes were ſo ſolid, and ſo
vell grounded, that all the Artifices of thoſe who went about
o deprive them of 'em, could never imagine but only two vain
retences. The one was, That the City had forfeited their
ights, when being taken by the *Engliſh*, it was re-taken from
m: The other was, That ſhe had bin depriv'd of her Privi-
dges in 1541. by *Francis* I. by reaſon of her Rebellion. But
o the firſt it was anſwer'd, That ſhe her ſelf had bin aſſiſting
o reſtore her ſelf to the Dominion of the *French*: That ſhe had
nce that obtain'd New Conceſſions and Grants, beſides a Con-
rmation of the Old ones; that *Lewis* XI. had ſworn to main-
in her in her Immunities; and that it was paſt all contradi-
ion that ſhe had enjoy'd 'em till the year 1541. becauſe it was
hen that the King depriv'd her of 'em. And to the ſecond
retence it was reply'd, That *Henry* II. had reſtor'd whatever
ad bin taken away by his Father, and reſettl'd her in her Pri-
ledges.

But according to the Cuſtom of War, no ſooner were the *Peace diſ-*
Troubles begun, but they began to talk of Peace. The Court *cours'd of*
ppear'd inclinable to it, becauſe thoſe Negotiations gave her
lways an opportunity to corrupt ſome body or other, or time
o put her ſelf into a condition to give Laws. *Soubiſe* and *Rochelle*
ent their Deputies to the King; and though the Duke of
Rohan thought it more proper to treat in any other place then
the Court, he was conſtrain'd, that he might appear united
o the reſt, to ſend his Deputies the ſame way, as alſo were
he Corporations that had adher'd to him. However, in re-
ard the Council ſought only to take their time, and to prepare
favourable opportunity to compleat the Ruin of the Party,
he Treaty was ſpun out in length, and Acts of Hoſtility began
n the Upper *Languedoc*. Yet Marſhal *de Themines* was not *Cruelties*
ery proſperous in *Albigeois*; but when he enter'd the Province *of the Roy-*
f *Foix*, his Men, with others that join'd him there, commit- *al Army in*
ed ſo many Cruelties, that the Catholicks themſelves were *Foix.*
aſham'd of 'em: So that this ſame Barbarous Army having ſu-
ain'd great Loſſes before *Mas d'Azil*, where they were forc'd
o raiſe their Siege with Ignominy, ſeveral made no ſcruple to

look

1625. look upon the Rout of the Marshal as a Divine Punishment of his Violences. On the other side, *Soubise* having landed in the Countrey of *Medoc* to divert the Enemy, found an opportunity to perform a more Considerable Exploit. For a Fleet set out to engage him, and reinforc'd with some *Dutch* Ships, oblig'd him to put to Sea agen, in order to meet and fight that Squadron. In short, The Enemy was utterly defeated; and in regard, that since the Enterprize of *Blavet*, every thing had succeeded according to his wish; this New Advantage gave so much reputation to his Affairs, that the most Timorous had the courage to declare on his side. The Court also became more supple about the Conditions of Peace, while *Rochel* and some other Corporations stood more stiffly upon Terms.

Soubise prospers.

The Deputies therefore which the Reformed had sent to the King, and who had su'd for a Peace in most humble manner, at length at *Fontainbleau* obtain'd an indifferent Answer to the Paper which they had presented. It contain'd one and twenty Articles, the first of which nam'd three and forty Places, wherein a Re-establishment of the Exercise was demanded, as in the year 1620. Nor was the City of *Foix* omitted in this same Catalogue: Whence it appear'd that the Triumph of the Monk *Vilate* was but a Chimera; or rather, that the Pretence had not been of any long continuance; since there were still some of the Reformed remaining in a place, where the Monk had boasted his *Conversion* of all that were there. The second demanded the Restitution of the Church-yards which had bin taken from the Reformed in several Places, of which Eight were particularly nam'd. The third demanded Liberty for the Ministers to reside where they pleas'd, according to the General and Particular Articles of the Edict. The Fourth concern'd the Exemption deny'd from contributing toward the Reparation of Churches, and some other things that savour'd of Compliance with the *Roman* Worship. The Fifth contain'd a Complaint, that frequently the Bodies of the Reformed were digg'd up agen, under pretence that they were buried in Catholic Chappels or Church-yards. Of which there was a fresh Example at *Chartres*. For the Bishop had order'd the Body of *Teligni*, a Gentleman whose Land lay in that Diocess, to be haul'd out of his Tomb;

A Paper of the Reformed presented to the King.

tomb; and the pretence of this Piece of Inhumanity exercis'd upon the Body of that Gentleman, eight days after it had bin buried, was, becauſe it was buried in the Chappel of his Houſe. The ſame Article contain'd Complaints of the demoliſhing of ſome Churches, of woich they gave for an example the pulling down the Church which the Reformed had at *Cheilar*. They complain'd alſo of the baniſhing of ſeveral perſons, who had bin driven out of ſeveral Cities, for no other reaſon, but upon the ſcore of Religion; and among the reſt of the places where theſe Exorbitancies had bin committed, *Villemur*, *Leitoure*, *Amiral*, and *Soumieres* were particulariz'd. The ſixth expreſs'd the demoliſhing of *Fort Lewis*; and the next, the levelling of the Citadel of *Mompelier*, which the Inhabitants had bin conſtrain'd to demand. The eighth inſiſted upon the Breif in 1598. touching places of ſecurity, the purport of which was, that there ſhould be no Innovation introduc'd. The ninth mention'd the City Tolls, which had been very ill paid; and the tenth demanded, that the Sums promis'd to the Reformed of *Bearn*, in recompence of Eccleſiaſtical Eſtates, might be paid without any defalcation or diminution. The following Article ſpoke of the Decree of the Parlament of *Bretagne*, which had broken the Article of the Edict wherein the Reformed were declar'd capable of all Employments: they therefore demanded the Decree to be cancell'd, and the Article to be confirm'd. The twelfth was drawn up in favour of the Party-Chambers, and of the Officers that compos'd 'em. In the reſt it was demanded, That the Reformed who had bin deſpoil'd of their Goods and Eſtates, by Grants, Confiſcations, or under pretence of Reprizals, ſhould be reſtor'd to the ſame; that Acts of Hoſtility ſhould be forgotten; that the Declaration publiſh'd before *Mompelier*, might be regiſter'd in the Chamber of Accompts in *Paris*; that they who had taken Arms in 1621. might be diſcharg'd of Taxes laid upon 'em during the Troubles; and that the Receivers who had caus'd 'em to be paid, might be oblig'd to reſtitution of what they had receiv'd; that they might not be ſu'd in the Courts of Juſtice for what had bin done to the prejudice of the Duke of *Rohan*'s ſafe Conducts which he had revok'd; that the Privileges of the Reformed Cities

1625.

1625. Cities and Corporations, principally regarding the Election of their Conſuls and Common Councils, might be preſerv'd; that each Party might be reciprocally diſcharg'd from payment of Debts created without the conſent of the other; that thoſe of the Reformed might be equally ſhar'd; and laſtly, that they might be permitted to hold General Aſſemblies.

Anſwers to their Paper. The Anſwers return'd to this Paper were favourable enough. They referr'd the re-eſtabliſhment of places for Exerciſe, and the reſtitution of Church-yards to the Commiſſioners; and that in terms earneſt enough, and ſuch as might have prov'd ſatisfactory, had thoſe Promiſes bin ſincerely fulfill'd. Principally there was one remarkable Clauſe about Church-yards to this purpoſe, that if for important Reaſons they could not reſtore to the Reformed the ſame places which they had made uſe of in 1620. others ſhould be deliver'd to 'em, as commodious as they could deſire, at the charges of thoſe that ſhould require the exchange. This ſet things very near upon the Baſis of the ancient Article of Particulars, and loſt the Advocate General *Talon*, the fruit of that Fraud which he pretended to have diſcover'd, and which for twenty years together had ſerv'd for a Foundation to the Orders of the Commiſſioners. The liberty for the Miniſters to reſide where they pleas'd was confirm'd, and the King reſerv'd to his Council the power upon hearing of the Cauſe, to remedy ſuch Infringements as ſhould be complain'd of. The Exemption from contributing to things mention'd in the twelfth Article of Particulars was granted, only with the exception of Treaties that had bin made upon that occaſion between the Reformed and the Catholics. They anſwer'd indirectly to the Article about digging up the Bodies of the dead, upon which the Demandants were referr'd to the 18th and 23d Article of the Edict, and to the Decree of Council of the 25th of *Auguſt* 1620. But it was order'd that the Council ſhould be inform'd of the demoliſhing of Churches; that the baniſh'd perſons ſhould be reſtor'd; and that the buſineſs of *Charenton*, tho remov'd to the Council, ſhould be ſent back to the Party-Chamber, which was tranſlated to *Beziers* by reaſon of the Troubles. The demoliſhing of *Fort Lewis*, and the obſervance of the Brevet of 1598. were promis'd in general terms, provided

d the Reformed behav'd themſelves well. As for the Cita- 1625.
l of *Mompelier*, they were willing to believe that the Inhabi-
nts had demanded it freely and unanimouſly. The King alſo
romiſed, that the Sums due for 1623 and 24 ſhould be
aid, to grant good Aſſignations for the preſent year, and to
ake good the Compenſation in *Bearn*. The admiſſion of the
eformed into all Offices, the preſervation of the Juriſdiction
f the Chambers, and of the Dignity of their Officers; the
ettlement of the Reformed in their Eſtates; the Act of Ob-
ion of all Acts of Hoſtility; the regiſtring of the Declara-
on of *Mompelier*, were all ſo many Articles granted. The diſ-
arge from Taxes laid during the Troubles, was granted to
oſe only who had taken Arms in 1621. for as much as was
ll due, without reſtitution of what they had paid. The Ci-
s hat ſtill were held by the Reformed had their Priviledges
onfirm'd; and if any Caſe of Appeal happen'd about the Ele-
ion of Officers, the cognizance of it was referr'd to the
hambers. The Article about ſafe Conducts was granted.
hat, about the reciprocal diſcharge of Debts created by one
arty without the conſent of the other, was paſt for ſuch as
ere not yet paid: only the King reſerv'd to himſelf the equa-
ing the ſhare of the particular Debts of the Reformed; and
romiſ'd to permit a General Aſſembly if they deſir'd it, when
e time was come for electing the General Deputies.

These Anſwers being diſpatch't into the Provinces, met not with minds diſpos'd to be ſatisfi'd therewith. Their great Suc- *The Reformed not ſatisfy'd.*
ſes had dazl'd almoſt all the world; and they who had
us'd themſelves moſt earneſtly to be entreated to quit their O-
ience, were moſt backward in laying down thoſe Arms to
hich they had betaken themſelves with ſo much reluctancy:
that almoſt all the Corporations refus'd the Anſwers as diſ-
tisfactory. More eſpecially, *Rochel* would have *Fort Lewis*
moliſh'd before all things, and would not hear of Peace till
hat were done. But the Duke of *Rohan*, who was afraid of
me Back-blow of Fortune, and who was deſirous to make
e beſt of the preſent condition of Affairs, labour'd for an Ac-
mmodation with all his might. And in regard that for the
btaining in groſs, what he could not obtain by piece-meal, he

1625. was constrain'd to summon an Assembly at *Andusi*, where he caus'd the War to be resolv'd upon, he summon'd another at *Milhau*, to persuade 'em to accept of Peace. But while the time was spent in Journies backward and forward, the Court had leisure to recover their Affairs into a better posture. She sow'd Suspicions and Jealousies among the Reformed, and rais'd up a Party strong enough against the Duke of *Rohan* and his Brother, to insinuate idle Fears, as if they intended to patch up an Accommodation to the prejudice of the common Cause. She debauch'd some of *Soubises*'s principal Officers, and among the rest his Vice-Admiral; and being strengthen'd with some Men of War with which *England* and the *United Provinces* supply'd her, she repair'd her Losses, and found a way to expel *Soubise* out of the Islands of *Oleron* and *Ré*, to cut in pieces his Land-Army, and scatter his Fleet at Sea. The Mayor of *Rochel* also was suspected to have betray'd the Party; for that having hinder'd Seven or eight hunder'd Gentlemen and other Soldiers to pass over into the Isle of *Ré*, under pretence that they might get over more easily with the morning tide, he gave the King's Vessels leisure to seize the Channel that separates the Island from the Continent: so that *Soubise* was depriv'd of that Succor which might have prevented the defeat of his men.

The Court recovers her Affairs.

An Assembly of the Clergy.

The Clergy was then assembl'd at *Paris*, whither every Diocess had sent a greater number of Deputies then was permitted by the Regulations. The reason of this Innovation was, because there were certain Books to be examin'd, of which a Censure was demanded, in regard they contain'd a Doctrine prejudicial to the King's Authority. But in regard that at the same time the Pope's power was call'd in question, the Clergy, much more zealous to support that, then to perform their duty, were desirous to augment the number of voices, that they might be able to oppose those who had really *French* hearts. The Bishop of *Chartres* also, being entrusted and enjoin'd by the Assembly to write the Censure upon those Books, was disown'd by the rest of the Clergy, because he was not so officious as others to the See of *Rome*. The Parlament sided with the Bishop, and enjoin'd the Assembly either to subscribe the Censure

ure of thoſe pernicious Books, or to break up. But the Cler- 1625.
y refus'd to obey that Decree; and to allay the Conteſt, the
King ſummon'd the Affair before himſelf and his Council;
contenting himſelf with a general Cenſure of thoſe Books,
without entring into the Particulars of the pernicious Propoſiti-
ons which they contain'd. The Nuncio appear'd very hot in
his Affair; caus'd an Extract of the diſowning the Biſhop's
Cenſure to be deliver'd to him, and ſent it to *Rome*, where they
were extremely ſatisfi'd with this perſeverance of the Clergy
in their accuſtom'd Prevarications; for which the Pope return'd
them thanks in a moſt obliging manner. But the Clergy for all
this, could not chuſe but be aſham'd of their own Behaviour,
and order'd by a private Act, that the remembrance of that diſ-
pute ſhould be ſtifl'd. Nevertheleſs that Precaution could not
efface it; and the Expedient it ſelf which they had made choice
of to cauſe it to be forgotten, ſerv'd only to preſerve the memo-
ry of it.

The Cardinal, during whoſe Miniſtry the Clergy was very powerful, and very much reſpected, was not yet ſo well ſettl'd in the Government, as openly to diſpleaſe the Court of *Rome*; and beſides he was deſirous to milk from the Clergy a more than ordinary Sum, under pretence of the War. But all theſe complacencies could not obtain above Six hunder'd thouſand Crowns; which the Clergy did not give neither, without ſome teſtimonies that they were loth to part with it. In the mean time the King wrote to the Aſſembly, after the defeat of *Soubiſe*, to let 'em underſtand the good news of his Victory; and to the end they might not be ignorant that Religion was the cauſe of the War, whatever Aſſurances he gave his Proteſtant Allies and Reformed Subjects to the contrary, he told 'em expreſly in his Letters, that by the Rout of *Soubiſe*, *Truth had triumph'd over Falſhood.* But then the Victors might ſay what they pleas'd without any danger. For the Reformed, ſtunn'd with this Revolution, thought of nothing but ſubmitting themſelves; and the Aſſembly of *Milhau*, upon the firſt of *Auguſt*, drew up an acceptance of the Anſwers to the Papers decreed at *Fontainbleau*. And in purſuance of this, ſent away their Deputies to the King with their Submiſſions; who made their

They give money with an ill will.

1625. Addreſſes to him the 21ſt of the month, and in moſt humble terms beſought him for *Rochel*. To which the King's Anſwer was, That he granted a general Peace to all thoſe who had taken Arms; but he added theſe words, For *Rochel* 'tis another thing.

The King excepts Rochel *out of the Peace.*

This excepting of *Rochel*, ſuſpended the concluſion of the Treaty; for that the Deputies of the Aſſembly at *Milhau* had not power to accept of Peace, but upon condition that *Rochel* were included. Which Union of Intereſts was ill reſented at Court, where it was told the Deputies, to fright 'em into a Diſunion, that their ſticking ſo cloſe one to another tended to Faction. However they wanted not Reaſons to have juſtify'd themſelves, had the Court deſign'd to have us'd 'em favourably. For they repli'd, That there was nothing of Novelty in the Union; that till then the King had never diſapprov'd it; that they had bin always join'd together in their Deputations, in their Submiſſions, in their Petitions, in their Papers, which they had always preſented to the King in Union one with another. That by the Anſwer to Article VIII. of the laſt Papers, it was promis'd there ſhould be no Innovation in the Cities held by the Proteſtants; which would be no more then a deluſion, if *Rochel* were excluded: That the Edicts of Peace had bin general hitherto, and accepted in common, without any reſenting the Union of Intereſts. That the acceptance of the Peace without *Rochel*, would be an expreſs condemnation of that City; which would be an Action highly ſcandalous among People of the ſame Religion; ſo much the rather, becauſe *Rochel* was reſolv'd to ſubmit. That if the reſt of the Reformed abandon'd *Rochel* to the King's Indignation, People would be afraid that their general deſtruction was to be begun with the particular ruine of that City; ſeeing that the Clergy, the Parlaments, and the principal Perſons of the Kingdom diſcours'd openly of extirpating *Hereſy*, and of beginning with *Rochel*; which was confirm'd by the printed Pamphlets that were publicly ſold in *Paris*.

Which retards the concluſion of it.

But the ſame Reaſons which made the Reformed judge, that their Union with *Rochel* was juſt and neceſſary, were the very Reaſons that oblig'd the Court to endeavour the diſſolution of it. For the ruine of that formidable City was ſworn; and the

Particular Laws which the King would impoſe upon that City.

he Cardinal, who was desirous to signalize himself by great 1625.
hings, thought it an Enterprize worthy himself. So that
here was nothing listen'd to, of what was spoken in favour of
hat City, whose Destiny was vow'd. Nevertheless, she was
s much astonish'd as the rest at *Soubises*'s Defeat; and falling
f a suddain from a Resolution a little too haughty, into
ost profound Submissions, she resolv'd to beg with humility
hat Peace, which she had refus'd with disdain. Her Deputies
ame and threw themselves at the King's Feet, and besought
is Pardon in most submissive terms. But the King answer'd 'em
ke a Master, that resolv'd to make his Pardon his Punishment,
nd reduce 'em by the Peace into a worse Condition then the Ca-
mities of an Unfortunate War could e're have brought 'em.
he Chancellor therefore, to whom the King referr'd 'em, im-
os'd these Conditions upon 'em. That the Council and Go-
ernment of the City should be in the same Condition as it was
n 1610. That they should admit an Intendant of Justice:
hat the Fortifications should be demolish'd. That the King
hould be admitted with respect, whenever he pleas'd to enter.
hat they should have no Men of War, and that Merchants Ships
houl take their Passes from the Admiral of *France*. That they
hould restore to the Ecclesiastics their Goods and Estates: And
hat certain Wagons and Merchandise which belong'd to the
nhabitants of *Orleance*, and which the *Rochelois* had seiz'd,
hould be restor'd. Upon these Conditions they were promis'd
o be comprehended in all the Priviledges of the Edict.

'Twas a sowre piece of Condescention to submit to such se-
vere and rigorous Laws; nor could they tell how to mollify
he Victor into more easie moderation. In vain the General
Deputies interceded for *Rochelle* in the name of all the Churches.
However *Maniald* took upon him to spake, and made a most
moving and passionate Speech to the King; wherein he made
a lively description of the Misery of the *Rochellois*; he excus'd
their taking Arms as done out of necessity: Which nevertheless
he condemn'd with Expressions full of execration, whatever
the Pretence were with which it was cover'd. He said, that
the *Rochelois* were come to accuse themselves, and sue for mer-
cy. He besought the King to grant 'em Peace, not as Enemies
subdu'd.

1625. subdu'd by the Sword; but as Subjects, with the moderation of his Sceptre. He added, that without Liberty, they would not be Subjects, but Slaves. Concluding, he implor'd pardon with promise of submission, and of *servitude* also, if the King's satisfaction and the good of his service depended upon it. But all this was to no purpose: The King was resolv'd that *Rochel* should be excepted out of the General Peace, and that she should submit to particular Laws.

A powerful League against Spain.

In the mean time there was a League concluded between the King of *England*, the Republic of *Venice*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the States of the *United Provinces*, in Conjunction with *France*, against *Spain*, which kept almost all *Italy* under the Yoke, and was fairly preparing to deprive her of the remainder of her Liberty. These Confederates were very urgent with Cardinal *Richlieu* to hasten Peace with the Reformed, to the end they might act unanimously against the Common Enemy. 'Tis true, that Minister had it deep laid in his thoughts to humble *Spain*, but he thought that the first step which he was to take to that end, was to enslave *France*, and by that means to bereave Foreigners of Opportunities to renew the Civil Wars. To that end, he judg'd it necessary first to ruin the Reformed, who were still strong enough by their Union to support a Party of Malecontents. And therefore he resolv'd to begin with *Rochelle*; after the reducing of which, he did not expect to meet with much more Resistance in the Kingdom. Nor did *France* want Persons who were sharp-sighted enough to penetrate the Cardinal's Design: But their foresight did not hinder 'em for all that, from contributing to their own Servitude. They well perceiv'd, that in oppressing the Reformed they made Fetters for themselves; but every one was in hopes to make his Fortune by the Public Misery. This was that which made the Cardinal so obstinate to except *Rochel* out of the general Peace, to the end he might separate it from the rest of the Reformed, and destroy it with more ease.

The Cardinal's Designs.

Of which he is forc'd to defer the execution.

But two things constrain'd him to surcease this Great Design. The one was, That the *Spaniards* waited the Success of these Confusions, that they might take their own Methods; that they treated with the Duke of *Rohan* to accept of their Service; that

hat the Duke had ſent *Campredon* into *Spain*, to make himſelf 1625.
e more conſiderable by their Succour; that the Conjuncture
f Affairs render'd the *Spaniards* more ſtiff; and authoriz'd the
inning out a Treaty begun with 'em, about thoſe things which
d kindl'd the War in *Italy*. The other was, That Powerful
abals were forming againſt him to remove him from the Mi-
ſtry. He ſaw the chiefeſt part of all that was great at Court
Combination againſt him; and rightly judg'd that he ſhould
ve too many Factions to employ his Wits, without taking
on himſelf the management of two Wars at once, the one
omeſtic, the other Civil. He reſolv'd therefore to put an end
th to the one, and the other; with a reſolution to ſet a-foot
e Civil War agen, ſo ſoon as the Conſpiracies againſt his Au-
ority would give him leiſure; and to apply himſelf to the Fo-
ign War ſo ſoon as he had ſtifl'd the Seeds from whence Do-
eſtic Troubles might again ſpring up. For the firſt, he made uſe
f the continu'd Importunities of *Holland* and *Carleton* to induce
m to uſe the Reformed with leſs ſeverity, to the end he might
e more at liberty to carry on the Foreign War. On the other
de, thoſe Embaſſadors preſs'd the Reformed to accept the
eace upon the Conditions that were offer'd 'em; and aſſur'd
m that the King their Maſter would be Guaranty for the per- 1626.
rmance of thoſe that were promis'd 'em. Particularly, they
romis'd *Rochelle*, that the King of *England* would ſo earneſtly
llicit the Demoliſhing of *Fort Lewis*, and ſo moderate the
ard Conditions that were impos'd upon 'em, that he queſtion'd
t but to bring it to paſs. They farther told 'em, that the
ing of *France* had given 'em his Word to demoliſh the Fort
convenient time, upon Condition that *Rochelle* return'd to
r Duty.

The Engliſh *Embaſſadors importunate for the Peace of the Religion.*

Theſe Sollicitations and Promiſes made *Rochelle* at length
termin to humble her ſelf: And the reſt of the Cities, as
Montaubin, *Caſtres*, *Nimes*, *Uſez*, which had not refus'd the
eace. but only becauſe ſhe ſtood out, follow'd her Example,
ſoon as ſhe had accepted it. Thereupon it was concluded the
6th of *February*. However, all that was alter'd in the Laws
mpos'd upon *Rochelle* was, that the Second Article, which
ention'd the ſettling an Intendant of Juſtice in that City,
was

Rochelle *accepts the Conditions ſomewhat mollify'd.*

1626. was expreſs'd in theſe Terms, That they ſhould admit Commiſſioners to ſee the Peace perform'd, who might reſide there as long as they plea'd. There was nothing ſaid either of the Fourth, which imported that the King ſhould be admitted whenever he pleas'd to enter; or of the Seventh, which concern'd the Intereſt of certain Merchants of *Orleance*: But they put inſtead of them, the Reſtoration of the Catholic Religion in the full Liberty of its Exerciſes; and a Declaration that *Fort Lewis* could not be raz'd; but that ſuch Order ſhould be given to the Gariſon, and to the Gariſons of the Iſlands of *Ré* and *Oleron*, that the Trade of the City ſhould be no way prejudic'd. Inſtead of demoliſhing the Fortifications which had been decreed at firſt in General Terms, nothing more was requir'd then the demoliſhing the *Fort de Taden*: And to ſoften the Article which enjoin'd the Merchants Veſſels to take Paſſes from the Admirals of *France*, 'twas only ordain'd that they ſhould obſerve the Laws of Traffic, without prejudice to their Priviledges.

There was an Act of theſe Articles drawn up, at the bottom of which was a Promiſe that the Reformed ſhould enjoy the benefit of the Anſwers return'd to their Papers at *Fontainbleau*, in *July* 1625; provided that on their part, they ſetled things in the ſame condition as they were in at the ſame time. But for fear, leſt *Rochelle* ſhould take any advantage of this Promiſe, that City was expreſsly excepted: And it was declar'd, That the King did not thereby engage himſelf to any other Favour then what was mention'd in the Act which went before. The Deputies of the Reformed had ſign'd in that Place. But underneath there was yet a third Act, ſign'd by the ſaid Deputies as well in their own, as in the name of the Deputies, from the Dukes of *Roban* and *Soubiſe*, of *Languedoc*, *Rochelle*, *Montauban*, *Caſtres*, *Nimes*, *Uſez*, *Milhau*, and *Cevenes*, wherein they proteſted that they had beſought the King with all the duty and moſt humble ſubmiſſions that Subjects could pay to their Sovereign, to pardon what was paſt, and to grant 'em Peace; with a promiſe of great Fidelity for the future, from which they would never ſwerve; and Offers of all manner of Services: All which the King had graciouſly harken'd to, and upon which he had given his Royal Word for Peace, and the obſervance of the

Anſwers

nſwers return'd to the Paper deliver'd at *Fontainbleau*. Out 1626.
f which however he had excepted *Rochelle*, in reference to
hich he had declar'd his Will; and which, they ſaid, they accep-
d as the moſt ſignal Mark of Clemency and Goodneſs that Sub-
cts could receive from a Soveraign; and they promis'd to
and to it inviolably, and to cauſe the Places taken ſince *July*
ſt to be ſurrender'd.

The Court, although they deſir'd Peace with an extraordinary paſſion, exacted theſe Submiſſions, to make the Reformed own hat they were in the wrong to levy War; and that they might ke advantage of their own Confeſſions, if any new Quarrels ake forth. And the Reformed, who were not ignorant of he Court-Politics, paſt theſe Infamous Acts, either becauſe hey had bin wrought over, or becauſe they found they lay at he mercy of the Court, as the Duke of *Rohan* well foreſaw; r elſe becauſe they were in hopes of obtaining greater Favours y theſe Extraordinary Submiſſions; or laſtly, in compliance ith thoſe who could not like it, that Subjects ſhould take Arms gainſt their Prince upon any Occaſion whatever. However, to ſſure themſelves of the King of *England*'s Protection, whom hey believ'd to be Guarantee of the Peace, they drew up an Act gn'd by the Embaſſadors, and dated *Feb.* 11. wherein they de- lar'd, that the Razing of *Fort Lewis* was promis'd in time con- venient, provided the *Rochelois* return'd to their duty; and that without that Promiſe neither *Rochel* would have accepted the Peace, neither would the Reformed have relinquiſh'd thoſe things which the Inſtances of the King of *England* made 'em relinquiſh; by reaſon of which they put 'em in hopes of a powerful Interceſſion on his part, that they might have ſatisfa- ction giv'n 'em. This Paper was ill drawn up; nor did it clearly expreſs the Guarantie of which the King of *England* boaſted. Nevertheleſs, it cannot be deni'd, but that it muſt have oblig'd that Prince either to have diſown'd his Embaſſadors, o elſe to take care that what was granted the Reformed ſhould be faithfully perform'd; ſince he acknowledg'd that the ſole force of his Sollicitations had vanquiſh'd their good nature to be ſatisfi'd with the King's Offers. An honeſt man needs no more to engage him to make another man's buſineſs his own, but

Why the Court exacted ſuch Writings.

All paſſed by the Embaſſadors of England.

1626. that it was himself who caus'd the other to miscarry, either by his Authority or Persuasion. And in this sense it cannot be deni'd, but that the King of *England* was Guarantee of the Peace, since it was upon his word, and in hopes that he would be answerable for it, that the Reformed accepted it. But this Important Ceremony wanted due formality; and the Council of *France* had so well order'd their Business, that nothing appear'd from whence any evident Conclusion could be drawn, that the King of *England* interpos'd in this Treaty as a Mediator, or as a Guarantee. In a word, Policy will not permit Princes to suffer, that another Prince should be Guarantee of Treaties which are made between them and their Subjects. To consent that Subjects should have recourse to the Garantie of a Foreigner for their Security in things that concern the Word and Authority of their Lawful Prince, would be to tye 'em to another Soveraign. For this Reason the Court of *France*, who had let the King of *England* alone to use all the Arguments, of which they could make their advantage, yet were not engag'd by any Public Act to do the least Kindness out of any respect for him, laught at the Pretension of the *English* Mediator, when he would have had his Guarantie taken effect; and lookt upon the Embassador's Writing as an idle piece of Nullity that oblig'd the King of *France* to nothing.

A new Edict confirming all the rest.

But after the Peace was sign'd upon the Conditions mentention'd, the Ratifications of *Rochel* and *Montauban* were expected; of which the one was perform'd the second, the other the sixth of *March*. Which done, an Edict was publish'd the same Month, which contain'd Twelve Articles. The Introduction spoke of nothing but Clemency and Pardon on the King's part, and Submissions and Supplications reiterated by the Reformed, and particularly by those who remain'd in obedience, which the King said, was the better sort, and the greatest part, and to whose Remonstrances he had had a special regard when he accepted the Submissions of the Rest. The First Article confirm'd the *Regster'd* Edicts and Secret Articles, and gave Testimony that they had been well and duly observ'd in the Reign of the deceased King, and after his death, till the beginning of the last Commotions. Which was an Artifice to induce the

the Reformed themſelves to condemn all the loud Complaints of a thouſand Breaches before that time. The ſecond reſtor'd the Exerciſe of the *Roman* Religion in all places where it had bin ejected during the Troubles; and order'd ample Reſtitution of the Eſtates and Rights belonging to the Eccleſiaſtics, even of their Moveables that ſhould be found in *ſpecie*. The third granted the ſame favour to the Reformed for the exerciſe of their Religion, and for the Church-yards which they were poſſeſs'd of in 1600. And the Clauſes of that Article were taken out of the Anſwer to the two firſt of the Paper decreed at *Fontainbleau*. The fourth contain'd an Amneſty of all Acts of Hoſtility; even of thoſe that might have bin committed ſince the day of the Declaration dated *October* 1622. till the day of the publication of this in the Parlaments: nor were the Subminſſions and reiterated Supplications of the Reformed omitted. The fifth concern'd the raiſing of money, and gave a diſcharge of it in the terms of the Articles of the Edict of *Nantes*, which mention'd the ſame thing. The ſixth re-eſtabliſh'd the Seats of Judicature, the Receits, the Officers of the Finances, in the places from whence they had bin remov'd by reaſon of the Troubles; wherein the Tablier of the Election at *Rochel* was alſo comprehended. The Priviledges of the Cities which the Reformed held in their hands were likewiſe confirm'd. The uſual method for the electing of Conſuls was to be obſerv'd; and the Appeals of Perſons aggriev'd were to be judg'd by the Chambers of the Edict. The ſeventh diſcharg'd the Reformed from all Sentences pronounc'd againſt 'em by reaſon of their taking Arms: And this Article was very neceſſary every where; but chiefly within the Juriſdiction of the Parlament of *Thoulouſe*, where they had ſignaliz'd their extraordinary Zeal by a great number of Decrees againſt Corporations and private perſons. The eighth ordain'd a ſpeedy Releaſe of Priſoners and Perſons condemn'd to the Gallies. The ninth confirm'd the Article of the Edict of *Nantes*, which declar'd the Reformed capable of all Offices; re eſtabliſh'd thoſe that had bin put out; revok'd the Patents of their Offices granted to others, and reſtor'd to the Reformed all their Eſtates, their Titles, Debts, Accompts and Actions, and cancell'd all oppoſite Acts, except the

1626.

1626. peremptory Decrees of the Council and Chambers of the Edict. The tenth order'd that this Declaration should be observ'd in the terms of the 92d Article of the Edict of *Nantes*. The eleventh forbid for the future all manner of Politic Assemblies, unless they had express leave to hold 'em; and all manner of Associations, and keeping of Intelligences. Nevertheless Ecclesiastical Assemblies were permitted, about meer affairs of Church-Discipline, and in conformity to the Declaration of *August* 1623. which enjoin'd the Synods to admit a Commissioner deputed by the King. All manner of Fortifications and raising of Money were forbid, without an express Commission. The last ordain'd the execution of the Articles that related to *Rochel*, and the restitution of the Cities and Castles during the War. 'Tis true the Mayor, the Sheriffs, and certain Burgesses of *Orleans*; the Catholics of *Mompelier* and parts adjoining, Prelats, Ecclesiastics, Gentlemen and others, oppos'd the verification of this Edict in the Parlament of *Paris*; and the opposition of the first was admitted, but the rest were referr'd to the Parlament of *Tholouse*. However their opposition was only in reference to some particular Interests.

France plays foul with the Confederates.

After the Peace was thus concluded, the *Confederates* were in hopes that *France* would have turn'd her Arms against the House of *Austria*. But they were strangely astonish'd to see a ratifi'd Treaty appear abroad within eleven days after, which *du Targis*, Ambassador in *Spain*, had concluded between the Two Crowns. 'Tis true, that to cover this foul Play, they made a shew of disowning the Ambassador, who seemingly was never to have bin pardon'd, but for the earnest sollicitations of the Court of *Rome*. But this Farce deceiv'd none but Fools, for the Treaty held good after some slight Alterations, and the *Confederates* exhal'd their Resentments in vain Reproaches and unprofitable Threats. There was only the Duke of *Savoy*, who being enrag'd at such a piece of Perfidiousness, sent away the Abbot *de la Scaglia* into *England*, to excite that Monarch to revenge, who had no less reason then himself to be chaf'd at such a scorn of his Amity. And Affairs in that Kingdom began to encline toward a Rupture; for there was a great Jealousy in point of Honour between Cardinal *Richlieu*, and the Duke of

Jealousie between the Cardinal and Buckingham.

Buc-

Buckingham, but they were unequally match'd: For *Buckingham* was vain, hair-brain'd, lofty, and void of Foreſight; *Richlieu* crafty, a Diſſembler, a Hypocrite, and one that never ventur'd any thing without good aſſurances of Succeſs. They had this however, which was common to both; that they were hated by all men but ſuch as were their Creatures, and both were equally ſovereign Governors of their ſovereign Maſters; tho others ſay, there was a more ſecret cauſe of Jealouſy between them. For *Buckingham* had appear'd in the Court of *France* with the Character of Ambaſſador in a magnificent Equipage, and had drawn the eyes of all the world upon him. He had moreover pleas'd the Ladies; and his vanity had tranſported him to think himſelf worthy to attempt the Queen herſelf. The Cardinal had the ſame thoughts, and could not endure that his Rival ſhould receive any marks of being preferr'd before him. 1626.

We may reck'n, among the greateſt weakneſſes of that celebrated Miniſter of State, that he was emulous of out doing all others, ev'n in Trifles: he could not endure that another man ſhould out-do him in the moſt pitiful things. To make Verſes, or to ſpeak better than he did, was not the way to win his Favour, or to ſhew that he underſtood Humanity, Philoſophy, the Mathematics, Divinity or Antiquity better then he. That he might enjoy the Reputation of being the moſt expert man of his time in all things, he ſtretcht his weakneſs to that degree, as to attribute to himſelf the Works of other men; and to own under his own Name thoſe Writings, wherein, perhaps, he was no more concern'd, then to have bin the firſt that conceiv'd the rude and indigeſted *Idea* of the Subject. He had the ſame Sentiments as to Magnificence, and Courting of Ladies; and for a man to preſume to tranſcend him in either of thoſe two things, was a certain way to loſe his favour. However it were, he always us'd the Queen but very ſcurvily, after he obſerv'd the little value ſhe had for him; inſomuch that while he liv'd, ſhe had not all the World at will. *The Cardinal's blind-ſide.*

There was alſo brewing at the ſame time another occaſion of a Rupture, through the ill conduct of the Queens Houſhold Servants. Their Zeal for the Catholic Religion, ſoon made 'em

exceed

1625. exceed the Bounds to which they were confin'd by the Treaties of Marriage. They introduc'd the Jesuits into the Household of that Princess; where those turbulent and ambitious People made themselves such absolute Masters of her Wit and Reason, that they soon set her at variance with the King her Husband. They so intoxicated her Understanding with their Superstitions, that they forc'd her to commit a thousand mean things beneath her Grandeur, and unworthy of her Dignity. They perswaded her to adore, as Martyrs, those of their Order, that had been executed under the preceding Reign, as Contrivers or Accomplices in the Powder-Plot. And the occasion of a Jubilee presenting itself, they made choice of the place where the common Malefactors are executed, whither the Queen was to walk bare-foot to say her Prayers. The *English*, to whom the very Name of Jesuit is abominable, were justly offended at this piece of Insolence; and the King himself, though he were extremely soft and easy, was highly exasperated: So that being otherwise disgusted at the Misdemeanors of the Queens Domestics, he resolv'd to send 'em back into *France*. Upon which, the Cardinal sent *Bassompierre* to him, to complain of such a violence offer'd to the Treaty; and to endeavour to reconcile the differences between him and his Wife, wherein the Ambassador had the good luck to succeed within a little of his Wishes. But in regard the Ministers of both Courts made it their business mutually to vex and thwart one another, the Cardinal caus'd *Bassompierre*'s Treaty to be disown'd, and *Buckingham* oblig'd his King to revoke his Word. After which, upon some Affairs of Commerce intervening, *Buckingham*, who burn'd with a desire of returning into *France*, and brave the Cardinal, would needs be sent thither once more with the Character of Ambassador. But the Cardinal found a way to let him understand that he should not be welcome. Upon which, the *English* Favourite enrag'd at such an Affront, oblig'd his Master to declare War against *France*. And the pretence was, that the Court of *France* had not observ'd the Articles of the last Peace. But his Measures were so false, and his Conduct so fool-hardy, that he compleated the Ruine of the Reformed and *Rochel*, while he sought his own and their Revenge.

Enterprises of the Catholics of the Queen of England's menial Servants.

While

While this Tempeſt was gathering together, the Cardinal 1626.
labour'd to diſperſe another Storm that threaten'd him nearer at
and. *Spain*, who well foreſaw what Obſtacles he would *Conſpiracies againſt the Cardinal.*
row in the way of her Grandeur, if he were not entangl'd in
Domeſtic Diviſions, found him work on every ſide, and ſhe
erceiv'd the chiefeſt part of the Princes and great Lords inclin'd
ſecond her. The Reigning Queen hated the Cardinal; and
onſieur's Softneſs made him comply with all the Sentiments
thoſe who had the aſcendant over him. They put him out
conceit with a Match with the Heireſt of *Mompenſier*, which
d been projected in the time of the deceas'd King; and they
l'd his Head with a thouſand Chimera's. But the Principal
iſions with which they amus'd his Brains, were the depoſing
the King, to the unmarrying him, and giving to his Brother
th his Crown and Wife. Upon which Subject ſeveral Libels
d appear'd abroad; of which one that was entitl'd an *Adver-*
ſement to the King, made it a Crime in him to oppoſe the
roſperity of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and to confederate againſt
r with Proteſtant Princes, and promiſe the giving him an
ſiſtant or Aſſociate in the Government. Which Libel occa-
n'd the Quarrel between the Biſhop of *Chartres* and the Cler-
. The Cardinal alſo was dilacerated and mangl'd by a hun-
ed Writings of the ſame nature; and perhaps never any man
s known to be loaden with ſuch a heap of Invectives and
rs. But he luckily diſintangl'd himſelf out of all theſe In-
mbrances. He faign'd therefore to retire from the Court,
d away he went, to the end he might give the King an occa-
n to recall him. But the Queen Mother, who could not
n be without him, infus'd it ſo ſtrongly into the King's Head,
t if he conſented to the diſtant abſence of that Miniſter, the
nſpirators would make themſelves Maſters of his Authority,
t of his Perſon, that the Suſpicious and Irreſolute Prince
n ſent for him back agen. This return of his having ad-
nc'd his Credit to a higher degree, he began to put in pra-
ſe thoſe ſevere and Bloody Politicks that ruin'd ſo many Lords,
ich fill'd the Priſons with ſo many Perſons ſuſpected of no
er Crime then Love of Liberty; and render'd him ſo abſo-
e and formidable, that the King himſelf began to have an
averſion

1626. aversion for him, and became jealous of his high Authority. The Count *de Chalais* was the first Victim offer'd to his Arbitrary Power. The Duke of *Vendosme*, and the Grand Prior his Brother, together with several other persons, lost either their Liberty, or their Government, or their Pensions; and the whole Conspiracy was perfectly dissipated.

The Cavalcation of Rochel.

In the mean time *Rochel* was tost'd and vex'd with various Troubles; by reason that they who were interested in the new form of Government, would not suffer things to be resettl'd upon the Old Foundation. The People favour'd these Mutineers, and the Sedition increas'd to that degree, that the Mayor, who was suspected, was carri'd away by force, and very ill us'd as the Author of these Changes. Nevertheless, these Disorders were appeas'd by the necessity of obeying, and the fear of a greater Mischief, should they furnish the Court with any Pretence, which was the thing she waited for, to make war upon *Rochel* alone, and disunited from the rest of the Reformed Cities. Mass was there said upon *Ascension-day* in St. *Margaret's* Church; and the City re-call'd her Deputies that had been sent to Foreigners. But whether they waited for the effect of the King of *England's* Promis'd Intercession, for demolishing *Fort Lewis*; or whether they were desirous to see what would be the issue of the Confusions at Court, they went but slowly on with dismantling their Fortifications, more especially the Fort of *Tadon*, which was one of their best and strongest Bulwarks. *Lesdiguieres*, discontented with the Court, fomented new Troubles in the *Dauphinate*; *Brison* by his Counsels maintain'd himself in *Poussin*, a paltry place; from which however they could not get him out, but by giving him a Recompence of 400 Crowns. And *Montauban*, Son of the Marquis of *Gouverne* got almost as much, to lay down Arms.

A National Synod.

Thus all things being in a manner peaceable and quiet, the Reformed were permitted to assemble a National Synod at *Castres*, which sate down the 15th of *September*, and the Court sent this *Augustus Galand* for their Commissioner in pursuance of the Declaration 1623. the revocation of which they could not obtain. All they could get was a Decree, which upon the complaint of the Delays and Difficulties they met with in the nomi-

nation of Commissioners by the Governors, and of the long time before the Commissioners came to the Synods, imported thus much, That the Governors, or others to whom they should apply themselves, having notice of the Place and Day of the Synod's sitting a Month before, should be bound to nominate Commissioners, and those that were nominated should be bound to be there at the place, and upon the day appointed, or within three days after at furthest; which if they fail'd to do, the Deputies had leave to assemble without 'em; they behaving themselves in other things according to the Edicts. This same Ga- had already been present at the last Assembly held at *Cha-*, and the Figure he made at Court would not permit him to quit his Interest, or to swerve from her Orders and Maxims. 1626.

He was entrusted with a Letter from the King to the Synod, Commission to be present there, and Instructions in writing how to carry himself. The Letter imported leave to hold the Synod, whose Deliberations were thereby also confin'd to affairs of Church-Discipline only. Moreover, it was in the nature of a Credential for the Commissioner; and lastly, it contain'd assurances of the King's good-will, and his observance of the Edicts, provided that the Reformed continu'd in their obedience. The Commission was plain and downright, but it mention'd an express Injunction to be careful of seeing the Edicts observ'd, and chiefly that of 1623. and to hinder the keeping of any Conventicles at *Castres* without his leave. His Instructions were more ample, and contain'd six principal Articles. The first renew'd the promises of the King's good-will, while dutiful Obedience was paid him. The second exhorted the Reformed to live in Concord with the Catholics, and not to have other than sentiments of Equity and Justice for 'em; which the King promis'd to see done on the Catholics part. The third exhorted a Renunciation of all Associations, Unions and Intelligences either abroad or at home, any other then with the King: and the Commissioner was to declare, that the King never had the least thought of disannulling the Edicts; which he prov'd, because the King had confirm'd 'em after he came to years of majority; that he had renew'd his Alliances with Foreign.

The Commissioners Instructions.

1626. reign Protestants; that he had augmented the Gratuities which the King his Father had given to the Ministers; that he had made use of Protestant Lords in sundry great Affairs; and for that in the Insurrections of the Reformed, he had bin always enclin'd to mercy so soon as they were ready to submit. The fourth was of a singular nature, to oblige the Ministers to inform against one another themselves, and to brand one another upon their own judgments: so that *Galand* was to exhort em to inform against those Ministers who had held intelligence with the *Spaniards*, without taking notice in reference to it, of any Amnesties of what was past. He was in that respect to draw a Declaration from the Synod, conformable to what had past in the Provincial Synod of Upper *Guyenne* held at *Realmont*; and to testify that the aim of that Inquisition was not to punish the guilty, but to hinder those that were faithful from being comprehended in the Crimes of others. The fifth admonish'd the Commissioner not to let the Synod meddle with any thing but barely Discipline. And the last took from the Ministers the liberty of going out of the Kingdom, or setling themselves in any other places without permission; and from the Synods the power of sending any to Foreign Princes and Sovereigns, that should desire 'em either for a time, or for a constancy. For 'twas the King's pleasure that Demands of that nature should be sent to him: and the reason of that new restraint was said to be, because that the Duties of Obedience were not to be alter'd by a mixture of the Manners and Customs of Foreign Countries.

Answers of Chauve the Moderator

This Commission of *Galands* was ill resented by the Synod, and *Chauve*, then Moderator, told him very roundly, That a Man zealous for his Religion, ought not to have charg'd himself with Instructions of such a nature, which only tended to overreach and dishonour his Brethren. After which Remonstrance he return'd an Answer to all the Articles with as much Resolution as Prudence. But for the better understanding of his Answer, it is necessary here to explain what the Synod of *Realmont* was, and what had bin there done upon the occasion of Foreign Intelligences. The Duke of *Rohan* being sollicited by the *Spaniards*, was enter'd into Treaty with 'em, and had sent *Campre-*

n into *Spain*, for more positive assurances of the Succor that 1626.
was offer'd. Not that it was the design either of the *Spanish* Court, or the Duke of *Rohan*, to stick to the Treaty; but both expected to make this benefit of it, that it might be a means to bring the Cardinal to better terms. The Duke was in hopes thereby to obtain a more advantageous Peace; and *Spain* willing to shew, that if the *French* went on with the War in *Italy*, that she had a way to revenge herself, by continuing the Civil War in *France* as long as she pleas'd. Moreover, being afraid left the Reformed should agree to an Accommodation, she made 'em a shew of large Succors to render 'em more stiff, and to engage 'em to stand upon such Demands as would not be granted 'em: so that the Treaty was concluded by *Campredon*, with considerable Promises. But while he return'd laden with the Articles of the Treaty, Peace was made both with the Reformed and with *Spain* the Treaty having no other effect, but only that it put the sooner conclusion to both Wars. *Campredon* at his return was seiz'd upon, and carri'd a Prisoner to *Tholouse*, and there prosecuted for his life. In the mean time the Edict of *March* being sent to the President *Masuyer* to be registred, one would have thought that *Campredon* should have enjoy'd the benefit of the Amnesty. And indeed the President knew it better then any body: but in a Cause of Religion, he would not understand what belong'd either to Justice or Honesty; and, to say truth, he was a meer Varlet in many things: at least in point of Religion, he minded neither true dealing nor modesty. So that he was so malicious as to keep the Edict in his Pocket, till *Campredon* was executed; for he sentenc'd him to death: after which he registred the Edict with several Qualifications. *Masuyer's false dealing.*

This Action was detested by all good men: but they who were of *Masuyer's* humor rejoiced at it, and were of opinion, that the advantage of being able to retort upon the Reformed the death of a man condemn'd by Justice, for having negotiated a League in the name of their Captain with *Spain*, would counterbalance a piece of Treachery. It seem'd to them, that after this, the Reformed had no more to do but to hold their tongues, and that they could no longer accuse the Catholics of *The Catholics triumph.*

1626. their ancient League with the ſame Crown. Nevertheleſs, there was a great deal of difference between the one and the other; for this new League was the Duke of *Rohan*'s buſineſs, not entruſted by any body elſe, but who enter'd into it of his own head. Moreover, there was nothing here tranſacted about dethroning the King, or excluding the Lawful Heir from the Succeſſion. Whereas the League which made ſuch a noiſe under the Reign of *Henry* III. was not the Crime alone of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, but of the greateſt part of the Catholics, and of almoſt all the Cities of the Kingdom: but more eſpecially of all the Clergy, all the ſeveral Orders of which, could hardly afford a dozen of honeſt *French* men; therefore things ſo different could not be brought into Parallel. For which reaſon it was, that if it had bin poſſible, they would fain have envelop'd the Miniſters in the ſame reproach; and that they accus'd 'em under a pretence which at firſt ſight was enough to dazle the ſimple. To this purpoſe they made choice of a Commiſſioner, who was to be preſent at the Provincial Synod of Upper *Languedoc*, and the Upper *Guyenne*, which was to be held at *Realmont*, ſuch an one as was proper to ſerve for ſuch a deſign: and this man, either corrupted, or elſe ſo ſilly by as not to ſee the ſnare that was laid for the Miniſters at that Seſſions, would needs take upon him to propoſe to the Synod, that Inquiſition might be made after thoſe who might have bin any way concern'd in *Campredon*'s Negotiation. And the better to diſguiſe the buſineſs, they involv'd it in the general Name of Correſponding with Foreigners. Now in regard the Synod was held in the Province where *Campredon* was taken and executed, People of Reputation believ'd that an Act which ſhould ordain ſuch an Inquiſition, would be no more then a diſowning of that Negotiation, and a Proof of the Miniſter's Innocence; and they that ſided with the Court, which were always very numerous in thoſe Southern Countries, agreed to it, as to a thing which would be acceptable to the King. Therefore an Article was drawn up upon the Commiſſioner's Propoſition, which order'd an Inquiſition after ſuch as had been privy to that Treaty, and which exhorted thoſe who knew any ſuch, to diſcover 'em. But there was neither Informer nor Criminal to be found; ſo that there

They would have involv'd the Miniſters in the Duke of Rohan's Treaty with Spain.

was

as this Circumſtance added to the Act, that it was for the ac- 1626.
uittal of the Miniſters. But the thing was underſtood far
herwiſe then at *Realmont*: for it was judg'd that ſuch Acts
lways create a diſadvantageous Prejudice; and that the Juſti-
cation which enſu'd, did not altogether remove the Suſpicion
hich it had imprinted, that the Miniſters might engage them-
lves in criminal Correſpondencies. So that all the Churches
ondemn'd the imprudence and ſimplicity of this Synod: and
at of *Caſtres* ſpar'd not their Cenſures and Remonſtrances upon
. So that the Deputies of the Province were oblig'd
o complain, that they had bin ſurpriz'd by the Commiſ-
ioner.

Articles of the Synod of Realmont, for the diſcovery of ſuch as had a hand in the Treaty. Which ſeems to ſhake all the Charges.

Therefore when the National Synod ſaw that *Galand* pro-
os'd the example of *Realmont*, the Moderator thought that
rticle deſerv'd an Anſwer, which ſhould take away from the
Men's and Bigots all pretence of exclaiming againſt the Mini-
ers. Therefore to the firſt Article of *Galand*'s Inſtructions,
Marin's Anſwer was full of ſubmiſſion and promiſes of obe-
ence. As to the ſecond, he promis'd that Moderation and Equi-
which the King requir'd; and aſſur'd the Commiſſioner, that
e Conſiſtories ſhould continually from time to time exhort the
hurches to it. But he complain'd that the Catholics did not
obſerve that mildneſs which they exacted from others; but that
ey exercis'd the patience of the Reformed by a thouſand Inju-
es. For which reaſon he enjoin'd the Commiſſioner to be-
ech the King to have pity upon the Reformed, whom he re-
preſented ill us'd in their perſons; diſturb'd in the exerciſes of
eir Religion; depriv'd of their Churches; of which ſome
d bin demoliſh'd ſince the Peace, or given to the Eccleſiaſtics;
ſpoſſeſs'd of their Church-yards, where ſeveral Bodies had bin
gg'd up agen out of their Graves; and at length he com-
ain'd that in ſeveral places the Miniſters had bin beaten, and
iven out of the Churches by violence; referring more ample
emonſtrances to be made to the King upon theſe Complaints
the general Deputies. As to the third Article, he proteſted
that no Body knew of any Correſpondencies held with Foreign-
to the prejudice of the Kingdom's welfare: he ſhew'd the
neral deteſtation of ſuch trafficking in ſmart and vigorous

And is diſown'd by the National Synod.

expreſ-

1626. expressions; and he lost not that opportunity to slide into his discourse certain Jerks against the Doctrine and Attempts of the Jesuits. As to the fourth, which mention'd the Act of *Rat-mont*, he loudly complain'd of the surprize which the Commissioner had put upon the Synod; thinking thereby to insinuate, as if some Ministers had bin accus'd of holding Correspondence with the *Spaniard*; but he prais'd God, that after an exact Inquisition, there was no body found guilty, nor no body so daring as to accuse any body for being so. As to the fifth, which forbid medling with politic Affairs, he answer'd that the preceding National Synods had taken order about it. And as to the sixth, which related to the sending of Ministers to Foreigners, he repli'd, that the present Synod would take care of that particular.

Leave to nominate General Deputies.

These Answers were approv'd by all the Synod, and *Chaus* had the Thanks of the whole Assembly for what he had said. After this *Galand* presented a Brief to the Assembly, dated four days after the King's Letter, which imported a permission to the Synod, in the presence of the Commissioner, to nominate General Deputies to the number of Six, out of which the King would chuse Two. The Pretence was, that another Assembly would be too expensive, and create a great deal of inconvenience: He added also to this Permission a Prohibition to treat of other Politic Affairs. But the Synod, who well perceiv'd that the Mystery of that Permission tended to break the Remainder of that Union which the Reformed had so long maintain'd, and who after six years slid away, before they could obtain a new Assembly, rightly judg'd that there was no other way to refix their Affairs, then a Licens'd and Authoris'd Assembly, did all they could to excuse themselves from that Nomination. For which Reason, as the King alledg'd, the Good and Convenience of the Reformed to avoid the Demand of a General Assembly; the Synod on their parts urg'd their Duty, which would not permit 'em to meddle with other Affairs then those of Discipline, as a reason for their not nominating of General Deputies, because it was an Affair altogether Political. Besides, they found the Permission too much limited; Because it contain'd not leave to take an Accompt of the last Deputies, to give them a dis-

From which the Synod desires to be exempted.

discharge, and to draw up Instructions for the new ones. They 1626.
resolv'd therefore to send Deputies to the King upon this Occa- *And send Deputies to the King.*
sion; and at the same time to furnish their Deputies with Sub-
missions and Remonstrances, according to the custom of Na-
tional Synods; and for this Journey they made choice of *Boute-*
ville a Minister, and *Baleine* an Elder.

The King was willing to see and hear 'em: The Speech they *Remonstrances of the Deputies.*
made was humble, and to the purpose; and their Remonstran-
ces contain'd Eight Articles. In the first they besought the
King to take off all the Qualifications with which the Act had
been enregister'd. They complain'd in the second of several
vexations which the Reformed endur'd by reason of those Qua-
lifications. The third spoke of the repairing of Churches pull'd
down, and sending down Commissioners into the Provinces to
give Orders about it. The fourth besought the King to permit
Du Moulin to return to *Paris*, as he had been put in hopes.
The fifth demanded a General Politic Assembly. The sixth
a continuance of the Relief promis'd the Ministers. The two
last desir'd, that certain Assignations which had been allow'd
Mainald, Receiver-general of the Municipal Tolls, might be made
good to him.

But toward the beginning of the Synod, *Mainald*, one of the *Mainald dies. Hardi put in his room.*
General Deputies, dy'd: Upon which the King, never staying
for the Nomination which was to have been made at *Castres*, in
pursuance of his Breif, appointed *Hardi* in his room, till others
should be presented to him. And the Pretence for this Inno-
vation was, That the King was unwilling to retard the Affairs
of the Reformed, which wou'd be neglected, if there were no
body at Court to take care of 'em. Of which Substitution he gave
notice to the Synod by *Galand*, who assur'd the Synod, that the
King had no design thereby to deprive 'em the Liberty of nomi-
nating others according to custom. But a little afterwards it
appear'd by *Galand*'s discourse, that the King had other thoughts
in substituting *Hardi*; and that such an Innovation without
precident, and little necessity, proceeded from no good-will to-
ward the Reform'd.

The Deputies return with the King's Letters.

The Deputies from the Synod return'd from the Court
about a month after their departure, and brought very obliging

Letters

1626. Letters from the King according to custom: But the Flattering Expressions of those Letters were accompany'd with very few Effects. For there was only the Article about Limitations to which any thing of a gracious Answer was return'd. The King assur'd 'em that they were taken away in several Parlaments, and that he would order 'em to be remov'd in the rest: And he gave the Deputies an express Command for that purpose to the Parlament of *Tholouse*, which was usually the most difficult to be brought to reason. Which Command *Galand* order'd his Son to deliver; but it wrought but little effect; so that the Troubles began again, before the Reformed receiv'd the benefit of it. The King also promis'd to make good the Assignations allow'd to *Candal*, granted Ten thousand *Livres* for the Expences of the Synod; and which, perhaps, was the most moving, Twelve hundred *Livres* to the Deputies for their Journey. But he refus'd to send Commissioners into the Provinces, declaring only that he thought it necessary to send some to *Rochel*, *Saintonge*, and the Country of *Aunix*, and into the Upper and Lower *Languedoc*. He barely promi'sd to grant Removals to those that should be prosecuted in Parlaments, in pursuance of the Qualifications of the Edict. Nor wou'd he consent to the return of *Moulin*; nor suffer the holding of a General Assembly, because the condition of Affairs would not permit one; and for that the Reformed had no need of one; since it was in the power of the Synod to nominate General Deputies, according to *Galand*'s Instructions. As for what concern'd the Relief promis'd to the Ministers, the King evaded it, by giving good words to one Party, and refusing the other, by reason of the condition of the Affairs of the Kingdom.

The Synod names General Deputies.

Nevertheless he granted a Breif much larger then the former, to authorize the nomination of general Deputies; and he set forth in express words, that they should not put in nomination any persons but such as had no dependance upon Great Lords. However, the Synod, little satisfi'd that the Reformed were thereby put out of all hopes of a Politic Assembly, were still desirous to start new difficulties upon the nature of the thing; pretending that it was contrary to the Duty of an Ecclesiastical Assembly to interfere with things that were reserv'd for General Assemblies

Assemblies. But *Galand* cut the Knot, by revealing the Mystery of *Hardy*'s being so hastily substituted in *Mantald*'s room; and declar'd, that if the Synod did not make the Nomination, he would do it himself. The Synod then surrender'd to Necessity, and contented it self with several Protests, which they reiterated as often as they had occasion, that they did not go about thereby to prejudice the General Assemblies, nor to meddle with Politic Affairs, but in obedience to the King's pleasure. Besides, they enjoin'd their Deputies to request leave to hold a General Assembly within Eighteen months, and Provincial Assemblies as soon as might be, for the drawing up Memoirs of their Grievances; in regard the Synod could not do it, because the Deputies that compos'd it had not brought along with 'em either any Command or Instructions from their Provinces to that purpose. Which done, they fell to the nomination of six Persons. 1626.

The Synod names General Deputies.

But before the Synod brake up, they resolv'd to demand of the King the Re-establishment of Ecclesiastical Assemblies in their former Liberty; and leave to raise certain Sums upon all the Churches throughout the Kingdom, for certain Exigencies of the Cities of *Rochel*, *Montauban* and *Castres*; of which a fourth part was adjudg'd to *Castres*; the rest was divided between the other two. They also enjoin'd the Consuls of *Montauban* to solicit the effect of the Command directed to the Parlament of *Toulouse* for registring the Edict. They likewise prosecuted *d' Aubery* the Minister, at *Paris*, for several Causes; but chiefly for having conspir'd with the Catholicks against the Churches. He had a bitter Libel found about him, entitl'd *La Chemise Sanglante de* Henri *IV.* or, *The Bloody Shirt of* Henry *IV.* which reflected upon the King's Honour; so that *d' Aubery* was degraded and excommunicated by the Synod. But *Galand* was not satisfi'd with this Ecclesiastical Punishment; and therefore he caus'd the Book to be condemn'd to the Flames by the Party Chamber, then sitting at *Beziers*.

Divers Resolutions of the Synod.

That Chamber had bin remov'd from *Castres*, during the Troubles; and that City having a great desire to have it restor'd to her again, compli'd with all *Galand*'s Projects, whose Testimony she was in hopes would be favourable to her at Court.

Castres endeavours to recover the Duke of Rohan's Favour.

1626. Upon these Considerations it was, that she gave him a Writing wherein she disown'd the Negotiations in *Spain*; and join'd with him to hinder the Duke of *Roham*'s Deputies which he sent to the Synod, from being admitted; as also to be a means that his Conduct was there censur'd. In a word, the thing was carri'd so far, that *Marmet*, the Dukes Minister, being come to *Castres*, about particular business, was not permitted to be in the Town above twenty four Hours, though he protested that he had neither any Letters, nor any Commission from his Master. But the Duke having rightly foreseen what he was to expect from *Galand*, had taken his Measures quite another way. For he gave his Letteres to the Synod, to *Beaufort*, a Deputy from *Cevennes*; and a kind of Manifesto, which he had writ in his own Justification, to another Minister: So that they who held Intelligence with *Galand*, finding their Designs prevented, durst not attempt any thing farther.

A Memoir of Grievances.

In the mean time *Blandel* and *Bauterne* were deputed to carry to the King the Nomination of the General Deputies; and the Synod, after they had sate seven weeks, brake up. The Deputies made a very submissive Speech to the King. Which done, the King, out of the six Persons nominated, made choice of the Marquess of *Clermont*, *Calerande*, and *Bazin*, to reside near his Person. These New Deputies were charg'd with large Memoirs of Grievances that were sent 'em from all parts. *Paulet*, Minister of *Verzenobres*, had been driven from his Church by violence. The Marquis of *Varennes*, Governor of *Aigues-mortes*, had as badly us'd *Bancillon*, Minister of the Place. *Constans*, Minister of *Pons*, had been a long time Prisoner at *Bordeaux*, where he was still detain'd; and *Billot*, Minister of *la Roche Chalais* had been treated after the same manner, though they ought both to have bin releast by the Edict of Peace. The Cardinal of *Sourdis*, and the Bishop of *Maillezais*, persecuted the Church of *Monravel*; where they attaqu'd in general the Right of Exercise, and in particular several Members of it, by Processes, and other Acts of Violence. The Church of *Mer*... had labour'd very near under the same Extremities. That of *Serveriettes* had bin also turmoil'd and harrass'd: and several Churches of *Guyenne* and *Languedoc* had bin so absolutely ruin'd during

during the War, that the Synod was conſtrain'd to recommend 'em to the Charity of others. The Parlament of *Pau* had given out Decrees which forbid Conſiſtories to cenſure Fathers, Mothers, or Guardians, that ſent their Children to Catholic Schools; nay, to the very Colledges of the Jeſuits. The Parlament of *Tholouſe* had given out ſeveral Warrants to arreſt the Bodies of ſeveral Inhabitants of *Briteſte* for a Fact that was pardon'd by the General Amneſty. *Berard*, Advocate of the Court of Judicature at *Soumieres*, had been impriſon'd for no other Crime, but for abjuring the Catholic Religion. And the Reformed were ſtill diſturb'd upon the ſcore of their Burials. The Advocate-General, *James Talon*, caus'd ſeveral Decrees to be iſſu'd forth in one year upon this occaſion; of which the moſt favourable ordain'd no more, then that before the Bodies were digg'd up, information ſhould be given, whether it could be done Conveniently. And what was ſingular in the Advocate-General's Reaſons, was this, That to deprive a Gentleman of a purchas'd Right, he had recourſe to the pre-poſſeſs'd Fancy of the Catholics, who ſought to be buried in Churches, that they might have a ſhare in the benefit of Suffrages and Prayers. Which being refus'd by the Reformed, that they ought not to enjoy that advantage which they never minded themſelves. As if the Controverſy between the Catholics and the Reformed, about the benefit or unprofitableneſs of Prayer for the Dead, had had any Relation to the Rights of a Lord of a Soile, whoſe Anceſtors had purchas'd the Priviledge of being buried in the Church, which they had both founded and endow'd. Upon which it may be obſerv'd, that the Burial of the Dead in Churches was an effect of Superſtition, as the Advocate-General expreſly acknowledg'd, and ſet forth at large the degrees of the progreſs of it. This Honour, ſaid he, having been at firſt conferr'd upon Martyrs, not becauſe they were buried in Churches, but becauſe Churches were built over their Tombs; it was alſo afterwards allow'd the Prieſt, to holy Perſons, to thoſe that enrich'd the Church by their Donations, to Founders, and laſtly, to thoſe that were able to pay for it. So that to ſpeak properly, there was only the Founders Right which had any other foundation then that of Superſtition, ſince he might pretend to it, as a

1626.

Burial of Gentlemen who were the Founders of Churches.

1626. perpetual Evidence and Monument of his Liberality. Nevertheless, *James Talon* could find in his heart to prefer a Right acquir'd by the Superstition of the People, and the Covetousness of the Priests, before a Priviledge which deriv'd it's original from the Bounty of a Founder.

Legacies given to the Poor, adjudg'd to Hospitals.

The same *James Talon* caus'd a Legacy of a Reformed, bequeath'd to the Poor, to the Treasurer of the Hospital of the City of *Chartres*. For which the Pretence was, That according to the Edict, the Poor of both Religions were to be reliev'd; which, if that reason had bin good, had bin sufficient to have destroy'd the XLII. Article of Particulars: but this Decree was made the 7th of *January*. There was another made in *March*, after two Hearings, which annull'd the Marriage of *La Ferte Imbault*, and forbid him to keep company with the woman whom he had marry'd: and the reason for it was, because he was a Knight of *Maltha*, and for that it was contrary to his Vow. As if his Profession of a contrary Religion could not unty him from such a superstitious Engagement. A man may judge by these trials of a Parlament, where Justice was not altogether unknown, how the Reformed were handl'd in others, who lookt upon it as a meritorious Act to load 'em with Vexations and unjust Sentences. The King himself also set forth some Declarations by which the Edict was considerably violated. Upon the 12th of *January* came forth one, which exempted the Ecclesiastics from pleading for the possession of their Benefices and Goods which were thereunto annex'd in Courts where any of the Reformed sate, and which referr'd 'em to the next Catholic Judge. The 10th of *December* appear'd another, which ordain'd that Processes should be adjudg'd at *Pau*, by all the Judges that should be found upon the Bench, without distinction of Religion; and in case of removal, the Cause should not be remov'd to the Party Chambers, but to the next Parlament. And the foundation of this Law which laid the Reformed at the mercy of the Catholics, when they were most numerous upon the Bench, was this, That the Edict of *Nantes* was granted neither in favour of *Bearn* nor *Navarre*. And thus the Clergy of that Countrey which formerly never aspir'd to more, then to enjoy the Priviledges of that Edict, had already

A Marriage of a Knight of Maltha vacated.

eady carri'd their exterminating Zeal ſo high, that they would 1626.
ot leave the Reformed any longer the enjoyment of that advan-
ge. So that thoſe unfortunate People having ſeen the particu-
r Edict, which *Henry* IV. granted 'em, violated in all the
oints of it, cannot have the conſolation to live under the pro-
ction of the ſame Laws, with the reſt of the Churches of the
me Communion.

In the mean time the Cardinal ſummon'd an Aſſembly of the *The Aſſem-*
Men of Note, call'd *Aſſemblée de Notables*, at *Paris*, where he *bly of No-*
ade a Harangue himſelf. In this Aſſembly moſt worthy Pro- *tables.*
oſals were made, and the moſt profitable Reſolutions in
he World were taken for the Peace and Tranquility of the
ing, but they were not taken to be put in execution. They
ad only a mind to amuſe the People, who are eaſily dazl'd
ith great expectations, and to accuſtom 'em to the Miniſtry
f the Cardinal who promis'd 'em thoſe mighty things. There
as only one Declaration which ſpoke of reuniting all the
King's Subjects to the *Roman* Church by ways of Sweetneſs, 1627.
ove, Patience, and good Examples; of maintaining the Re-
ormed in the Privileges that had bin granted 'em by the Edicts;
f re-eſtabliſhing good Diſcipline, and vertuous Manners; of
dvancing the Nobility; of cauſing Juſtice to flouriſh; of re-
toring Trade, and eaſing the People. But of all theſe Articles
hey remember'd none but the firſt: For they procur'd the re-
ion of ſeveral private perſons to the Church of *Rome*, by the
rong Arguments of Intereſt, or by Vexations and Acts of In-
uſtice. In purſuance of which, they vaunted about this time
f having *converted* in *Bearn* above 800 perſons; and becauſe *Forc'd Con-*
he care of theſe Conqueſts was committed to ſome zealous *verſions in*
Miſſionary, who manag'd theſe glorious Enterprizes by his *Bearn.*
ounſels and advice, they fail'd not to attribute the ſucceſs to his
Doctrine, his Converſation, and his Piety, tho it were more juſt-
y due to the utmoſt rigors of Violence and Injuſtice.

The ſame means which the Church of *Rome* has always
al'd ways of Sweetneſs, wrought the ſame effect this year at
Auchenas. Where the Marquis of *Ornano*, under pretence of the *And at*
War, of which I ſhall ſuddenly have an occaſion to ſpeak, ex- *Audenas.*
erciſ'd moſt extravagant Violences upon the Reformed of that
City.

1627. City. Two Regents of that place coming to kiss his hands i
the body of the Town, as their Lord, he took from 'em the
Hoods, which is the mark of their Dignity; and having call'
a Council, he would not permit the Reformed, who had b
elected Councellors, to take their Seats; he disarm'd all th
Reformed, and put the Regency into the hands of Catholics
and committed the Guard of the City to them, at the charg
of the Reformed; and being constrain'd to reinforce his Part
with some additional Troops, because the Catholics were no
so numerous as the other, he quarter'd the whole Garison upo
the Reformed only; and this Garison committed Violences n
less barbarous then those in our days; from which those misc
rable People could not redeem themselves, but by changing the
Religion. So that in three weeks there were no less then 25
Families that turn'd Catholics, if the *Converters* do not aug
ment their number. And to add Insulting Domineering t
Violence, they forc'd those poor Creatures to sign a Writing
wherein they declar'd that they embrac'd the *Roman* Religio
willingly. These extorted Declarations, which they shew'd t
the King, perswaded him, that there were hardly any of th
Reformed who had not the same Inclinations; and that the
were only restrain'd by a Cabal of Ministers, and the power o
the Party. That there needed no more then the taking of *Ro-*
chel, and some other Cities, which held up the Party; and the
thousands of People would declare for the Catholic Religion. I
the mean time, encourag'd by the example of what had happen'd
At St. Amand at *Aubena*'s, they follow'd their Blows into other places. For
the Archbishop of *Bourges*, and the Governor of *St. Amand*, a
little Town in *Berri*, made a profitable use of this Pattern to
bring back the Reformed to the Catholic Religion: so that the
fear into which they put the Inhabitants, of quartering 200 men
upon 'em, upon the same Conditions as the Garison was quar-
ter'd at *Aubenas*, made above 60 Families abjure the Reformed
Faith. And thus it was, that the Edict publish'd upon the Re-
monstrances of the Assembly of the men of Note, was put in
execution.

But besides these, they gave other marks of their slender In-
clinations to observe the Edicts; for there were above Forty
Churches

urches depriv'd of their ſpiritual comfort, either through 1627.
urbance of their Exerciſes, or Impriſonment and Baniſhment *Extraordinary Acts of Injuſtice.*
their Miniſters. They had taken from the Reformed, in ſe-
al places, both their Churches and their Church-yards, with-
any Form of Law, ever ſince the Peace concluded. The
rdinal of *Sourdis*, Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, whoſe Example
s follow'd by ſome Gentlemen of the Countrey, exercis'd a
ouſand brutiſh Cruelties upon Bodies that were buri'd in ſuch
ces as carry'd any marks of Conſecration, according to the
ſtom of the Catholics. They refus'd to ſuffer *Veilleux*, a
iniſter call'd by the Reformed to *Rouen*, to attend their ſervice;
d the only reaſon for their refuſal was, becauſe he was a For-
gner. Letters of Repriſal were granted againſt the Re-
med, for things that were fully forgiven by the Edict of Peace.
veral perſons were alſo put to death for Facts that had bin
mitted during the War with allowance of the Generals;
hich was expreſly comprehended in the Amneſty granted by
e laſt Edict. And there were reckon'd up above 10000 War-
nts given out in *Languedoc*, for arreſting of People upon the
me Pretences. The Council alſo divided the Conſulſhip by
crees given upon a Petition, in places, where according to
e Edicts, which promis'd that nothing ſhould be innovated in
owns that were held by the Reformed, that Office was to
re bin let alone entire. The particular Deputies that were
t to carry the Complaints of theſe Acts of Injuſtice, were
us'd. Some were ſent back unheard, and laught at for their
ins: others were anſwer'd with nothing but Bravado's and
enaces. If any qualifi'd perſon took upon him this Deputa-
on, and that they were to treat him with more Civility, they
deavour'd to ſeduce him by Promiſes, by Applauſes, or any
her way; not ſparing any Artifices to find out on which ſide
e was moſt ſubject to their Batteries; and after all, they ſent
im back again as he came. They refus'd to receive from the
neral Deputies the Papers drawn up in the Name of all the
hurches of the Kingdom. And to the end they might utterly
eak the Union that was between 'em, it was requir'd that
they ſhou'd preſent apart the Complaints as they were ſent 'em
by every ſingle Church.

In

1627. *Innovations at Mompelier.*

In like manner, the Marquis of *Fossez*, who succeeded *Valence*, made an alteration at *Mompelier* to no other end and purpose but to vex the Reformed. That City bore for her Arms a Bowle Gules in a Feild Argent. But because they met with an old Steeple, where there was to be seen over a Bowle, the Figure of a Virgin carri'd by two Angels, the Marquis pretended that that was the real Arms of the City, and having summon'd an Assembly of the Citizens, he made a Decree that they should place that Figure over their usual Arms for a Creſt. After which, they made the Reformed, who since *Valence*'s Alteration had little or no share in the Government of the City, believe that they had given their consent to it. For their Intention was, that this representation should be lookt upon as a mark of the ancient devotion and veneration of the City of *Mompelier* for the Blessed Virgin, since she had taken that Figure for the most honourable part of her Arms; and at the same time to deduce a Consequence from thence, to render the Reformed odious, as having retrench'd that mark of Honour from the Mother of Jesus Christ; to whom they were always accus'd of not paying sufficient Respect. Nevertheless, the Foundation of the Marquis's Conjecture was very frivolous: For had it bin true, they would have found other Authorities to have prov'd the matter of Fact; seeing that the ancient Seals, the public Buildings, the Registers of the City, the Bishops, the Canons, the Priests, the Curious, would have preserv'd some better Testimonies of the same thing. For it was much more probable, that that same Figure was only a Monument of the Foundation of that City, which is attributed to two Maidens, who being Ladies of the place, bequeath'd it to the Church, and dy'd Virgins. For that was the way at that time to purchase the reputation of Holiness: and it may be thought that the City had consecrated that Virgin and those Angels, to preserve the remembrance of the Sanctity and Virginity of her Foundresses.

The Foundation of Mompelier.

Declaration against Foreign Ministers.

However it were, this Action of the Marquis did the Reformed so much prejudice, that upon the 14th of *April* a Declaration came forth, prohibiting 'em to make use of Foreign Ministers; to admit into their Assemblies other then Natural

French

Frenchmen; to ſend Miniſters into Foreign Countries without 1626.
leave; or to admit Foreign Miniſters into Politic Aſſemblies. The Declaration was grounded upon this, That in the National ſynod of *Charenton* and *Caſtres*, where *Galand* was preſent, they had unanimouſly reſolv'd the ſame things. This Edict was put in execution very exactly; but that which created the great trouble was, that it ſpoke of the Religion of the Reformed, as of a Religion which the Edicts had only *tolerated*, till they could be brought back to the Catholic Communion. For this was to ruin the Edict of *Nantes*, and ſap the very Foundations of its being irrevocable, to make it barely an Edict of Toleration. This was what the Leagues always drove at; but what the Reformed always oppos'd; who aſſerted that the Edict had bin always granted 'em as a Fundamental Law of Union and Concord among the *French*, which maintain'd 'em without diſtinction of Religion, in all the Natural and Civil Rights that could belong to 'em. And this carries an Idea far different from a bare Toleration: Nay, to ſpeak the truth, to have tak'n the Edict in any other ſence, would have bin to have made it a meer Deluſion.

But at laſt it was apparent, that *Rochel* was preſt upon more and more; and that notwithſtanding all her Obedience, ſhe was ſtill dealt with as rebellious. Which ſhew'd that ſhe was guilty of two Crimes that could not be expiated but by her ruin: The one, which was her Crime in reference to the Clergy, was her Religion; the other, which was properly the chiefeſt, was her Power almoſt independent. The firſt oblig'd the Clergy to contribute vaſt Sums, provided they might be employ'd only toward the reducing that City: The other tranſported the Court to lay the foundations of Arbitrary Power upon the deſtruction of her Greatneſs. To this purpoſe Forces were quarter'd round about her upon various Pretences; Cannon were brought to ſuch and ſuch places, from whence they might be at hand with little expence, when time requir'd: the City was ſurrounded with ſeveral Forts: the Platform of her Fortifications, her Port, her Canal, and parts adjoining, was taken privately, and drawn with the utmoſt exactneſs that might be. The Gariſons of the Neighbouring Iſlands, and *Fort Lewis*, were

Rochel *ſtill blockt up.*

1626. permitted to commit petty Disorders, of which there was no notice taken; and when the City complain'd, her Complaints were lookt upon as Rebellion. The Inhabitants were corrupted, that they might have private Correspondence in her Bosom, and the Mayor himself was wrought over to their Interests. Nevertheless, all this could not be kept so secret, but that *Rochel* was full of suspicion of the Designs of the Court. But all this knowledge had the usual effect of suspicions which produce nothing but Irresolutions: So that the City not being able to determin, but by halves, either one thing or other, could never resolve either to submit, or to defend her self.

All these Considerations verify the Reflections of some Authors of those times, who comparing the past War with the present Peace, under the name of which a thousand times more mischief had bin done the Reformed, then they suffer'd by their Enemies Arms, observe, that the War having been full of Treachery, breach of Faith, Frauds, ignominious and base Actions, the Peace that follow'd was no better; a meer Cheat, unfaithful, and no way secure. In this Conjuncture *England*, being assur'd of the Duke of *Rohan*, declares war against *France*. But the Cardinal having caus'd *Mountague* to be apprehended, who after a Journey into *Italy* to consult with the Duke of *Savoy*, repass'd into *France*, where he had several Conferences with the Duke of *Rohan*, understood by the Papers that were found about him, the whole Project of the War. The *English* Gentleman also took a Tour into *Lorraigne*, where 'twas thought necessary to negotiate something; though he pretended only to visit the Dutchess of *Chevreuse*, who was banish'd thither, by reason of the Cardinal's Jealousies conceiv'd against the Duke of *Buckingham*. This Accident gave *France* time to prepare her self; and she receiv'd the Declaration of War with as much disdain, as if she had bin assur'd of success. She had taken her Measures with the *United Provinces*, from whom she obtain'd considerable aid upon this Occasion, and which did not little contribute toward the subduing of *Rochel*. Not but that the Ministers of those Provinces preach'd against that Compliance of the States with *France*, both vigorously, and with great freedom. I my self have seen several printed Sermons, some of

England declares war.

The United Provinces send succour to France.

which enlarg'd themſelves very far to ſhew that the Deſign 1627.
of the *French* was to extinguiſh the Reformed Religion; and
was added after a Prophetical manner, that as the *Provinces*
ſent Ships and Men to the Reformed of *France*, the time
would one day come, that the Reformed would revenge them-
ſelves upon the *Provinces*, and bear Arms under their King to
deſtroy their Religion and Liberty. But Preachers Reaſons
never agree with thoſe of Politicians; beſides, that the *United*
Provinces were not in a condition to ſlight or diſguſt the Alli-
ance of *France*.

Toward the end of *July*, *Buckingham* appear'd, not far from *The Engliſh Hiſtory in the life of Re.*
Ré with a Fleet conſiderable enough to have done great
things, had the Chieftain had as much Courage as Pride; or
as much Wit as Preſumption. He preſently made himſelf Ma-
ſter of the Iſle of *Ré*; but he loſt himſelf miſerably before Fort
Martin, where *Toiras*, with a few men, and leſs Proviſion,
held out a Siege of above two Months, which, if any other then
Buckingham had manag'd, it could not have ſtopt him three
days. *Rochel* was a long time alſo before ſhe wou'd declare;
whether it were becauſe the Mayor and the Court were agreed
together, or whether it were that ſhe was willing to avoid new
pretences of making war upon her. Inſomuch, that at firſt
ſhe would not ſo much as hearken to *Buckingham*'s Propoſitions,
nor admit the Commiſſioners which he ſent to her. So that
Soubiſe, who had ſhelter'd himſelf in *England* ever ſince his laſt
defeat, but had embarkt himſelf in the *Engliſh* Fleet, was con-
demn'd to go alone to the Gate of the City, with *Beaker* ſent by
the Duke, to deſire leave to ſpeak to the Inhabitants. But the
Citizens refus'd to open the Gate to him; and had not his Mo-
ther come her ſelf to take him by the hand, and bring him into
the Town, he muſt have return'd as he came. The reſpect
which the *Rochelois* had for that Lady, made 'em forget their
reſolutions: So that they let *Soubiſe* paſs, and *Beaker* follow'd
him. After which they gave him Audience in the Council,
where he ſet forth at large the Reaſons which oblig'd the King
of *England* to take Arms: And he endeavour'd to make 'em
believe, that it was only upon the ſcore of Religion. He ex-
cus'd the ſmall Aſſiſtance which he had hitherto given the Re-

1627. formed; and declar'd that the King of *England* found himself too much engag'd by his Conſcience, by his Honour and his Word, to aſſiſt 'em more powerfully; more eſpecially becauſe it was through his Interceſſion that they had accepted a diſadvantageous Peace.

The Irreſolution of the Rochelois.

This Speech produc'd nothing at firſt. Nay, the *Rochellois* offer'd *Comminges* to fight the *Engliſh*, provided *Fort Lewis* might be put as a Pledge into the Hands of *la Force*, *Chatillon*, or *Trimouille*. One would have thought, that Offer ſhould not have bin acceptable to the Court, ſeeing that both *la Force* and *Chatillon*, were brought off from the Common Cauſe, and that *Trimoville* was treating about his returning to the *Roman* Religion: at leaſt he embrac'd the Communion of that Church within a year after, and renounc'd the Reformed Religion in the preſence of the Cardinal before the taking of *Rochel*. In recompence whereof he had the Command of the Light Horſe, and ſerv'd ſome years in that Employment, during the Wars of *Italy*; where he receiv'd a wound in the Knee, ſo that he loſt the uſe of the Joint. Some years after, being diſguſted by the Court, he retir'd to his Palace of *Thouars*, became a Bigot, and a great dealer in Controverſies; and at length dy'd in the *Roman* Profeſſion, after he had liv'd to a very old Age, but very ill maintain'd the Reputation of his Father. In the mean time the Court which had other Deſigns, gave no other anſwer to the Propoſal, but a company of Fair words, with which the *Rochellois* ſuffer'd themſelves to be amus'd for ſome time. However, they intercepted a Pacquet of Letters from the Court, directed to the Duke of *Angouleſme*, who had obtain'd Orders to raiſe Forces to oppoſe the *Engliſh*, and who had actually block'd up *Rochel* as cloſe as it could be, at a time when the Deſign of beſieging it was kept ſecret. One of thoſe Letters are an expreſs Approbation of what had bin done, in order to the blocking up of the City; and gave the Duke advice about ſeveral things: and among others, about the Paſsports which he gave to all thoſe who had a mind to leave the Town; becauſe, ſaid the Letter, it was beſt to let out as many as they could, that ſo none but the moſt Mutinous might be left behind.

Court Letters intercepted.

There-

There was also a Letter for Marshal *de Mirillac*, which handl'd very nice matter. The Question was, Whether the *Hugue-* were to be suffer'd in the King's Army? The Answer was, hat the thing was very doubtful; because that if there were me persons of worth, and no way to be suspected, there might others, whose chiefest business it was to be Spies. 'Twas ed, That the Public Affairs requir'd, that it should be made t by Effect and Demonstration, that the War was a War of ate, and not of Religion; and then it might be lawful to ad- t *Huguenots* that would enter into service. 'Twas said, That thout excluding 'em out of the Army, there might be a watch- l eye upon 'em; and then 'twas but confiding in those that ere honest, amusing others, and keeping the main Resolutions cret, especially those which concern'd *Rochel*: or else if such Toleration seem'd dangerous, 'twas advis'd, that they should e dismiss'd under some fair Pretence. And these were the tters, which discovering the secret Intentions of the Court, etermin'd the *Rochellois* to join with the *English*. But this Con nction was so ill order'd, and so scurvily manag'd, that if we y judge by the event, no body could believe it resolv'd upon any other end, then to furnish the Court both with a pretence, nd with the means to facilitate the destruction of that unfortu- te City. For *Buckingham*, after he had drain'd her of all her ovision of Corn, some of which he was constrain'd to burn fter his defeat, left the rest which should have reliev'd the City relieve the Victor that expell'd him out of the Island, and unning away with ignominy from a handful of men, made the ondition of the City far worse then it was before.

1627.

A nice Question, Whether Huguenots were to be suffer'd in the King's Army?

Rochel *Resolves.*

In the mean time *Rochel* publish'd a large Manifesto, where- n resuming things for a good way backward, she endeavour'd o justify her Conduct; to display the Frauds and Artifices of the Court, but chiefly to make good her Pretensions and Privi- edges. The Duke of *Rohan* also betook himself to *Arms*, nd set forth another Manifesto, little different in the main from hat of *Rochel*; only that the City insisted more closely upon her own proper Affairs, and the Duke spoke more at large of things in general. The Answers to these Writings were sharp and violent; more especially the Answer to the Duke's Mani-

Rochel *publishes a Manifesto.*

The Duke of Rohan *does the same thing.*

festo

1627. festo favour'd of a sordid, base, insolent Spirit, full of Gall and Venom, and sprinkl'd with Quirks and Quiddities borrow'd from the most lewd Scurrility of the Rabble: a piece becoming the Jesuit *Richeome*, to whom it was attributed. Never did any man write with more Fury nor more Insolence, nor renounce more openly in his Writings the character of an honest man. But more formidable Enemies were embattel'd against the Duke then this same Scribler. For besides the Armies that were set on foot to fall upon him on every side, among which, that commanded by the Prince of *Condé* committed unheard of Cruelties, *Galand* was sent into Upper *Languedoc*, to prevent the Cities from taking Arms, as those of the Lower *Languedoc* had done the 10th of *September*, according to the Resolution of an Assembly of the Nobility and Deputies from several Cities which met at *Uzez*. However, *Galand*, wherever he could safely go, drew Promises of Obedience, and within the space of a Month brought *Montauban*, *Briteste*, *Puilaurens*, *Sorez*, *Maz d'Azil*, *Carlat*, *Pamiers*, *Mazeres*, *Saverdun*, *la Bastide*, *St. Amant*, *Mazamet*, *la Cabarede*, and several others to declare. 'Tis true that the Duke caus'd some of 'em to change their Opinions; that he surpriz'd others; and that others which had not suffer'd themselves to be coax'd by the fawning Cant of *Galand*, were surrender'd into his hands, so that at length the War became general on that side. *Pamiers* was one of those Cities which the Duke surpriz'd; but the Prince of *Condé* having retaken it, very badly observ'd the Capitulation which he had made; for he imprison'd, put to death, and condemn'd to the Gallies several persons to whom he ow'd both his life and his liberty. All this was the reason that the Duke lost time, who might have bin able to have perform'd greater Exploits, if *Galand*'s Negotiation had not brok'n his measures; nor would they have ventur'd the Siege of *Rochel*, had not *Galand* succeeded as he did in drawing off those other Cities from the Union.

Intrigue of Galand against the Duke.

1628. But while the Duke of *Rohan* carri'd on the War with an extraordinary Courage and with good Success, *Buckingham* seeing Fort *St. Martin* reliev'd, rais'd his Siege, was defeated in his

Defeat of the English.

Retreat, and return'd into *England*; not a little ſuſpected to 1628.
ve bin careleſs of thoſe things which he might have done
ch more to his Maſter's honour. Upon this, *Rochel* was more *A ſecond*
tly begirt, and reduc'd to extremity. At what time, a ſe- *Engliſh*
nd *Engliſh* Fleet, commanded by the Earl of *Denbigh*, appear'd *Fleet of no*
on the Coaſt, only to make a ſhew of that Relief which the *uſe to Ro-*
, expected; but retreated more baſely then the former, with- *chel.*
to much as attempting the leaſt Enterprize. While they *A third*
re letting forth a third Fleet, *Buckingham* was ſlain by a pri- *Fleet more*
e perſon, whom he had particularly injur'd. This caus'd a *uſeleſs.*
rge of Affairs, and the Command of the Fleet was given
the Earl of *Lindſey*. But this Fleet did leſs then the reſt, and
n'd only ſet forth to be Witneſs of the Surrender of *Rochel*.
d indeed it may be ſaid of the three Fleets ſent to the Succor
that unfortunate City, that the firſt famiſh'd her, by taking
y her C n; the ſecond amus'd her with the ſhew of Relief,
t was ne r intended her; and the third ſold her. Perhaps
the bla of theſe ill Succeſſes was not to be laid upon the
ng of *England*; only that he was to be accus'd of great
akneſs, in ſuffering himſelf to be govern'd by his Queen with
o much p iableneſs. However, that Princeſs had the Knack
diſapp int all the King her Husband's Deſigns; and ſome-
nes ſhe did it ſo openly, that People could not refrain from
leving that he himſelf was not at all troubl'd at it. She it
s that prevented the Effects of thoſe Orders, which the King
ve to thoſe who commanded his Naval Forces. She it was,
ho, in the heart of *England*, held and protected all the Correſ-
ndencies with Cardinal *Richlieu*; and ſhe did ſo much, that
not only drew upon her own head the implacable hatred of
her Subjects, but embarraſs'd her own Husband in thoſe un-
ward Affairs that brought him at length to the Scaffold. Af-
r this, Cardinal *Richlieu* thought it proper to make a peace
ith *England*, which it was no hard matter to do, by throw- *A Treaty*
g upon *Buckingham* all the paſt miſunderſtandings: And the *of Peace*
ore eaſily to vanquiſh the Obſtinacy of the *Rochellois*, he in- *with Eng-*
s d Suſpicions on both ſides, that the one Party treated without *land, and*
e other. And thus *Rochel* having held out a Siege of very *the ſurren-*
ear a year in length, and carri'd on their Reſolutions, during a *der of Ro-*
chel

long,

long, and the most Cruel Famine that could be imagin'd, beyond what could be expected from Nature, was forc'd to surrunder at discretion upon the 28th of *October*. And no sooner was it surrender'd, but a Tempest ruin'd the Mound which had stopp'd up the Entrance of her Channel; and shew'd, that that same mighty Work, that so much redounded to the Honour of the Cardinal who undertook it, could never have contributed to the subduing that City, had she not bin more enfeebl'd by her Friends, that in a manner robb'd her of her Provisions, than incommoded by all the Toil and Labour of her Enemies.

This City refuses to submit to the English.

During this long Siege, and these terrible Extremities, the City being sollicited to submit to the King of *England*, would never hearken to it. To say she had any such design, was a meer Calumny of the Monks and Jesuits. And they who write the particular History of this Memorable Siege, relate; that the Cardinal declar'd to the Deputies from this City, That He knew very well, that the Deputies who were sent into *England* had resisted several Temptations upon that occasion; that the King return'd 'em thanks for it; and that it was the main reason which confirm'd him in those Sentiments of Mercy which he had for the Town. More then this, the Cardinal found a way to engage *Spain* to be serviceable to the King in the Siege of that Place. 'Tis true, the Council of *Spain* saw well the bad consequence of taking the Place, and fain would have prevented it, especially after the Marquiss of *Spinola*, who had seen the state of the Siege, had given an accompt of it in *Spain*. And 'tis said, that the first time he came into Council, that he propos'd it as one of the greatest stroaks of Policy that could be thought of to succour that Place. But the Council of Conscience carri'd it above reason of State; and the Pretence of Religion, always useful to the Court of *Spain* since *Ferdinand*'s Reign, was at this time the ruin of her Affairs. Tis true, that the Fleet which she sent against *Rochel* came thither so ill provided and staid there so small a while, that she had as good have sent none at all. And it is as true that she attempted to relieve the Duke of *Rohan*'s Party, with whom she had concluded a Treaty. But during her accustom'd long Delays, *Rochel* sunk under her Burthen, and put all the World out of heart. The *French* themselves

The Fleet of Spain *at the Siege of* Rochel.

ſelves labour'd with reluctancy in the taking of that City, well foreſeeing that from the date of her Ruin the Vaſſalage of the whole Kingdom would commence: But by an odd fantaſticneſs of Human Wiſdom, men often ſpread the Snares themſelves for their own Feet, and make the Chains for others to bind 'em to perpetual ſervitude. 1628.

The Ladies, both Mother and Siſter of the Duke of *Rohan*, diſplay'd a more then ordinary Courage: and their Example was very uſeful to ſupport the Conſtancy of others. But they were recompenc'd with a cloſe Confinement, where the Cardinal held 'em during all the remainder of the Wars. The Mayor *Guiton* was lookt upon as a Hero by all thoſe that love Vertue, where ever they meet it; and the Catholic Authors mention him themſelves with great applauſe; and all the Brave Perſons in the King's Army went to ſee him after the Surrender of the City. Some write that he was promis'd to be continu'd in his Dignity. But when he went to kiſs the Cardinal's Hand, it was told him that he was no longer Mayor; that he was to lay aſide the Enſigns of his Authority, and quit his Guards; for that the Cardinal would not ſee him but as a private perſon. Upon which they add, that he was ſo enrag'd, that he could not forbear ſaying, That had he expected ſuch an Entertainment, he would have found a way to have held out ſome days longer. Which had he done, the Cardinal muſt have rais'd his Siege, becauſe of the Rigor of the Seaſon, the Diſeaſes that leſſen'd the Army, the Tempeſts that ruin'd his Dam, and the Preſſing Affairs which call'd him another way. Nor was it a wonder that *Guiton* complain'd that they did not keep their word with him; for it is not to be imagin'd, that becauſe the Principal Articles for the ſurrender of *Rochel* were written and ſign'd by the King, that there were not others agreed upon by word of mouth. Always in the reducing of Cities that ſurrender at diſcretion, there are ſeveral things which are not abſolutely left to the diſcretion of the Victor, but are privately corroborated with verbal Aſſurances. And it was believ'd to be much more advantageous to the King to take that Courſe, becauſe what he granted afterwards to reduc'd Cities, lookt ſo much the more like a Gracious Favour, when there appear'd no Promiſe in Writing: Be-

1628. ſides that, the King would not oblige himſelf to his Subjects by Acts that ſeem to carry the Form of a Treaty. So that there might be Articles granted by word of mouth without other Aſſurances: and perhaps it was by one of thoſe Articles that *Guiton* pretended to be continu'd in his Dignity. Nevertheleſs that particular is no-where to be met withal in any of the moſt Exact Memoirs of that City. For by the moſt expreſs and aſſur'd Relation that I can find, the King by the firſt of the Written Articles, promiſes to leave 'em the free exerciſe of their Religion in the City; which put 'em in hopes that it ſhould not have bin remov'd from the uſual place; but they were deceiv'd; and that Promiſe was evaded by an Inſulting Equivocation. For after the Church was given to the Catholics, the Reformed had a Place appointed 'em without the City to build another: and the King himſelf would needs take cognizance of the place, and enlarg'd it ſomewhat beyond the limits mark'd out by the Commiſſioners. To which breach of Faith and Word, when the Reformed were about to have ſaid ſomething by way of complaint, they were taken up ſhort, and to ſtop their mouths, it was told 'em, that their City being ſurrender'd at diſcretion, the King would beat down the Walls and the Fortifications; which being done, what before was without the Encloſure, being no longer divided from the reſt, the whole would make but one City. This was not the thing which was meant by the ſecret Promiſe; but the vanquiſh'd muſt accept of what Interpretation the Victor pleaſes to put upon their Promiſes.

The Inhabitants were kindly enough us'd; but the City loſt all her Priviledges. The *Roman* Religion was re-eſtabliſh'd in all its ſplendour, which it prefers above all things, and the King tranſlated thither the Biſhopric of *Maillezais*. In the Month of *November* came forth a Declaration, which contain'd twenty four Articles. The firſt ſix were all about the re-eſtabliſhment of the Catholic Religion, and the Circumſtances belonging to it. The Seventh order'd the erecting of a Croſs in the place where the Caſtle ſtood, upon the Pedeſtal of which was to be engraven the Hiſtory of the Reducing the City, the memory of which was to be preſerv'd by a General Proceſſion every year upon the firſt of *November*. The Eighth command-

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ed the founding of a Monaſtery of Minims upon the Point 1628.
Coreille, which is one of the Extremities of the Canal, to pre-
ſerve the Hiſtory of the Mound or Dam in two Tables of Cop-
per to be fix'd upon the Church-door. The next four contain'd an
Amneſty for what was paſt, and a confirmation of the Edicts for
Liberty of the exerciſe of the Reformed Religion; the Church
excepted, which the King reſerv'd to be turn'd into a Cathedral.
There were nine more that follow'd, which took from the City
her Fortifications, Franchiſes and Priviledges, and quite alter'd
the Form of the Government. The Twenty ſecond forbid all
Foreigners, though naturaliz'd, to reſide in the City without
expreſs leave by Letters under the Great Seal. The Twenty
third extended the ſame Prohibition to the Reformed who had
not bin ſetled Inhabitants before the landing of the *Engliſh*.
Which two Articles were the ſource of an infinite number of
Vexations in the ſucceeding years. The laſt oblig'd the Inhabi-
tants to take out Licences to keep Arms, Powder and Ammu-
nition, and to trade abroad. So that there was nothing left but
the Place, and the remembrance of that poor City's former
Power and Grandeur.

The End of the Ninth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE Edict of Nantes.

THE SECOND PART.

THE TENTH BOOK.

The Heads of the Tenth Book.

REjoycings among the Catholics. The War continues in Languedoc. *Cruelties, Inſulting, and Executions. Perſonal Enmity between the Prince of* Condé *and the Duke of* Rohan. *A new Sedition at* Lion *againſt the Reformed. The pretended Converſion of a ſick Man that fell mad. Decrees and Declarations againſt the Duke of* Rohan *and his Adherents. The King and the Cardinal take a Journey into* Italy. *The Siege of* Privas, *the Inhabitants of which are betray'd. Cruelties exercis'd upon that City. Pretences of the Catholics. Converſions of Soldiers taken Priſoners. Declaration upon the taking of* Privas. *The Conſternation of the reſt of the Reformed. A Treaty of the Duke of* Rohan *with* Spain. Alets *reduc'd. An Aſſembly permitted at* Anduſe, *and remov'd to* Nimes. *Peace concluded. An Edict of Grace. The Contents of the Edict. The King's Letter to the Queen upon the Peace. The Duke of* Rohan *retires. The reducing of* Montauban. *An Aſſembly of the Clergy. Particular Acts of Injuſtice; Miſſionaries. The Duke*

Duke of Rohan *is accus'd of the Ruin of the Churches. Cavils about the Rights of Exerciſe. The Biſhop of* Valence *perſecutes the Foreign Miniſters. The Original of the Injuſtice done upon occaſion of the Annexes. New Seeds of Civil Wars. The Queen-Mother retires. An Alliance with* Guſtavus *King of* Sueden. *Projects of Reunion, wherein the Cardinal appears. Intrigues of* Joſeph *the* Capuchin. *A Draught of a Project. How the Synods were to be made to ſpeak. Inclinations of the Miniſters and People. Projects of* Petit *and* Milletiere. *Difference of their Intentions. Verity of the Project, of which the preciſe time is uncertain. A National Synod. The Commiſſioner's Speech. Miniſters ſuſpected by the King, excluded out of the Synod by his Order. The Anſwer to the Commiſſioners Speech. The vain Oppoſition of the Commiſſioner to the Union of the Churches of* Bearn, *with the reſt. Several Propoſals of the Commiſſioner. The Synod ſends Deputies to the King. Papers. The Deputies kindly receiv'd. Nomination of General Deputies. The Reformed fear'd at Court. Important Reſolutions of the Synod. Exerciſe forbid. Donations. Conſulſhips. A captious Clauſe. Oppreſſion of the Public Liberty. Civil War of the Duke of* Orleans. *The Biſhops of* Languedoc *ſide with his Party. The Reformed continue faithful. Biſhops depos'd. Execution of an innocent Miniſter. The Duke of* Rohan *ſerves the King in Italy. The Affair of the Annexes in the* Dauphinate, *referr'd to four Commiſſioners. Conſulſhip of* Alets. *Exerciſe forbid. Shamefnl Cavils. A raſh Curioſity of two Scholars. The death of* Guſtavus. *Great Troubles in the Kingdom. Advice of the Commiſſioners of the* Dauphinate *about the Annexes. Reeſtabliſhment of* Privas. *A Treatiſe intitl'd,* The Euchariſt of the Ancient Church. *Exerciſes forbid. Party-Colledges. Continuance of the Public Oppreſſion. Pretenſions of* France *over all* Europe. *The Duke of* Sulli *made a Marſhal of* France. *A Decree upon ſeveral Subjects. Precedency adjudg'd to the Catholic Counſellors of the Chamber of* Guyenne *in certain Caſes. The Reformed Counſellors of the Chamber of* Caſtres, *forbid to wear Scarlet Robes. The pretended Poſſeſſion of the* Urſulines *of* Loudun. *Ridiculous Effects of Exorciſms. The death of a Prieſt, pretended to have bewitcht thoſe Nunns. New Vexations*

tions upon the Subject of Annexes. Grand days at Poitiers. *Terror of the Churches. An important Decree upon several Articles. Another troublesom Decree about meeting the Sacrament. The demolishing of the Church of St.* Maixant. *A Pleading of* Omer Talon, *Advocate General. Distinction between the Right of Exercise, and the Right of the Church. Divers Decrees about grand days against the Reformed. Persecution rais'd by* Cacherat *against the Churches of* Normandy. *Precedency adjudg'd to the Catholic Counsellors of the Chamber of* Castres. *The Colledge taken from the Reformed of* Loudun. *Exercise forbid at* Paroi *and* la Chaume. *Order of the Intendant of* Poitou *upon the Subject of Annexes. The Reformed of* Metz *forbid to have a Colledge. The Duke of* Bouillon *changes his Religion.*

1628. *Rejoycing among the Catholics.*

THere was great rejoycing at *Rome* for the reducing of this City. The Pope sang Mass himself, made Prayers on purpose; gave plenary Indulgence to some Churches for two days; and wrote to the King Breifs cramm'd with Eulogies and Applauses. The whole Kingdom resounded with nothing but Congratulations, Vows, and Returns of Thanks: nothing was so talk'd of but the Cause of Heav'n, the Interests of God, and the Triumphs of the Church. Flattery turn'd all Accidents and Events into Miracles; and Invention supplied 'em with all sorts. In the mean time the War continu'd in the Upper and Lower *Languedoc*: and the Duke of *Rohan* held out the best he could against three Armies, commanded by the Prince of *Condé*, the Duke of *Mommorency*, and the Duke of *Espernon*. The Catholics also in all places reviv'd the Cruelties of *Charles* the Ninth's Reign. There was nothing to be seen but Plund'ring, Burning, Massacr'ng, and Executions upon Executions: and for an addition of Insulting to Cruelty, the People were made believe, that the poor Creatures that were hang'd, all *chang'd their Religion* at the Gallows: Only to deprive 'em of the desire of recanting, or the means and opportunity to contradict what was said of 'em, they could not forbear to send 'em to the other world; and the People were oblig'd to believe their Conversion, upon the Faith of the Monk, who had persecuted 'em

Cruelties, Insulting, and Executions.

em to death. And ſome Relations are to be ſeen in Print, which aggravate the Barbarity of the Catholics to that degree, as to puniſh 'em guilty of ripping up the Bellies of Women with Child, and tearing the half-form'd Embrio's out of their Wombs; ſometimes alſo after they had vitiated the Mothers. Moreover the Duke of *Mommorency*, having forc'd ſome of the Reformed who had neither the Courage to retreat or defend themſelves, took 'em all upon Compoſition: but he would not promiſe 'em their Lives, unleſs they would oblige the Duke of *Rohan* to ſurrender *Aimargues*, a conſiderable place which he had ſurpriz'd: and becauſe the Duke of *Rohan* lookt upon the Condition as ridiculous, the Duke of *Mommorency* caus'd no leſs then Sixſcore of his Priſoners of War to be hang'd. Thereupon the Duke of *Rohan*, to enforce the Catholics to wage War with more Civility, ſtorm'd one of their Fortreſſes, and put all the Gariſon to the Sword. Which Repriſals ſtopt the Career of thoſe barbarous Executions: Nevertheleſs the Enmity which had bin long between the Prince of *Condé* and the Duke of *Rohan*, broke forth with greater Fury; for the Prince wrote very ſharp and invective Letters to the Duke, and the Duke anſwer'd him with as much diſdain. And then it was that the Prince, forgetful of his Character, reveng'd himſelf after a manner no way becoming his quality; for toward the end of the year, he procured a Decree in Council, that the Duke's Houſes ſhould be demoliſh'd, his Woods cut down, and his Goods confiſcated; and that he might be Maſter of the Execution, he caus'd it to be committed to himſelf, and diſcharg'd his Truſt with an extraordinary exactneſs: nor did he think it beneath himſelf, to get the Confiſcation of his Enemy granted to his own uſe. 1628.

Perſonal Enmity between the Prince of Conde, and the Duke of Rohan.

Nor were the Reformed better treated in thoſe places where there was no War, then in the Provinces where they were up in Arms: For at *Lion* the ſeditious Rabble fell upon 'em a ſecond time, and upon a Pretence no leſs falſe then ridiculous. The Contagion, which made great havock in other places, was got into this City. This Misfortune was attributed to a ſort of People, who, as they ſaid, were wont to go about and greaſe the doors of private perſons; for which reaſon thoſe Miſcreants were

A new Sedition at Lion againſt the Reformed.

1628. were call'd by the name of *Greasers*, or *Engraisseurs*. But in regard the Reformed were they who were to bear the blame of all the Misfortunes which befel the Catholics, the Rabble fail'd not to take this opportunity to wreck their Malice upon 'em. The Magistracy made strict enquiry after this Crime, and seiz'd upon some of those pretended *Greasers*, among whom, as it was said, there was found one of the Reformed Religion. But the punishment of those poor Creatures would not satisfy the Mobile; all the Reformed must be disarm'd to appease their fury: and the Violences of that *Canaille* must be let alone unpunish'd, tho' they had knockt several persons o'the head. So that the Reformed were constrain'd to hide themselves for several days, and some that were most expos'd, were forc'd to quit the City.

The pretended Conversion of a Sick Person that fell into a Phrensie.

About the same time also a Young man of the Reformed Religion was seiz'd with a violent Fever, of which he dy'd: and because he fell into a *Delirium*, the Priests would needs make that an Argument, that he dy'd a Catholic. In the heighth of his Distemper he talk'd of nothing but his Father. Thereupon a Jesuit being brought to the Bed-side under the name of his Father, ask'd him, if he would not die in his Religion, but never said which, whether the Reformed, or the *Roman?* The sick Person having made answer, *Yes my dear Father*, presently the Equivocal Term of *Father*, an Appellation which the Catholics generally give their Priests, was laid hold of, as a proof that the man desir'd to change his Religion. But the Real Father coming to his Son some time after, and putting the same Question to him, which the Young man answer'd in the same manner, they fetch'd about another way, that the latter Answer was the effect of his *Delirium*; that he still thought he spoke to the Jesuit, and that his last words were a confirmation of the former. So that notwithstanding the Complaints of his Father, and the evident Symptoms of his Son's *Delirium*, they would have it pass for a lawful *Conversion*; they drove all the Reformed Persons out of the Room; the Catholics got possession of his Body, and after his death buried him after their manner. For the Catholicks care not at which Door People enter into their Communion; Fraud, Violence, Fear, Interest, Frensie, all must be serviceable to their Triumphs, and the Salvation of their Converts.

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In the mean time the Court and the Parlaments darted all their Thunderbolts againſt the Duke of *Rohan*; more eſpecially the Parlament of *Tholouſe* made the moſt bloody Decrees againſt him that ever were ſet forth againſt a Rebel: But on the other ſide, they invited all his Adherents to quit him, with all the faireſt Promiſes that could be made 'em. The King publiſh'd a Declaration upon the 15th of *December* at *Paris*, wherein expreamly enhauncing the Favours which he had ſhewn the *Rochelois*, and the Advantages they had found by ſubmitting to him, he exhorted all others who had taken Arms to do as much, and to come in, and make their acknowledgments to that effect, before the Prothonotaries of the Juriſdictions to which they belong'd, within fifteen days. He order'd alſo the Cities that held for the Duke to ſend their Deputies to the Court to make their Submiſſions; and upon theſe Conditions he promis'd upon the word of a King, to be kind and favourable to 'em; and to make 'em equal partakers of his Graces with his other Subjects: but he condemn'd to moſt rigorous Puniſhments all thoſe that perſever'd in their Rebellion. This Declaration wrought very little effect, becauſe the Duke of *Rohan* made thoſe that adher'd to him deeply ſenſible that there was much more to be expected from a General Peace, then every ſingle man could obtain from a Particular Submiſſion. But theſe Reaſons would have bin of little force, had they not ſeen the Cardinal engag'd in a Foreign War, which would not permit him vigorouſly to purſue his utmoſt efforts in *France* againſt the remainder of the Reformed. 1628. *Decrees and Declamations againſt the Duke of Rohan.*

That Miniſter was deſirous to revive the Reputation of his Maſter in *Italy*, where it was very low, by reaſon that they who govern'd as Prime Miniſters before him, had too great a kindneſs for the Court of *Spain*. To that purpoſe, he ſent an Army thither in ſuch a Seaſon of the Year, that there was more likelihood of ſeeing it ruin'd, then hopes of any Succeſs to be obtain'd by it. And to ſay truth, Had the Succeſs been unfortunate, the Expedition might have been lookt upon as raſh and inconſiderate. But there is nothing that proſpers better then those things which an Enemy believes his Adverſary dares not *The King and the Cardinal take a Journey into Italy.* 1629.

1629. undertake. The Army forc'd its way through all the disadvantages of Places, notwithstanding the rigour of the Winter, and the Duke of *Savoy*'s men that oppos'd their Passage: And after he had setl'd Affairs on that side in a very glorious manner, the King return'd to *Cevenes*, and laid siege to *Privas*. And indeed there was something surprising in the Speed and Diligence of this Great Minister. For there had not elaps'd above six Months between the reducing of *Rochel*, and the taking of *Privas*; and during that small time, the Cardinal had caus'd the King to take a Journey into *Savoy*, and recover'd the Affairs of *Italy* into a good Condition. This acquir'd him so great Credit with the King, that it was impossible he should mount any higher; and besides, it spread both admiration and astonishment all over *Europe*. So that the Reformed were in a dismal Consternation when they saw the remainder of their Cities menac'd by those Victorious Troops, which in such a terrible Season had forc'd all the Obstacles of Art and Nature. So that the Duke of *Rohan* had much ado with all his accustom'd Arguments, and the hopes of Succour that *Spain* promis'd him, to prevent the voluntary Surrender of all those Cities.

The Siege of Privas, *the Inhabitants of which were* Slaughter'd.

The King then, having receiv'd great Applauses in all places through which he pass'd in his way to *Italy*, for the success of his Arms before *Rochel*; and having beheld at his return the Roads strew'd with *Conversions*, procur'd by a great number of Missionaries that march'd along with his Army, and such as well knew how to improve the Argument of Terror, met with no stop till he came to *Privas*, before which Place he sate down in *May*; and into which *Chabrilles* and *Montbrun* had put themselves under pretence of holding it out. But they were both suspected, and it was discover'd that *Chabrilles* treated with the Court, and were to deliver up *Vivaretz* to the Cardinal for a good Reward. *Mombrun* was more wary, and would be intreated, and su'd to before he would yield: Besides, they mutually sow'd distrust to in prejudice the one of the other. *Chabrilles* offer'd to hold out the Place, provided he might have the upper hand, as being afraid that *Mombrun* would thwart him.

On the other side *Mombrun* declar'd what he knew of *Chabrilles*'s Treason, and did all he could, lest the City should be pu-

into his hands. This quarrelling of theirs fell out right, and had the intended Effect, to set the Soldiers at variance one among another. The Relief which was to have bin sent thither, and which lay at *Boutieres*, refus'd to march thither at the perswasion of *Chabrilles*, who promis'd other Succors so soon as it should be seasonable. The Soldiers of the Garison deserted, and the greatest part of the Citizens did as much. Thereupon *Mombrun* having thus render'd the place almost defenceless, went away together with some few Captains to the King's Quarter, where he was detain'd Prisoner for fashion's sake, on purpose to force the Town to a Surrender at discretion. For in reality he had made his Bargain; and the Pretence alledg'd for his Detention, that he had left the Town before he had secur'd himself by a Capitulation, was a meer Shamm. So that the Garison of *Privas*, which was retir'd to the Fort of *Thoulon*, astonish'd at the detaining of *Mombrun*, and the Captains that follow'd him, and finding themselves without either Chieftain or Governor, surrender'd at discretion. But when the King's Forces enter'd the Town, the Fire took hold either of some Barrels of Powder, or else upon some Mine that was prepar'd ready to spring, if the place had bin attacqu'd according to the methods of War; which Accident blew up some of the King's Soldiers, and gave others a Pretence to put the Garison to the Sword. So that all the Cruelties that could be exercis'd upon a City taken by Assault, were put in practice at *Privas*. The City was plunder'd and burnt, and whatever escap'd the Fury of the Soldiers, was only reserv'd for the Gibet or the Gallies. *Cruelties exercis'd upon the City.*

1629.

The Catholics accus'd the Reformed to have set Fire to the Powder; and the Reformed accus'd the King's Soldiers to have committed that abominable Fact, that they might have a Right to sack the City, which they could not have by the voluntary Surrender of the Town. And indeed 'tis most probable, that the Reformed would have taken better measures, had they bin the Authors of that Accident. For it happen'd too soon to do any considerable damage to the Enemy: nor was the little harm it did, worth the trouble of making such an Attempt. However, the Soldiers were believ'd who accus'd the Garison of the foul Play. People that are hated, are soon believ'd to be criminal; *The pretences of the Catholics.*

1629. nal; and the Antipathy which men have against 'em, gives an Air of Evidence and Truth to all Accusations that are laid to their charge. For this reason it was, that these poor Creatures were lookt upon as guilty of assassinating a Capuchin, who was call'd *Jerome de Condrieu*, and whom the Monks of his Order will needs have to be a Martyr. There has bin also a Relation of this pretended Martyrdom publisht, and so exactly drest up with all the Circumstances of it, that for a man to have been acquainted with all that is there set down, he must not only have bin present at the Action, but a patient and quiet Spectator also. Nevertheless, this pretended Crime must needs be committed in a place where there was no body but the Criminals, and the person that suffer'd; and the chiefest part of the Circumstances so ill jumbl'd together, that it was easily to be discern'd, that it was only a Romantic Story of a roasted Horse, such as are brought us from *Japan* or *China*. But the King being extremely tractable, superstitious, and prepossess'd with an aversion for the Reformed, swallow'd, without any examination, what was urg'd against 'em, to foment and buoy him up in his prejudic'd Opinion.

Conversions of Soldiers call'd Converts.

In like manner they vaunted the *Conversions* of Soldiers, that embrac'd the Catholic Religion before they dy'd. But besides, what I have observ'd in other places upon these pretended *Conversions*, I shall here speak it once for all, that there were many Catholics who bore Arms in the Reformed Army; That these Catholics hoping for better Usage, if they call'd themselves Reformed, then if they acknowledg'd that being Catholics, they had serv'd in the Armies of those who were term'd Enemies of the State and the Church, tarry'd till there was no longer any hopes of mercy for 'em, before they declar'd themselves; That some of 'em also sav'd their Lives by this Artifice, acting the part of Zealots, and of the Godlier sort of the Reformed, till the Missionaries put 'em in hope of Pardon, upon condition they would change their Religion; That these persons easily yielded to whatever was infus'd into 'em by the Monks: so that when they met with the Depositions of these false *Converts* against the Ministers, or any other of the Reformed, 'twas neither Justice nor sound Reason to give Credit to their Testi-

mony.

1629.

cony. Moreover, the *Cruelties* Exercis'd upon the taking of *Privas*, were cry'd up as a juſt piece of Severity, and an Exemplary puniſhment: And as if that mercileſs Butchery had not bin enough to ſatisfie 'em, the King publiſh'd a Declaration the Month of *June*, which forbid all thoſe that were not in during the Siege, to return, and Confiſcated all their goods: It deprived all the reſt of the Reformed of the Liberty to ſettle there without expreſs leave; and ſet forth, that poſſeſſion it ſelf, without permiſſion, ſhould not give 'em a Title to the Right. We ſhall relate in due place the Injuſtice and Cruelties that were committed in theſe later years, under the pretence of that Declaration.

A Declaration upon the taking of Privas.

The taking of *Privas*, and the Circumſtances of the Reducing begat Fear and Conſternation on every ſide: And beſides, the ſtroke which was begun in ſeveral Places, by the little Armies which the King ſent thither, quite daunted the Courage of all that were capable to defend themſelves. They were utterly out of Hopes of being Aſſiſted by the *Engliſh*, who ſince the Taking of *Rochelle*, had ſtill held the Duke of *Rohan* in Patience with fair Promiſes. But the Cardinal had begun a Treaty of Peace with 'em, before he carry'd the King into *Italy*; and the Negotiation was perfectly concluded during that Journey: ſo that the News of that Peace was publiſh'd while the King lay before *Privas*. 'Tis true, that the *Engliſh* Envoy aſſur'd the Duke, that the Peace would not be of any long Continuance. But tho that Promiſe might have bin rely'd upon, the Duke who ſtood in need of preſent Ayd, could not ſtay for an Aſſiſtance that was promis'd him in purſuance of an uncertain Rupture of ſo late a Treaty. There remain'd only the Aſſiſtance of *Spain*, where *Clauſell* had concluded a Treaty the Third of *May*, in the Duke's Name. But 'twas well known, that there was no Confiding in that Succor, which the Inſupportable ſlowneſs of the Councel at *Madrid* would not permit them to expect in any time, ſo as to reap any Benefit by it. Beſides that the Catholic Zeal of that Court gave the Reformed great reaſon to queſtion, whether or no ſhe were ſincere in her Treaties with Heretics: and then again, that Forraign Alliance did not pleaſe ſeveral of the Reformed themſelves. The Men

A Treaty of the Duke of Rohan *with* Spain.

1529 Men of the Quill wrote to and fro with great vehemency; an the Monks coming in for a ſhare, moſt bloody *Satyrs* appear' againſt the Duke, and all thoſe that were of his Religion an Party. His Adverſaries maintain'd againſt him in all tho Writings, that the Forraing Succour with which he flatter' himſelf, was both impoſſible, unprofitable, and unjuſt. The alſo excus'd by divers Arguments the Breach of Treaties, whic it was not always requiſite to obſerve. In purſuance of whic *Maxim*, they ſhew'd, that all the Reaſons which the Reforme brought were Inſufficient to juſtifie their Arms. They woul needs have it, that the Reformed had extorted all the Favou which had bin granted to 'em, and particularly the Briefs conſequently, that the Obligation was void, and the Revocatio lawful. 'Twas ſaid, that Kings were oblig'd to puniſh He retics, as the Servants of God, as *Protectors* of the Church and becauſe that Heretics have bin always troubleſom to Stat and Kingdoms. 'Twas aſſerted, that the Reaſon of Publi Welfare, exempted Kings from obſerving their Promiſes mad to their Subjects, who were never permitted to wage War and that tho they were attacqu'd, it was not lawful for 'em to d ſend themſelves, and they were very large and copious upo this Tyrannical Opinion. They were alſo very diffuſive upon th Queſtion, what Place the Reformed held in the Kingdom Wherein it was aſſerted, that they were no ſeparate Body: an upon that Principle they condemn'd their Aſſemblies, their G neral Deputations; and in a word, whatever elſe was th Conſequence of a lawful Union. A new ſort of Politics, fro whence the Pretences for a Great Number of unjuſt Actio were drawn. Laſtly, by a ſort of Argumentation altogethe Catholic, they alledg'd the Victories of the *Roman* Churc over *Hereſie* to be a Mark of her being the True Church; an the Fall of the Reformed as a Mark of their Hereſie. But would be a hard matter to demonſtrate, that Violence, Su prize, and Treachery, which are the Weapons which the *Ro man* Church makes uſe of againſt her Enemies, were Weapon becoming the Truth, and that the Ruin of her Adverſaries b ſuch means, was a good Argument to convince 'em of He reſie.

But while the Duke of *Rohan* ſtruggl'd with theſe Difficul- 1629.
s, the Reducing of *Alets*, which open'd her Gates to the
ng without any Oppoſition, totally diſcourag'd thoſe that were
ll reſolv'd to have defended themſelves; and the Advanta-
ous Conditions which that City obtain'd, perſwaded all the
t to imitate Her, that they might be no leſs happy then She.
e Conſideration of the Diſorders that happen'd at *Privas*,
de 'em believe the Capitulation of *Alets* the more tolerable;
that as it was one of the moſt Conſiderable that belon'gd to
e Party, her Example extreamly ſway'd the Reſt. Never-
leſs the Duke ſurmounted all theſe Obſtacles, and neglecting
s own Advantages, which he was given to underſtand in the
ng's Name, ſhould be much greater if he would treat apart
himſelf, then if he obſtinately inſiſted upon a General Peace;
engag'd all his Friends and Adheretns, to make but one Trea-
for all. To which purpoſe he obtain'd leave to call a Ge-
al Aſſembly at *Anduſe*, from whence it was tranſlated to
mes, to the end it might there be more free. For the King
anting the Confirmation of the Edicts, there was nothing
ich could cauſe a Diſpute, but the Article concerning the
rifications. 'Twas the King's deſire they ſhould be demo-
'd, but the greateſt part of the Cities refus'd to Con-
t to it. They judg'd it to be the greateſt Miſchief that could
al em, tho they ſhould ſtand the utmoſt of Extremity. And
ay truth, in regard there were ſtill remaining about Thirty
ong Holds, the meaneſt of which was able to hold out a
ge of three Months, they might have put the Cardinal to a
nge, had he inſiſted upon that Article. But particular In-
ts, the Cardinal's Correſpondencies, the Fear of Treachery,
Example of *Privas*, and chiefly that of *Anduſe*, that firſt
all gave way, and firſt of all agreed to the Demoliſhing of
Fortifications, made all the Deputies that were at the Aſ-
bly ſubmit to give the ſame Conſent.

An Aſſembly permitted at Anduſe, and tranſlated to Nimes.

The Peace was then Concluded toward the end of *June*, pub- *Peace concluded.*
ſh'd in the King's Camp, and afterwards the Treaty being
nd into an Edict, was publiſh'd at *Nimes* the next Month. It
s granted in the Form of a Favour; and becauſe the King
rded it to his vanquiſh'd and humbl'd Subjects of his meer
good

1529. good will, upon no other Conſiderations or Motives but tho
of his Clemency, it was call'd the *Edict of Grace*. Upon which
The Edict of Grace tle there was a High Valne put, to cure the Reformed of th
Fears, leſt this Edict ſhould be no better obſerv'd then
Reſt: and becauſe it was taken for a pretence to violate th
that preceded, that the Grant of 'em was wreſted from
King by force; therefore that there ſhould be no excuſe for
Infringing of this, becauſe the King had granted it as a Vi
out of the meer Inſtigation of his Royal good will. Never
leſs, the very next Day after the Publication of the Peace,
the 29th of *June*, the Cardinal wrote a Letter to the Q
Mother upon the occaſion, from whence it might be conclud
that the Motive to this Peace was not any Inclination to
ſerve the Edicts obtain'd by the *Heretics*, but to eaſe the Peo
of the Conſequences of the War, and for fear of offending th
Proteſtant Confederates, who would hardly have bin dra
to Confide in thoſe who ſought the utter Extirpation of th
Reformed Brethren. But the Queen was already diſconten
with the Cardinal; nor was there any thing which more d
pleas'd her then the Succeſs of the Enterpriſes which he und
took. She had done as much as ſhe could to hinder the Succ
of the Siege of *Rochelle*; and at the ſame time that ſhe vo
Pilgrimages and other Acts of Devotion for the Taking of
ſhe ſet all her Engins at work to diſappoint the Proſperity
that Important Deſign. Not that ſhe lov'd the Reforme
tho they had ſerv'd her faithfully upon ſeveral Occaſions:
in regard they had offended her in others, their Injuries
deeper at her Heart then their Services. But that was
ſtrange thing: For we may build more ſecurely upon the R
ſentment of Men, more eſpecially of Princes, then upon th
Acknowledgment. Time obliterates out of their Memor
all the Impreſſions of their good Services: and when they p
don, they do but ſuſpend the Reſentment of an Injury, the R
membrance of which the leaſt Pretence revives. Now t
which oblig'd the Queen to fret at the Cardinal's Proſper
was this, that ſhe ſaw the Cardinal's Reputation fix'd by
Succeſs of his Deſigns: whereas ſhe ſaw her Credit ſink by
grees, while he that before was but her Creature, left her hard
a

any ſhare in the Government of Affairs. And ſhe would not have bin ſorry to have ſeen him leſs fortunate in his Enterpriſes againſt the Heretics, that there might have bin a Party left in the Kingdom to reſtore her to the Authority ſhe had loſt, when occaſion offer'd. However, the Cardinal always paid her moſt profound Reſpects, that he might not expoſe himſelf to the reproach of deſpiſing a Princeſs to whom he was beholding for his Fortune. But to return to the Hiſtory. 1629.

Contents of the Edict.

The Edict contain'd in the firſt place a long Preface, which after an inſulting manner ſet forth the means employ'd to reduce the Reformed to obedience. The Taking of *Rochel*, the Sacking of *Privas*, the voluntary Surrender of *Alets*, were repreſented in a Rhetorical Stile, not common in Edicts. There were the Names of Five and twenty Towns well fortify'd that durſt not ſtand the firſt Shot of the King's Batteries; and which together with the Duke of *Rohan* and the Nobility of ſeveral Provinces, had implor'd his Clemency by their Deputies, offering to demoliſh their Fortifications for fear of giving any diſtruſt of their Fidelity. After which the King, ſway'd by compaſſion only of the Miſery of his Subjects, and that he might more abſolutely gain the hearts of thoſe who had bin guilty of ſo many Relapſes, ordain'd in two and twenty Articles what he would have obſerv'd for the future. The Edict was term'd *Perpetual and Irrevocable*; and according to the accuſtom'd ſtile, the Firſt Article enjoin'd the Re-eſtabliſhment of the *Roman* Religion in all the freedom of its Exerciſes; and of the Miniſters of the Worſhip of it in all their Goods and Eſtates. But by a ſingular Clauſe, 'twas the King's pleaſure that only Monks living up to the ſtrictneſs of their Order ſhould be plac'd in the Monaſteries of the Cities reduc'd. The Second was altogether new; for that while on the one ſide it promis'd to maintain the Reformed in the free Exerciſe of their Religion, on the other ſide it ſet forth an extraordinary deſire of their Return to the *Roman* Church; and exhorted 'em to lay aſide all Paſſion, to the end they might be capable of receiving the Light of Heav'n: And the King inſerted this deſire of their Converſion, to the end it might be admir'd as the moſt ſplendid Teſtimony of his good will. The Third related to the Qualifications of the Curates

1629. that were to be ſetled in the Pariſhes of the Conquer'd Countries, and the Proviſion that was to be made for their ſubſiſtence. The next contain'd a general and particular Amneſty of whatever had bin acted during the War. The Fifth contain'd the Declarations, Edicts and Articles *enregiſter'd* in Parlaments; and that which follow'd, ordain'd the Reſtitution of Churches and Church-yards, and gave leave for the rebuilding of demoliſh'd Churches. The Seventh allow'd three months time for the demoliſhing of Fortifications, which was to be done at the expence of the Inhabitants Labour, according to ſuch Orders as the King's Commiſſioners ſhould give; and in regard the King left no Gariſons in the ſaid Cities, he oblig'd 'em to give him Hoſtages, who were to remain in cuſtody, where he ſhould appoint, till the Work was fully compleated: And the Preamble of the Edict declar'd, That the Hoſtages had bin deliver'd before it was publiſh'd: nor did this Article leave the Cities any more then the bare encloſure of their Walls. The Eighth reſtor'd the Reformed to all their Goods and Eſtates, their Tythes, Accompts and Suits, and cancell'd all contrary Decrees and Ordinances. The Ninth gave 'em leave to re-enter into their Houſes, and to ſettle in the Kingdom where they pleas'd themſelves. But he excepted out of the firſt part of this Favour all the Inhabitants of *Pamiers* that reſided in the City, when the Prince of *Condé* retook it from the Duke of *Rohan*; and out of the 2d. he excepted the Iſlands of *Ré* and *Oleron*, *Rochelle* and *Privas*, where he ſuffer'd no body to reſettle anew. The next Seven that follow'd contain'd the Accuſtom'd Regulations for the diſcharge of Perſons that had bin any way concern'd in the management of Money, or in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. The 17th and 18th confirm'd the Cuſtoms for the Election of their Conſuls, and the Municipal Government; and thoſe of the Aſſembly of *Foix* in reference to the Aſſembly of States.

The Ninteenth imported a Diſcharge, in favour of the Conſuls, for the management of the public Money. The Twentieth reſtel'd the Seats of Judicature, and Audits of Receipts, in ſuch places from whence they had bin diſcharg'd by reaſon of the Troubles: And the laſt reſtor'd the Party-Chamber to *Caſtres* ſo ſoon as the Fortifications ſhould be demoliſh'd; and maintain'd

tain'd it in all the Juriſdictions that had bin allow'd it by the Edicts. 1629.

Upon the 15th of *July* the King wrote a Letter to the Queen Mother, wherein he appear'd extreamly well ſatisfi'd with the Peace which had bin concluded. He declar'd himſelf highly pleas'd with the Marks of their Affection which the Reformed had given him: That he thought there remain'd no more Seeds of Rebellion among 'em; and that they labour'd in the demoliſhing their Fortifications, with the ſame zeal that they rais'd 'em. As for the Duke of *Rohan*, after he had kiſs'd the King's Hand, he departed with permiſſion to retire to *Venice*. To ſay truth, 'twas no more then a Baniſhment cover'd over with the gay name of Permiſſion. For it was by no means judg'd a piece of prudence to let the Duke alone in *France*, where his Reputation and his Intreagues might hinder the ſtifling the remainders of the Conflagration. However, it was no leſs beneficial for him to keep himſelf at a diſtance in ſuch places where he could give no ſuſpicion, as it was for the Court to remove him. For the leaſt jealouſy of his Conduct, had he ſtaid in *France*, had either brought his Head to the Block, or lockt him up in a languiſhing Impriſonment. His Mother and Siſter were releas'd after the Peace; and the King allow'd ſome reparation to the Duke for the waſt which the Prince of *Condé* had made of his Eſtate.

The King's Letter to Queen Mother about the Peace.

The Duke of Rohan retires.

This Peace in the main had not bin diſadvantageous to the Reformed, if by taking from 'em their Places of Security, they could have bin cur'd of that diſtruſt, which the ill obſerv'd Promiſes of the Catholics, experienc'd for ſeventy years together, had imprinted in their minds. They found themſelves at the diſcretion of their Enemies by the Razing of their Fortifications; and all the Power of the Prime Miniſtry being in the Cardinal's hands, would not permit 'em to ſleep in quiet under the Promiſes of his Good-will. Upon theſe Conſiderations it was, that *Montauban* refus'd a long time to ratify what the Aſſembly of *Nimes* had decreed. The Siege which ſhe had ſo glorioufly ſuſtain'd perſuaded her that ſhe was invincible: And her Inhabitants were ſo puft up with their Succeſs, that they believ'd that no body durſt attacque 'em. However, ſome Forces were ſent that way

Montauban reduc'd.

1629. to put 'em in fear; but the Cardinal, who aſpir'd to be accounted the moſt accompliſh'd of all Hero's, and to be thought able to do more by his preſence, then a great Army by the Dint of their moſt daring efforts, order'd his affairs ſo well, that the honour of reducing *Montauban* redounded wholly to himſelf. Thither he went; was admitted; and put into it what number of the King's Forces he pleas'd; order'd the Fortifications to be level'd; & did more in a few days by an affectation of extraordinary Clemency, and of being exact to his Word, then a Victorious Army, where the King was in perſon, could accompliſh by a long Siege. When he made his Entry into *Montauban*, the Miniſters preſented themſelves to kiſs his Hands; he receiv'd 'em: but before that, he gave 'em to underſtand, that he did not allow 'em that Honour, as Deputies of any Particular Body, becauſe the Reformed made no Particular Body in the Kingdom; but only as men of Learning, for whom he had an eſteem. The end of this Compliment was, to let the Reformed know, that their Union was quite extinct; and conſiſted no longer in any other thing, then in their Profeſſion of the ſame Doctrine. The Miniſters of State, the Intendants, the Governors of Provinces, and Princes themſelves for a long time, did 'em the ſame honour, as the Cardinal had done the Miniſters of *Montauban*: But at length, the Clergy, weary of hearing the Compliments of the Miniſters, preferr'd upon all occaſions, before thoſe of all the other Deputies, obtain'd a Declaration which forbid 'em to make any ſuch Deputations, as I ſhall have an occaſion to ſpeak in another place.

Aſſembly of the Clergy. As for the Aſſembly this year aſſembl'd at *Paris*, they chiefly minded their own Affairs. They obtain'd a Decree of Council, which forbid the ſeizing in the hands of the Receivers of the Clergy the Penſions which had bin allow'd 'em, under pretence of being the Debts of *Converted* Miniſters. And this open'd a large Door for the Knavery of thoſe who were laden with Debts, and had not wherewithal to pay. But there were ſome Articles in the Ordinances of *Lewis* XIII. upon which the Clergy thought fit to make Remonſtrances. Among which there was one which oblig'd 'em to draw up an Inventory of their Evidences. Againſt which they urg'd that ſuch an Article would do 'em wrong;

for

that the Enemies of the Church, meaning the Reformed, 1629.
id draw from thence a pretence to moleſt 'em in the Poſ-
ſion of their Livings Tho there was as much reaſon to fear
e Vexations of the Catholics, as thoſe of the other People,
cauſe they would have found a means to prove the Falſhood
Nullity of their Evidences, had they bin once expos'd to the
amination of cunning people; but it did not behove them
ſpeak of any other but the Reformed, whoſe Name was
proper to conceal their ſecret Intentions. They demand-
upon another Article, that the Clauſe of *Verify'd in Parla-*
ents, requir'd by the *Ordinance* to ſet a Value upon the Conceſ-
ons which they had obtain'd of ſeveral Kings, might be taken
way. For they ſaw well, that at that rate, they ſhould loſe
great part or their Priviledges, which wanted that Forma-
y: Whether it were that the Parliaments did not eaſily allow
ſe ſorts of Favours; or whether it were that the Clergy durſt
preſent 'em for fear of a Refuſal. They rather choſe that
ch Conceſſions ſhould be granted by way of Contract with
e King, then by the public Forms of Law, in regard the moſt
alous Defenders of Arbitrary Power, almoſt all of 'em agree,
at Contracts are more Inviolable then the Laws. But I make
s Obſervation chiefly in this place, to the end that men may
e that this Clauſe, of which the Clergy ſo well ſaw the Con-
quence, had not bin inſerted in ſeveral Edicts given in favour
the Reformed, and particularly in that of *Nimes*, but only
at they might have an Opportunity to deprive 'em of a great
mber of Conceſſions of High Importance for their welfare
d quiet.

Now they who have a deſire to underſtand how the Re- *Particular Acts of Injuſtice.*
med were handl'd in ſuch Places where they liv'd under the
otection of the Edicts, may readily underſtand by ſome Ex-
mples. The 23. of *April* at an Aſſembly of the Town-Hall of
ons, there was a Reſolution taken to admit no more of the
Reformed to be ſworn into Maſterſhips of Trades; and the
Reaſon was this, that the contrary Cuſtom caus'd Differen-
s, and for that the Catholic Maſters oppo'sd it. As if the
Oppoſition of a few Male-contents were to have bin of any value
n an Affair which the Edict had ſo clearly decided. The King,

at

1629. at another time, being at *Valence* in the *Dauphinate*, paſt a Decree of the Council of State, touching the Bells, the Church-Yard, the Miniſter's, and the School-Maſter's Salaries, and other Affairs of the ſame nature, to the good liking of all the Inhabitants: but the Reparation of the Church, contain'd a Regulation, which in deſpite of Cuſtom, and the apparent Intereſt which the Reformed had in the Thing, confirm'd to the Curate, the Catholic Conſul, and ſuch and ſuch Inhabitants as were of the ſame Religion, the Power of diſtributing the Alms, and the Government of the Hoſpital. It may be eaſily then judg'd, what ſhare that Regulation left us the Reformed of the Alms, or in the Government of the Hoſpital. But the Parlament of *Rennes* bethought themſelves of being more ruſh this year, and by a Decree of the 12. of *June*, Confirm'd the Private Article of that Edict, which Exempted the Reformed from ſpreading Carpets before their Doors upon ſolemn Proceſſion-days; onely barely ordering that Carpets ſhould be ſpread. But the Parlament of *Dijon* was not in ſo good an Humour. For it happen'd that a private perſon was accus'd before 'em for committing ſome Irreverence during the Proceſſion of *Corpus Chriſti* Day. The Party accus'd, according to the Edict, demanded the Removal of the Cauſe to the Chamber of *Grenoble*. But the Removal was deny'd him, under pretence that it was a matter of Sacriledge, and that the Parlaments were to have the ſole Cognizance of thoſe Crimes. But nothing was more unjuſt then this Pretention, in regard that the pretence of Sacriledge was one of the Caſes, wherein the Reformed had moſt reaſon to be afraid of falling into the hands of Judges altogether prepoſſeſs'd. The Parlament of *Paris* alſo by a Decree of the Third of *Auguſt*, reduc'd the Priviledge of taking an Aſſociate of the Reformed Religion, for the drawing up and paſſing Sentences in Criminal Proceſſes brought againſt thoſe of the Religion, to Caſes of Marſhal Law onely. The Edict extended it to Final Sentences, by whatever Judges they were given: and Cuſtom had ſtretch'd it to all manner of Criminal Proceſſes, becauſe it ſeem'd Equitable; the drawing up of the Proceſs by the firſt Judge, being that which of neceſſity byaſſes the Sentence of the Superiour. I thought it requiſite to ſet down the Original of

sort of Practice; because that these particular Decrees have sometime bin turn'd into a General Law.

But nothing was more mischievous to the Reformed then the Establishment of Missions, which were Compos'd for the most part of persons of a violent, seditious, and pedantic Spirit, who thought it an honour to themselves to excite Tumults, and to draw bad usage upon themselves, that they might have an Opportunity to trouble the Principal Members of the Reformed Churches. The most dangerous of these brangling Pettifoggers were certain Laics of the Scum of the People, the most Eminent of which were Pedlars, Cordwinders, Cutlers, and such like Riffraff, who rambl'd about from Town to Town, from Consistory to Consistory, from Synod to Synod, to give Insolent Challenges to the Ministers, preach Controversies in public Places upon Theaters set up like Mountebank's Stages; to teaze and weary out the meaner sort of people with pitiful and ridiculous Cavils; and to endeavour by the *Conversion* of some poor silly Widgeon or other, to gain a certain Fill of Money which the Clergy had fixt as the Reward of such petty Victories. But I shall speak more at large in another place of this new sort of Adversaries, my business in this place being only to let you know, how much the Duke of *Rohan* was bespatter'd with Reproaches and Scandals after the Conclusion of the Peace; the chiefest part of those that had most importunately prest him to make it, imputing the Fall and almost Ruin of the Reformed Party to his Ambition, his Avarice, and his Precipitancy. So that he was forc'd to write an Apology for this last Peace: wherein resuming his Discourse from the Assembly of *Rochelle* which began the War, he made it appear by a Recital of all that had been transacted, that his Conduct was altogether Innocent, and that the last Peace was altogether necessary, at a time when *France* having no Foreign Troubles to divert her, was pouring upon the Duke with no less then six Armies at once. But these Reproaches were only thrown upon him by those to whom the Peace was not so gainful as the War. For in the main, the Duke had gain'd the Hearts of all the People, and almost all the Reformed were of Opinion, that he would have done

1630. *Missionaries.*

The Duke of Rohan accus'd of the Ruin of the Churches.

1630. done much greater Things for 'em then the Admiral *Chastillon* had he bin as well seconded by the Citizens and Nobility as the Admiral was.

Cavils about the Right of Exercises. In the mean time they began to brangle with the Reformed in divers places about the Right of Exercises, more especially on that side next to *Rochelle*, where *Thuilerie* the Intendant, and *St. Chament* the Governor made several Attempts. The first ordain'd that the Exercise should not be performed but in Places where it ought to be, according to the *Edict*; and that the Reformed, to make appear the Rights to which they pretended, should produce their Proofs before the Intendant within fifteen Days. He added, that within the said Term such Gentlemen as would perform the Exercise within their own Houses, should declare which was the Place of which they made choice for their Principal Dwelling: upon which they should enjoy the Right so long as they remain'd there with their Wives and Families; and that the said fifteen Days being expir'd without any such Declaration made, they should be deem'd not to have sufficient Proofs of their Right, and therefore should have no more Preaching in their Houses till the King should otherwise ordain. This Inquisition was the occasion that the Churches in those Quarters were forc'd to undergo the Persecution of a world of brabbling Cavils. But what was most troublesom, was, that the Churches whose Right was confirm'd by *Thuilerie*'s Order, were in no better Condition, seeing that afterwards they found out a thousand Devices to deprive 'em of the Fruit of those Sentences. For in Places of which the Lords of the Mannors were Catholics, the best settl'd Rights in the world signify'd nothing, in regard the violent Zeal of the Lord would not let his Tenants enjoy their Advantage. Of which there was an Eminent Example at *Rochechouard*, where the Exercise of the Reformed Religion began in the Year 1559. and where the Commissioners entrusted with the *Edict* of *Nantes*, confirm'd it in 1601. by a solemn Decree. Nevertheless the Lord by force expell'd the Reformed from the Place where they were accustom'd to Preach, so that they were forc'd to seek out another. And notwithstanding all their Complaints they were expos'd to long and tedious Vexations, which could

could not be determin'd but with the diſſipation of their Church. 1626.

The Biſhop of Valence perſecutes the Foreign Miniſters.

The Biſhop of *Valence*, a violent Spirit, and a hot-headed Perſecutor, upon the 15th of *June*, procur'd a Decree of the King's Council, which forbid any Foreigner, tho a receiv'd Minister within the Dioceſs, to continue his Miniſtry in the Kingdom. There were three of theſe whom the Biſhop would not involve in the ſame Prohibition; *Martin*, *Scarpius* and *Aleſt* for the Biſhop, as a Temporal Lord, had condemn'd 'em all three. *Aleſt* kept his ground at *Livron*, without taking any notice of the Decree. *Scarpius* retir'd to *Die*, where he liv'd without officiating in the Miniſtry. And as for *Martin*, he only chang'd the place of his Reſidence, but never ſtirr'd out of the Dioceſs. Which made the Biſhop ſtark mad, a man otherwiſe proud, and tranſported with his Paſſions. But he obtain'd nothing from the Council but only againſt *Martin* who was the moſt hated, becauſe he had bin a *Capuchin*; and for that after he had quitted his Habit, he wrote a Book entitl'd *The Capuchin Reform'd*, wherein he gave no Quarter to the Hypocriſies of that Inſtitution; and farther, becauſe the Biſhops having put him in Priſon, his ill uſage could neither make him alter his Conduct nor abate his Courage.

The Original of the Injuſtice done upon occaſion of the Annexes

That year, the ſame Biſhop began a Perſecution, which deriving the Original of it in a particular Dioceſs, ſpread itſelf afterwards over all the Kingdom, and was the occaſion of above 35 years vexation to the Churches. The Pretence was, becauſe one and the ſame Miniſter preach'd by turns in ſeveral places. And the King was made believe, that thoſe places which were call'd *Annexes*, or *Quarters*, belonging to ſome principal Church, were ſo many Uſurpations that were not authoriz'd by the Edict, tho there were nothing more falſe. For thoſe *Annexes* were places where the right of Exerciſe had bin acquir'd for ſome one of the Reaſons mention'd in the Edict; but not being able of themſelves to maintain a Miniſter apart, were join'd together by the Authority of a Synod, to make up a ſufficient Salary for one Paſtor. This was no injury to the Intereſts of the Clergy; to whom it ought to have bin an indifferent thing, how the Reformed order their Churches to be ſerv'd. Beſides

1630. that, 'twas very convenient for the Reformed; who, by that means, provided for their Churches and their Ministers at little Expences. And that Reason was sufficient to excite the Zeal of Catholic Persecution, to deprive 'em of that advantage. And it may be thought that this Vexation began in *Valence*, because it is a Bishopric compos'd of two in one, *Valence* and *Die*, tho the Bishop bears the name of *Valence* only. Now that Prelate could not endure that the Heretics should unite several poor Churches together, to enlarge the Minister's Salary, because it belong'd only to the Church of *Rome* to unite several poor Bishoprics, to augment the Revenue of one single Bishop. This was seconded by the Bishop of *Vaison*, who join'd with him in his Persecutions: and Both together obtain'd two Decrees of Council, one of the 3d of *October*, against the Minister of *Dieulefit*; the other dated the 11th of the same month, forbidding 'em to preach in any other then the place of their Residence. Nothing could be more vexatious in the Consequences of it to the Provinces wherein there were many Churches, more especially since the King had taken away the money granted by the King his Father in recompence of the Tithes.

New Seeds of a Civil War.

It appear'd by these Examples of the Persecution, that the Reformed had not now those Forces, which caus'd the Catholics to spare 'em before; but that in despite of the Act of Grace, they would be brangl'd every day out of the remainder of their Priviledges. In a word, within less then two years they had so many unjust Injuries done 'em, as are hardly to be imagin'd. But two things hinder'd, that they did not hasten their destruction. The first was, because the Court itself was intangl'd in most desperate Quarrels and Confusions. Providence permitted, for the justification of the Reformed, who had bin all along accus'd of being the sole Causes of the Troubles of the Kingdom, that after the Ruin of their Affairs, the Catholics should have their turn; should enter into Treaties, Leagues and Conspiracies, renew the Civil Wars, and keep the Kingdom, till the death of the King, in continual Combustions. The original of which Troubles was the Queenmother's discontent, who could not brook the high credit to which the Cardinal had attain'd

tain'd by the ſucceſs of his Enterpriſes. That Princeſs, ambitious and jealous of her Honour, was affronted that the Cardinal, whom ſhe had introduc'd into Court, ſhould be ſo powerful as to ſlight her; and that on the other ſide, ſhe ſhould have ſo far loſt her former Reputation, that ſhe could not as well contemn her Competitor. She ſaw herſelf deſpis'd ſince the taking of *Rochel*: and in truth, ſince that Enterprize had ſucceeded, the Cardinal had chang'd his Behaviour with all the world: nor did he carry himſelf in any thing ſo cautiouſly as before, becauſe he thought he ſtood in need of no body's protection. Nay, he could not forbear jeſting a little too ſatyrically upon the Queen; and in regard the Favour he was in had created him many Enemies, there were ſome that took delight officiouſly to repeat his Jeſts, and to ſeaſon 'em with ſome daſhes of particular malice. So that the Queen diſplay'd all her Fury againſt him, and notwithſtanding all the care which the King himſelf, Cardinal *Bigni*, and other perſons of the higheſt quality took to reconcile 'em, ſhe would never pardon him. The Duke of *Orleans* took his Mother's part, and ſeveral other conſiderable Lords did the ſame. As for the Cardinal, he was too much employ'd in diſſipating all theſe terrible Storms, to think of the Reformed; and his Enemies had too much buſineſs on the other ſide, to mind theſe miſerable Remainders of a Party that made no longer any Figure in the Kingdom. But the Cardinal had the good luck, or elſe the cunning, to vanquiſh all theſe difficulties, and to reduce the Queen, his Miſtreſs, to retire into *Flanders*, ſince ſhe could not ſtay neither with ſafety nor honour in a Kingdom where ſhe had ſo long exercis'd the Supreme Authority. The Duke of *Orleans* alſo departed *France* ſoon after, but return'd with his Arms in his hand. 1630. 1631. *The Queen withdraws into* Flanders.

The ſecond thing which afforded ſome relaxation to the Reformed, was, that the Cardinal was deſirous to uphold the King's Alliances with the Foreign Proteſtants; that he had renew'd the League with the Foreign Proteſtants; and for that he had renew'd an Alliance with *Guſtavus* King of *Sueden*, a brave Prince, Ambitious, one that had acquir'd the Reputation of a great Captain, and who but a little before had made an Incurſion into *Pomerania*, where he made it evident, that it was not a *Alliance with* Guſtavus *King of* Sueden.

1631. thing impossible to bring down the Puissance of the Emperor. This Prince enter'd *Germany* at the Cardinal's sollicitation, and made those surprizing Progresses which are hardly to be believ'd upon the credit of Relations. They were afraid he would have gone too far, so that after two years of continu'd triumph, he was slain at *Lutzen*; no body being as yet able to discover whether the mortal Stroke proceeded from the hand of his Friends, or his Enemies. There was also great care taken in treating with him, to prevent his Conquests from doing any prejudice to the Catholic Religion; and that Prince was very complaisant with the Cardinal upon that Subject. So that whether he would not offend a Confederate attended every where by Terror and Conquest; or whether it were that it was thought but Justice to spare the Protestants for the sake of a Prince so favourable to the Catholics, it was not lookt upon as a seasonable time to overwhelm the Protestants of *France*.

Projects of Reunion. But what they were unwilling to do openly, they attempted by means more closely conceal'd and dangerous. With this design it was, that they set afoot agen the Projects of Reunion, which were always as it were Forerunners of a Tempest that was insensibly gathering together. Two sorts of People were caught in this Snare. People that were sincere and upright, who believ'd in the sincerity of their hearts, that a reasonable composition might be drawn from the Catholics, at least in reference to the most gross and palpable Abuses; and that after they should be agreed upon Expedients to secure the Conscience, they might unite in an outward Communion: that Schism, lookt upon by both sides as a great mischief, would surcease by this Accomm dation; and together with Schism, all Discord and Hatred, Persecution of the weaker by the stronger, which are the inevitable Consequences of it: that being return'd to the Bosom of the *Roman* Church, People that were expert, might the better labour in the Cure of her Distempers, because they would be no longer suspected; and for that being arm'd with Truth, they would in time, by the light of it, dispel the darkness and mists of Prejudice and Error. There have bin at all times some People flatter'd with this pleasing Vision, and who never will be taught, that the mischiefs of the *Roman* Church

hurch are incurable, because she refuses all manner of Cure. 1631.
rrors purely speculative, and which arise from the false *Idea's*
h which the mind is prepossess'd, may sometimes surrender
the evidence of a Truth well made out by Demonstration:
errors of Interest are proof against all the most evident
monstrations, in regard they derive their Original from the
ption of the heart: and for that Malad es of that nature
are always to be assuag'd by Remedies that convince the
on. Other People of a quite different Character, either
by Promises, or push'd forward by Ambition, or else
ented of their own parts, and aspiring to the Honour of ha-
ing put an end to these fatal Contests, which for above a hun-
d years together had occasion'd such Convulsions over all
, desperately threw themselves into the gaping Chasma's
this pretended Concord; and provided they met with any
kelihood and facility, never gave th mselves the trouble of ta-
ng securities and measures in favour of the Truth.

With which the Cardinal deals.

'Tis said the Cardinal was desirous to make use of these two
rts of People to endeavour this Re union; because he might
procure the same service from the simplicity of the one, as from
he little sincerity of the other. And though the Author of his
Life dares not positively assert that he had this Project in his
e, because he meets with nothing of it in his Memoirs; ne-
vertheless, 'tis not improbable that he had it in his thoughts:
whether it were that he was desirous effectually to accomplish
that Enterprise, or that he would have it so believ'd for a se-
cret Reason of his own Policy. However, the Method which
has bin publish'd, remains intirely in the limits of the Project,
of which I shall suddenly have an occasion to speak. More-
over, the Cardinal affected all things that appear'd to be great;
and in regard he had a great desire that all his Actions should be
the Subjects of so many Panegyrics, an Enterprize so extraor-
dinary, as the Re-union of Religions could not chuse but be most
proper to flatter his Vanity. In a word, there happen'd some
things during the first years th t elaps'd after the taking of *Ro-*
, that seem so naturally to depend upon this Design, that it
may from thence with great probability be concluded, that he
had laid the groundwork of the Project in good earnest. On
the

1631. the other side, in regard that at the same time he had lost his Reputation at *Rome*, where his Alliances with *Gustavus*, and other Protestant Princes, were very much disgusted, because it seem'd that the Catholic Religion was as great a loser by their Victories, as the House of *Austria*; it may be said, that he only made use of his Projects of Re-union out of a design to regain the Pope's favour, by putting him in hopes that he would bring back all *Europe* under obedience to the Holy See.

Intreagues of Joseph the Capuchin.

However it were, Projects were spread abroad upon this Subject which seem'd to come from the Cardinal, because the first Overtures were carri'd about by a Capuchin, who had a great share in his Confidence. This was the famous Father *Joseph*, to whom the Austerity of his Order was no obstruction from being the Minister of the most Secret Intreagues of that Prelat; nor from doing him more important Services by his Negotiations, then all his Favourite Generals at the head of their Armies. The design was to bind a Conference between the Reformed Ministers and some Catholic Doctors: but to preserve the Advantage on the *Roman* Religion's side, two things were resolv'd upon. The first was, That the *Roman* Religion should not yield an inch of ground, either as to her Doctrine or Worship; not so much as in things of small Importance, or such as had bin the first occasions of *Schism*; as the Matter of Indulgences. But to take away this Pretence which this Obstinacy of the *Romish* Church, in her Opinions and Practices, might give the Reformed to persevere in their Separation, there were two Expedients set a foot. The first was, To agree on both sides upon the Expressions that were to mollify and sweeten the Articles which would be most harsh and uneasie. The other was, To shew by Writings well compos'd and laid together, that the Catholic Religion was not so different from the Reformed as vulgarly it was believ'd; and that the difference was so slight, that it could be no lawful cause of Disunion. The second thing that was to save the Honour of the *Romish* Religion, was, that they were to bring it so about that the Reformed should be the Sollicitors; to the end, that in the Reunion they might appear as Penitent Children that made the first steps towards their Mother to regain her Favour; and that the Catholic

Church might look like a Mother that held forth her Arms 1631.
embrace her Children returning to their duty.

To bring this to paſs, they were deſirous to make uſe of the Synod themſelves; and they were to endeavour to make the poſals of it in the Provincial Synods, to the end the Deputa- to the National Synod might be ſo order'd as to fall upon ons proper to manage this Deſign, and furniſh'd with power embrace the Expedients that ſhould be agreed upon in the me of their Provinces. The firſt ſtep, as the Plot was laid, s to ſend a Deputation to the King with a Remonſtrance, t certain ill affected Perſons went about to perſuade him, the Reformed Religion infus'd into the Profeſſors of it, Sen- ents contrary to the good of his Service; but that they in- ded to ſhew the contrary by a faithful Explanation of theirs: at to that purpoſe they beſought his Majeſty to permit 'em enter into a Free Conference with ſuch Doctors as he ſhould ſe to nominate; and that if they could but be convinc'd that re was a poſſibility of Salvation in the Catholic Religion, y would be glad to come to a Reconciliation. Upon this poſal they were to be taken at their words; and becauſe they anded no more then to bind the Conference, it was to be w'd 'em as long and as free as they could deſire.

How the Synods were to ſpeak.

But for the accompliſhment of this Deſign, there was a ne- ty of ſecuring a ſufficient quantity of the Miniſters. They ſounded all that reſided round about *Paris*, but found 'em y variouſly enclin'd. There were ſome, who either through ruption or ſimplicity, lent an ear to the Propoſals, and who drew up draughts of a Reunion, which were communicated the Cardinal, to the end he might be judge whether they re proper or no: And there are Memoirs that ſhew the num- of the Miniſters thus gain'd to be about fourſcore. There re others who by no means approv'd theſe Projects; but who ght be allur'd by various Intereſts, that hinder'd their oppoſi- n; whether they were already engag'd in Troubles, or fear'd being brought into Vexations; or whether they were not nſible of the Deluſions of vain Hopes. But there were others that were ſtiff and inexorable, that came quick to the point, declar'd that the nature of the Differences between the two

Inclinations of the Miniſters.

Religions

1631. Religions would not endure an Accommodation. These Inc
nations of the ſetl'd Miniſters about the Court, encourag'd t
Projectors to found thoſe in the Remoter Provinces; that t
might conſider with which of theſe three different Inclinatio
And the People. it was moſt proper to cloſe. As for the Reformed Laics, th
found 'em all in the opinion of the Obſtinate Miniſters; and
greateſt part of 'em, not content to reject the Propoſal as
poſſible, lookt upon it as fraudulent, and ſerving only as a
ver for ſome wicked Deſigns. In ſhort, they were thinking
make uſe of violence; and after the Succeſs of the Confer
where the King was to be in Perſon, the more eaſily to turn
Scales which way he deſir'd, they were to enforce all the re
the Kingdom to ſtand to the Treaty which the Deputy-Miniſt
ſhould conclude. Edicts, Baniſhment of the Obſtinate, a
Military Executions, were to make good the Reſolutions ta
in the Conference; but ſuch as would not accept of the Re
were to be allow'd the liberty to diſpoſe of their Eſtates, a
to withdraw within a certain time.

Difficulties. It was alſo thought convenient to haſten the ſummoning o
National Synod for the execution of this Deſign, becauſe th
thought that things being well order'd in the Provinces, th
Aſſembly would ſerve to forward it. But they met with o
unlucky Obſtruction which retarded the Grand Affair. For t
Peſtilence rag'd in ſeveral Provinces of the Kingdom; ſo th
'twas impoſſible at that conjuncture of time to aſſemble Pro
cial Synods. And in the Aſſembly it ſelf that was held at *Ch*
renton, there were great complaints of the Obſtructions occ
ſion'd by that Diſtemper which hinder'd the Deputies fro
coming to the Aſſembly. In the mean time, there were
men found out, of the two different Characters above-mention
who ſeem'd to agree with the Cardinal in his Projects. T
Petit's Projects. one was *Petit*, a Miniſter and Profeſſor of Theology at *Sa*
The other was *Milletiere*, who had written ſo much upon th
fairs of *Rochel*, and who had a great deſire to ſignalize h
by a large Book upon the Subject of the Reunion. *Petit* ha
the reputation of being an Honeſt man; but he was one of th
that ſuffer'd themſelves to be bewitch'd with the charming na
of Concord; and who, becauſe they are honeſt, and mean w
them

hemſelves, believe all the World to be like 'em. Moreover, 1631.
e had rather in view the Reunion of the Proteſtants among
hemſelves, and particularly of thoſe that follow'd the Doctrine
f *Arminius*, condemn'd by the Synod of *Dort*, then of the Pro-
eſtants and Catholics. But in regard he only propounded ge-
eral means, they were not ſo eaſily appli'd to the Cardinal's
eſigns, with whom all honeſt men were afraid of dealing up-
n this matter. Becauſe it was a ſcurvy thing to deal with a
rafty and Potent Miniſter, who with eaſe might abuſe the
eaneſt Overtures that were made him. This caus'd the more
udent ſort of the Reformed to fear whatever bore the name
f Reunion; more eſpecially the Synods rejected all the Propo-
ls relating to it with ſcorn. For which Reaſon, *Petit*'s Pro-
ct being by no means reliſh'd, he never put it to the Preſs, but
id aſide all his idle Fancies, and perſever'd in the Reformed
eligion. *Milletiere* was a man all fume and vapour, full of
mſelf, and perſuaded that nothing came near his Merit and
apacity. Moreover, either out of fear, leſt the Court, re- *And Me-*
embring what had paſt, ſhould ſit upon his Skirts, or in *litiere.*
opes to acquire great Honour, and to raiſe ſome great For-
ne by the ſucceſs of this Enterprize, or tickl'd with the Ap-
auſes which the Jeſuits gave him, that they might draw him
their Party, they quite debauch'd him, ſo that he ſided
ogether with the Cardinal in his Project, and drew up a
raught of an Accommodation juſt as the Cardinal deſir'd it.
e allow'd the *Romiſh* Church to be in the right almoſt in all
ings; and in thoſe which he would not give himſelf the trou-
e to juſtify, he made uſe of ſoft and qualifi'd Expreſſions,
nder pretence of explaining 'em, and made 'em paſs for
ueſtions that were not to hinder the Reunion of the Re-
rmed.

The different Projects of theſe two Men clearly diſplay'd *Different in their intentions.*
e difference of their Intentions. The one laid down Prin-
ples to which the Church of *Rome* was far from agreeing,
t againſt which ſhe could not defend her ſelf, if there were
y thing of reality and ſincerity in her Treaty of Reunion:
nd in that ſenſe it was, that the Affair was almoſt always

1631. taken by such as through simplicity clos'd with their Designs. The other granted for a Tacit Principle, that the *Romish* Church was in the right, and that there was nothing else but misunderstanding on the part of the Reformed; and this was the usual way of those who had this Concord in their eye, that they had more of worldly Compliance, then honesty or zeal for the Truth. But these attempts toward a Reunion came to nothing, because *Petit* did not carry his Overtures far enough, and for that *Miletiere* appeared too evidently partial. Besides, he had the misfortune not to be approv'd by the Catholics; so that when, after the Synod of *Alenson* in 1637. he publish'd his *Means to obtain Christian Peace* by the Reunion of the Catholics and Evangelics upon the Differences of Religion; he was terribly vex'd to see that the *Sorbonne* so ill receiv'd it, and censur'd it so briskly, as if they had held a correspondence with the Ministers of *Charenton*. Yet this was no hindrance, but that he was a long time a charge to the Churches, in whose Communion he affected to continue, to give the more credit to his Visions. But *John Daille*, who began about that time to make himself known by his Writings, refuted him so briskly from the very original of these Projects, that poor unfortunate *Miletiere* became at last the abomination of the Reformed, and the scorn of all Honest men. So that after several Admonitions and Warnings to no purpose, the Synods declar'd him no longer a Member of the Reformed Churches; nor was there so much as one that would receive him into her Communion: So that he was forced to turn Catholic through necessity, to the end he might be of some Religion. After which he became a Missionary, and went rambling about in search of Conferences; where he was still so badly handl'd as would have put him quite out of courage, but that his Obstinacy was such as nothing was able to vanquish. But at length *Charles Drelincourt*, one of *John Daille*'s Colleagues, and a true Scourge of Humourists, such as *Militiere* was, totally routed him in a Conference, the Acts of which were publish'd. However, this did not happen till several years after the time that I speak of.

To

To return then to my Subject, I ſay, that this Project of *Reunion* was ſpun out a long while, and paſt through more then one hand, becauſe there are ſome Memoires ſtill extant about the Time of the Cardinal's Death. The Jeſuit *Cludebert* ſucceeded the Capuchin, who dy'd in 1638. and greatly boaſted of his having gain'd many Miniſters. But a Thing of that nature remains very doubtful, when it is only atteſted by men of that Habit: and what they report upon that Subject may well be thought no more then a Romance made at Random. But the Cardinal had ſo much Buſineſs, by reaſon of the Conſpiracy of *St. Mars*, and was laden with ſo many corporal Infirmities, that there is but little likelihood he ſhould perplex his Brains with Deſigns of ſo great Importance. We'l grant in the firſt place, that he was aſſur'd of Peace with *Spain*, and that he had an Intention to keep a-foot the Forces that ſerv'd at the Siege of *Perpignan*, to the end they might be quarter'd up and down in the Provinces, to reduce by Terror thoſe that would not willingly obey. Certainly a man would think there ſhould be ſomething too harſh and cruel in ſuch a deſign, for a Perſon that felt the Approaches of Death, and was juſt ready to drop into his Grave; Conſequently could not promiſe to enjoy the Fruit of ſuch a bold Undertaking. The moſt prudent Authors therefore acknowledge they knew nothing of it but by Hear-ſay: and ſo that it may be thought that if he did open his Mind to any body upon this Subject, he did it by way of Stratagem, to make people believe that he felt himſelf ſtrong enough to live a long time, ſince he undertook ſuch great Deſigns. Thus *Tiberius* conceal'd his deadly Infirmities under the Cruelty of the Orders which he diſpatch'd into all parts; and made the Terrible Acts of Injuſtice which he committed, to the deſtruction of his Subjects, to be look'd upon as Teſtimonies of his Youth and Vigour. 1631. *Iſſue of the Project in general.*

But before the Cardinal drew ſo near his end, there had been Attempts made which the Wiſdom and Conſtancy of ſeveral Miniſters, and perhaps the Confuſions in the Kingdom rendred fruitleſs. Nevertheleſs I muſt needs ſay, that this Project, in the full extent of it, and with all the Circumſtances, *The firſt of that Project.*

1631. was not altogether a *Chimera*; that if it were not a Whimsey of the Cardinals, yet it was a Megrim of the Jesuits: that we have seen it set a-foot in our Days as a Project which the Court of *France* approv'd; and that almost every part of it was put in execution. I may add, that the Illustrious *Hugo Grotius* went very far in these Projects of Reunion: He had a strong Fancy for it all his Life-time. It appears also by Letters which *du Vair*, Keeper of the Seals, wrote to him from before *St. Angeli*, in 1621. that he had been a great Stickler before that Time in those Accommodations, and that he labour'd to bring 'em to perfection, by giving up the Cause in some Things to the *Roman Church*, and excusing her in all the rest. He likewise approv'd the *Essays* of *Miletiere*, and testified a High Esteem of him and his Works. Some years before his Death, he apply'd himself more then ever to this same Christian Concord, and Printed *Consultations*, *Remarks*, *Vows*, and *Discussions*, which only serv'd to create Disputes about the manner of proposing the Peace. But let us now return to our History.

A National Synod. The Contagious Distempers were no sooner in part abated, but the Reformed held a National Synod at *Charenton*, with the King's Permission, and tho the Breif were dated the 17th of *January*, the Synod did not meet till the First of *September*. *Galand* also who had bin Commissioner in the two latter, was likewise Commissioner in this; and he did several Things that gave an occasion to the Weaker sort to observe that the Synod was not free.

The Commissioners Speech. His Speech was honest enough: He gave Assurances in the King's Name, that what was past was forgot, and that for the future they should have all the liberty granted them for the Exercise of their Religion, and to hold Synods; provided the Reformed continu'd in their Duty, devoted to the King's Service, without speaking against the Publick Tranquility, and that they refrain'd from keeping either Foreign or Domestic Intelligence. And he gave these Assurances as in the Name *Of a good Father, and a good King.* But as soon, under pretence, that the preceding Synods had made Regulations to which the King had not agreed, and which were,

as

as he ſaid, conceiv'd in Terms that were ſubject to various In- 1631.
terpretations, he propounded the renewing of 'em, not for-
bearing to hint ſome things that were never hinted before. He
declar'd in the firſt place, that the King would no longer ad-
mit of Proteſtations, nor Remonſtrances againſt the Eſtabliſh-
ment of the Commiſſioners that were preſent at the Synods;
and he alledg'd that it was Conformable to the Practice
of the Primitive Church, and the Politics of the beſt Regula-
ted States. In the ſecond place he requir'd, that no Foreigners
ſhould be call'd to the Miniſtry within the Kingdom; becauſe
it was the King's Pleaſure that thoſe Functions ſhould be re-
ſerv'd for Natural French-men. He put 'em in hopes, that by
having Recourſe to the King's Favour, they might obtain Fa-
vour for thoſe who had bin admitted ſince the year 1623. But
he extended the Prohibition for the future, to all that were born
in Foreign Principalities, Societies, or Republics, Confede-
rates, or under the Protection of *France*: and in a word, to
all that were not born in ſome place within the King's Domi-
nions. In the third place, That they who ſhould be once ad-
mitted Miniſters, ſhould never ſtir out of the Realm without
the King's leave. And becauſe that *Salbert*, Miniſter of *Ro-
chelle*, had withdrawn himſelf during the Troubles, that he
might have the Liberty to Write, the Commiſſary declar'd him
Suſpended from the Exerciſe of his Functions: forbid him to
ſtir out of the Place which the King had allotted him for his
Exilement, or rather for his Priſon; and diſabl'd the Synod
to nominate him in the Diſtribution of the Churches. In the
fourth place, He renewed the Regulation which forbid the Mi-
niſters from medling with Politic Affairs.

Miniſters ſuſpected by the King, excluded from the Synod.

This Article had a particular Aim againſt *Beraud*, Miniſter of *Montauban*, a perſon of ſomewhat too violent a Spirit, and who went a little too faſt. During the laſt Troubles he wrote a Book, wherein not content to juſtifie the Taking up of Arms, he undertook to maintain, That Miniſters had a Call to bear 'em, and to ſhed Blood. The Commiſſioner aggravated the importance of that Opinion, dangerous in ſuch a man as *Beraud*, who beſides that he was qualify'd as a Miniſter, was alſo a Profeſſor

1631. fessor in Divinity. He was also the first that pronounc'd Sentence upon this Offender, and order'd the Synod to Censure him. There were also two other men, whom it was the King's Pleasure to have excluded out of the Synod, tho they were Deputies of their Province. The one was *Bouteroue*, Minister of *Grenoble*, which the Parlament of the *Dauphinate* thought worthy of no other Honour then to be committed to the Flames; because it discours'd a little too freely of the Affairs of the Times, and of the Lawfulness of taking Arms by the Reformed. The other was *Basnage*, Minister of *Carentan*, who had had too great a share in the last Assembly of *Rochelle*, and who appear'd in the Synods a very zealous and active Stickler. The Commissioner having made an end of what he had to say, an Answer was made him to every Thing that he had propounded. In general, the Answer was very submissive; only they reserv'd to themselves the liberty of making their Supplications to the King, not to exclude from his Favour for the future, such as were born within the same Limits with those whom he was willing to tolerate for the Time past; and to comprehend *Salbert* in the Favour granted to all those who had bin involv'd in the Misfortunes of the preceding Commotions. When they came to answer the Conditions which *Galand* had expreſt in his Speech, and which were to serve as a Foundation for the Assurances of the King's Good Will; they stedfastly deny'd that they had ever spoken Words from which any Offence could be taken, and that were contrary to the Publick Tranquility; but they complain'd on the other-side, that in several Places the Catholics had perverted the Ministers Words, and wrested their most Innocent Expressions into Criminal Language. As for *Berand*, that it was proper to hear him, before any thing could be said in his Business: He acknwoledg'd the Book, and averr'd that he had not Taught any such Doctrin as was laid to his Charge; and imputed to the Malice of the Time, whatever was tax'd for suspected in it. He said, that there might be some Ambiguous Words in it, but that he detested the Consequences that had bin drawn from it. But the Commissioner would not let this pass for an Excuse, and convinc'd *Berand* to have expres-

The Answer to the Commissioner's Speech.

written

written in the Preface of his Book the very Things of which he was accus'd. So that he was very smartly censur'd by the Synod, who stigmatiz'd the Expressions of his Book with the Appellation of *Scandalous Terms*, which he had made use of to an ill purpose. This Doctrin was condemn'd, and the Ministers were forbid to teach it. In the mean time, *Berand* continu'd excluded from the Synod; and before he could be readmitted, he was forc'd to undergo a new Censure from the Commissioner's Mouth. 1631.

But this was not all that *Galand* did in the Synod. He would needs oppose the Union of *Bearn* with the rest of the Provinces. The Pretence was, that it had bin hitherto displeasing to the Court; that it had bin tolerated only for the Doctrine, and not for the Discipline; That the Clause of the Regulations that only seem'd to hinder it, *till* Bearn *was united to the Crown*, did not authorize the admission of it after the Reunion, without asking the King's leave. He insisted upon the Laws of Queen *Jane*, which forbid the removing the Causes of the Inhabitants out of the Countrey; and alledg'd the Example of *Sedan* and *Metz*, where the Ecclesiastical Affairs were determin'd in the same Countrey. But the Deputies of *Bearn* wanted no Replies to overthrow these Reasons; and the Reunion of their Countrey to the Crown, serv'd 'em as a potent Argument to make it out, that since they were accounted Members of the Nation, they had a Right to require that their Causes might be adjudg'd in the Synod of the Nation: that their Condition was not the same with *Metz* and *Sedan*, which were only under the protection of the Crown, and far from being reunited. They farther alledg'd, that the Laws of their Countrey were no way opposite to 'em; for that having their Synods and their Consistories within themselves, there remain'd only some particular Affairs of the Pastors, that could be remov'd to the National Synods. These Reasons, and some others, being seconded by the inclination of the Synod, prevail'd so far, that the *Bearnois* got the better of the Commissioner; and that the Union was made upon certain Conditions. And the Synod, to the end they might be the less expos'd to Reproaches, for having done too much

The Commissioner in vain opposes the Union of the Churches of Bearn, *with the rest.*

1631. much in judging this Affair, lookt upon it as prejudg'd by the usual presence of the Deputies of *Bearn* in the other Assemblies, since the King had also sent Commissioners thither: more especially for that the King had receiv'd their Complaints in the same Paper with those of the rest of the Churches. So that the Synod could not properly be said to make the Union of that Province with the rest, but judg'd it to have bin already made; and for that they had presuppos'd that the Reasons of the Obstruction ceasing, the King would no longer be displeas'd with it.

Several Proposals of the Commissioner.

But *Galand* insisted farther, That there were several Articles that concern'd the Discipline and Practice of the Churches to be reform'd. There were some that concern'd the proclaiming of such as had chang'd their Religion, which was wont to be done publicly: and others touching the Registring of Christenings and Marriage: several upon the particular subject of Marriages; upon the Censure of Books; upon the Censure of Unlicenc'd Books, of which number the King had sent 'em several to be condemn'd: upon the laying out of the Royal Money; upon Precedences in Churches; and the Prayers which were to be made for the Lords of the Mannor, or such in whose Houses the Churches assembl'd. He was willing they should pray in general for the Lords of the Religion, but not make any particular mention of the Lords of the Soil. He propos'd also, That for the future, they should hold no more National Synods in any other place then at *Charenton*: and this was a Trifle which the Catholics laid so deeply to heart, that tho the preceding Synod had granted to the Province of *Normandy* the power to summon this, the Court would not grant it for no other place then *Charenton*. He demanded also That *la Bastide*, Minister of St. *Afrique*, might be remov'd from that Church, and out of the Province of *Upper Languedoc*, for some Actions for which he had bin imprison'd, and afterwards indicted. But more especially he propounded, That no other persons but the Elders should be call'd to give their Advice in the Consistories; because Assemblies and Meetings of Masters of Families, fortifi'd Consistories, and other Councils of the like nature, created

ted Suſpicions and Jealouſies. On the other ſide the Reformed 1631.
gave him ſatisfaction in ſeveral things, becauſe it was no longer in their power to refuſe him any thing: but they defend'd their practice of praying for the Lords of the places where they aſſembl'd; and *Galand* was oblig'd by dint of Remonſtrance, to write to the King for leave to ſtrengthen the Conſiſtories, when neceſſity requir'd it, with three Miniſters and three Elders out of the Neighbourhood.

The Synod ſend Deputies to the King.

In the mean time the Synod ſent Deputies to the King to carry him their Submiſſions, and a Paper of fifteen Articles, which ſet forth, That ſince the Reformed had neither any General to lead 'em, nor any ſtrong Holds, Acts of Injuſtice and Oppreſſion were every day multiplied upon 'em. After they had return'd their moſt humble Thanks to the King for the marks of his Favour, and a Supplication that ſuch Edicts as he thought convenient to number among the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom might be obſerv'd, they deſir'd the re-eſtabliſhment of thoſe Churches where free Exerciſe had been interrupted: and by the Article it appear'd, that there were three ſorts of Interruption which depriv'd the Reformed of their Churches. The one was ſomewhat remote, and was occaſion'd by the Hoſtilities which had enforc'd the Inhabitants to quit ſome certain places during the War; and where the Catholic Zeal would not ſuffer em to meet again during the Peace. The other proceeded from the deſolation of the places which the Catholic Armies had ruin'd: and the third deriv'd itſelf from the Decrees which the Biſhop of *Valence* had procur'd upon occaſion of the *Annexes*. For beſide thoſe which he had obtain'd the year before, he had caus'd another to be iſſu'd forth, of the ſecond of *May*, wherein, to obviate the Reaſon why the Reformed pretended to fix themſelves in the poſſeſſion of their *Annexes*, by alledging that they were places permitted, the right of which being grounded upon the Articles of the Edict, had extended the prohibition of one Miniſter to preach in ſeveral places, to places *permitted*. For theſe ſeveral Reaſons, without naming the places where their Exerciſe had been obſtructed in other Provinces, they ſet down Fourſcore and twelve in *Cevex-*

Their Paper.

1631. *nes, Vivarets*, the *Upper* and *Lower Languedoc*, and in the Islands of *Ré* and *Oleron*. The fifth requir'd the Revocation of the Decrees granted to the Bishop of *Valence*. The sixth complain'd of the Prosecutions of some Ministers, accus'd to have utter'd words both disrespectful and undutiful, tho they had only preach'd their own Doctrine with moderation. The next set forth the delays of the Governors in the nomination of Commissioners that were to be present at the Synods, which had reduc'd some Provinces to be without Assemblies of that nature. The eighth and ninth insisted upon Foreign Ministers. The tenth desir'd that the Prohibitions of *Beraud*, *Bagnage* and *Berteroue* to sit in the Synod, might be taken off. The eleventh concern'd the grand Article of the Edict, which declares the Reformed capable of all manner of Employments; and complain'd, that it was so ill observ'd, that the Reformed were not admitted into the meanest and lowest Offices; that they were refus'd the Degree of Doctors of Physic, and the Title of *Aggregated*, where *Accumulation* was customary; and that they were refus'd their Freedoms in the meanest Trades. The twelfth demanded the Release of such as had bin condemn'd to the Gallies, according to the Edict of Peace; of which number there were above Two hunder'd. The thirteenth demanded restitution of the municipal Tolls which had bin promis'd in 1628. as also by the Paper answer'd at *Montauban* the next year: which had not prevented the Revocation of the Assignations allow'd for the year 1627. nor their failing to allow any for the three next years; so that there was due for the time past the Sum of Six hunder'd thousand Livres. The Compensation promis'd the *Bernois* after so solemn a manner, had bin as faithlessly observ'd as the rest of the Edicts. The one moiety of it was of a sudden defalk'd; so that the fourteenth Article requir'd that care might be taken about it. We might add to the same Article the hard Usage of the Ministers of the Bailliage of *Gex*, who had bin depriv'd for a long time of the King's Relief-money, which had bin granted 'em in recompence for the Ecclesiastic Estates. Not that either *Bearn*, or the Countrey of *Gex* had any share in the last Civil Wars; but only in testimony of a more

more perfect good-will to the Reformed, they that liv'd peaceably, and that they were call'd Rebels, were treated both alike. Laſtly, the fifteenth Article contain'd an humble Requeſt, That the Court would command the Advocate General of *Bourdeaux* to ſurceaſe proſecuting a Miniſter and his Son, whoſe Cauſe was nevertheleſs depending in the Chamber of *Guyenne*, which was then at *Agen*, whither it had bin remov'd.

The favourable Reception of the Deputies.

The Deputies that carri'd this Paper, and the Letters from the Synod, to the King and the Cardinal, were *Amyraut* and *Villars*. The King gave 'em leave to make their Speech to him at *Monceaux*, and teſtifi'd by his Anſwer, that he was well ſatisfi'd with them and the Synod. They were likewiſe well receiv'd by the Cardinal, who aſſur'd 'em that the King would maintain and protect 'em according to his Edicts: that he gave *Berand* and *Baſnage* leave to ſit in the Synod; but that before he granted the ſame Favour to *Bouteroue*, 'twas fit the King ſhould be more amply inform'd of the Crime that was laid to his charge: that the King would give a very favourable Anſwer to their Paper, ſo ſoon as the Synod brake up. *To the end*, ſaid he, *that he might treat with his Subjects in a manner more ſuitable to his Sovereign Dignity, and the Sacred Authority of his Word*: But the more edifying and ſolid part of his Anſwer was a Gift of Sixteen thouſand Livres in ready money, to defray the Expences of the Synod. All which the Commiſſioner imparted to the Synod, before the return of the Deputies. *Berand* reſum'd his Seat in the Aſſembly: ſoon after *Baſnage* took his again, and at length *Bouteroue* had leave to ſit there as well as the reſt.

The Nomination of General Deputies.

For five years together there had not bin any alteration of the General Deputies: and during that time *Bazin*, who was one of thoſe that were employ'd, happen'd to die. The Synod therefore had Orders to ſupply his place, but they were not left to their accuſtom'd liberty of Nomination. 'Twas the King's pleaſure till then, that ſix Perſons ſhould be nominated for him to chuſe two out of that number; and the circumſtances of the Permiſſion giv'n the Synod to name 'em, pointed ſo exactly to

1631. the Persons which it behov'd em to nominate, that it was to little purpose to make choice of any other. The Synod well observ'd this Innovation, but because it was the King's pleasure, they obey'd. The Marquis of *Clermont* was continu'd, and the Commissioner's Son was put into *Bazin*'s room. These were order'd to carry the Nomination made by the synod, accompani'd with Letters full of Duty and Respect. To which the King made known his Answer by the Commissioner; which consisted of a testimony, that he was more and more satisfi'd with the Proceeding of the Assembly, and the Nomination they had made: that he would accept of 'em after the Synod was broken up; that he would give a Gracious Answer to their Paper, and he would allow the Synod three days longer to sit.

The Reformed fear'd at Court.

They were so accustom'd at Court to be afraid of the Reformed, that they seldom slept in quiet, while they were assembl'd; and their very Synods gave 'em terrible Alarum. This, which was only compos'd of People still consternated at the taking of *Rochel*, and the reducing of all the rest of their Towns and Cities, disquieted their rest for all that: and the Catholics, dreaded by the Progresses which *Gustavus* made in *Germany*, fanci'd him already in *France*, and restoring by main Force the Reformed to their pristine Splendor; which was the Reason that the King as earnestly prest the separation of the Synod, as if it had bin the Politic Assembly of *Loudun*, or that of *Rochel*. Nevertheless, before they broke up, the Synod ordain'd three things, which gave the Missionaries and Politicians fair Pretences to make loud Outcries. The first was a Regulation against the Accommodations of Religion, which referr'd to an Act of the same nature that pass'd in the National Synod of *Mompelier* 1598. where all such kind of Projects were condemn'd with extraordinary Severity. The second was the Appointment of a Solemn Fast throughout all the Kingdom, which the Catholic took for a Proof that the Reformed were in hopes of being re-establish'd by the Arms of *Gustavus*: for which Reason, said they, those People endeavour'd to engage Heaven on their side, by Devotions more then ordinary. The third was a Declaration which the Synod made, that the *Lutherans* who

Important Resolutions of the Synod.

who desir'd it might be admitted to the Communion; that the 1631.
Reformed might contract Marriages with 'em, and take 'em for
Fathers, provided they would instruct their Children only
in those things, wherein the *Lutherans* and Reformed both
agree. The Missionaries believ'd all obstacles of Reunion with
the *Romish* Church remov'd by this Declaration: for that they
could not conceive why the Reformed should have any more
repugnance against the Transubstantiation of the Catholics,
than against the Impanation and Ubiquity of the *Lutherans*;
more especially since the Synod acknowledg'd, that tho there
were Error in the *Lutheran* Doctrine, yet there was no *Venom*;
and that there was no *Idolatry* in their Worship. The Poli-
ticians believ'd it to be an Artifice of the Synod's Prudence, by
his compliance with the Doctrine of his Ministers, to insinuate
themselves into *Gustavus*'s Favour.

But notwithstanding all this, the Reformed were oppress *Annexes.*
with several Acts of Injustice, almost over all the Provinces:
for besides the accustom'd Cavils about the Rights of Exercise
and Church-yards, the Decrees obtain'd by the Bishop of *Va-*
lence, almost Dispeopl'd whole Provinces. Nothing was to be
seen but Churches shut up, and Ministers Imprison'd, for not
having obey'd the Prohibitions against Preaching in more then
one Place. The Minister of *Chatillon*, a paltry Place in the
Dauphinate, serv'd himself nine or ten other Churches besides
that; if we may believe the Substance of the last Decree ob-
tain'd by that Prelate: Nor was it impossible, because the
greatest part of those *Annexes* were particular Houses where
the Gentry would have Preaching in their Families; and where
there were but few others besides their own Domestics. Many
times also this Exercise was not common, it may be not above
once a Month, or once in three Months, in consideration of
some Donative given upon that Condition to the Principal
Church. In the mean time, the rest of the Bishops would
needs appear no less Zealous then the Prelate of *Valence*: So
that every one sought to ruin the Churches in his Dioceses. This
procur'd a Decree of Council of the same nature, dated *June 6.*
against *Rivet*, and other Ministers of *Saintonge*, at the Request
of

1631. of the Bishop of *Saintes*: Where a new Cavil was set a-foot about the Place of Exercises; and if they could not dispence with resettling 'em in Places, where the Proofs were too clear to be contested, yet they would not restore 'em without paring off something from the Real Right that belong'd to 'em; and removing 'em out of the middle of the City where the Church had always stood to the dirty Fag-end of some Suburb.

Exercise forbid. The Exercise was likewise forbid at *Rioux* in *Saintonge*, by a Decree of the Sixth of *March*: The Clergy of the Province were Plaintiffs in this Process, and there was a Question annex'd to it concerning the Possession of the Church yard, which they pretended was to be left to the Catholics, because there was above Eight hundred of them in the Parish, and not above Twenty of the Reformed. But they never said a word that the Congregation, for all that, was very numerous, as being much frequented by the Reformed Inhabitants of the Parishes adjoyning. However, the Church had strong and sufficient Proofs of the Possession of it for above Eight years before the *Edict*: But for all that, they were depriv'd both of their Exercise and their Church-yard, leaving only another small Place for their Burials at the Charges of the Corporation. And indeed the Poverty of the Churches was such as oblig'd some Religious persons to bestow Donatives and Legacies to prevent the loss of Legal Right. But the Catholics greedy of the Profits, and moreover minding nothing but to hasten the Ruin of the Churches, commenc'd tedious Suits upon these Donations, and sought a thousand Quirks and Pretences in Terms and Circumstances to bring the Cause about on their side. Many times also the Heirs of the Donors oppos'd the Effect of the Will, and gave the Catholics an Opportunity to apply the Profits to themselves. Thus *Elias Alardin* gave this year an Annual Rent of Two hundred Livres toward the Maintenance of the Minister, and Three hundred Livres to the Poor. But this Donation prov'd the Original Occasion of a Suit that lasted above Fifty Years: and which was adjudg'd to the Advantage of the Church not above three years before the Revocation of the *Edict*; by that one single Act of Justice to cover and palliate a thou-

housand others much more crying that were committed over the rest of the Kingdom. 1631.

The Promises of giving a Gracious Answer to the Paper, so soon as the Synod brake up, were so soon forgot, that upon the 5th of *October*, the King set forth a Declaration, purporting, that in all Places where there were but Four Consuls, the First and Third should be Catholics, if there were no Capitulation to the contrary. The Design of which Declaration was to exclude the Reformed from being admitted into the States of *Languedoc*, whither the Cities sent none but their first Consul. Thus the Reformed were excluded from medling with the Municipal Government of their Cities, and depriv'd of all the Honours that were annexed to the first Consulship. For in regard that many times the first Consul scorn'd that Employment, or was not capable of it, the most Honourable Functions were then exercis'd by the second, who was generally a Man of Learning and bred up to Business. And for the Clause of the mention'd contrary Capitulation, 'twas a meer piece of Fraud: For it was not meant thereby, that if there were any such Clause which gave the First Consulship to the Reformed, he was therefore bound to hold it: but if there were any such Clause as took from the Reformed the whole Consulship, they were bound to rest contented. 'Twas sufficient for a City that had Surrender'd at Discretion, if an Order came from the Duke of *Montmorenci*, or some other Chieftain of the Royal Arms; for a City that had not expressly Articl'd that there should be no Alteration in the Consulship, to say, that there was a Capitulation to the contrary. *Lunel* and *Bedarieux* for these Reasons lost their share in the Consulship which remain'd entire to the Catholics. *Consulships.*

But the Reformed were not the only Persons who complain'd of Oppression: For the Cardinal carry'd his Authority in the Government so high, that all the Kingdom groan'd under the New and unease Yoke. The Catholics could not forbear murmuring, to see the Liberty of the Kingdom die together with the Pride of *Rochel*; and they who were blinded by a false Zeal for Religion, well perceiv'd that the Power of the Reformed *The Pride Liberty of*

1631. formed had on'ly serv'd for an Obstacle to de'ay the Public Se virtude. The Sovereign Courts were treated with unheard-o Scorn and lofty Disdain. The Court of *Aides* refus'd to veri certain Edicts that burthen'd the State with new Imposition and being inform'd that the Edicts were just ready to be brough to 'em while the Court was sitting, they would not stay t 'em, but rose immediately. For the punishment of whi presumption the Court was interdicted, and other Judges up in the room of those that had been so hardy, to judge of the Power. They continu'd in this Condition for some Month nor could they be restor'd till they had most servilely submitt themselves. Nor was the Parlament any better us'd. For a the Queenmother and the Duke of *Orleance* were withdraw the King sent a Declaration to the Parlament against the Prin and his Adherents. But that same Senate, instead of verifyi the Declaration, divided, and order'd Remonstrances. T King to punish this piece of Malapertness, sent an Order to t Members to come a-foot to the *Loure*, not by their Deputi but in a Body, and to bring the Registers along with 'em Which being done, the whole Assembly, as *August* as the stil'd themselves, were enforc'd upon their Knees to hear tedious and mortifying Censure, which reduc'd all their Pow only to the enregistring and publishing all Declarations t were sent 'em, without any hesitation. The Keeper of the Sea tore before their faces the Decree for dividing the House, a the Parlament had the hard Fortune to hear a Decree pro nounc'd, which either exil'd or suspended from their Employ ments some of the most considerable of their Members.

1632. *Civil War of the Duke of* Orleans.

It was not to be wonder'd that such unheard-of Proceedin should provoke the Spirits of the People to take Arms. T Duke of *Orleans* therefore being return'd into *France*, was so join'd by a numerous Body of Malecontents, and in a sma time beheld all *Languedoc* at his devotion; and they who ha bin the most fierce Persecutors of the Reformed, threw the selves into this New Party. *Lestranges*, Lord of *Privas*, side with the Duke, and perish'd in the Cause. The Bishops

The Bishops of Languedoc *side with him.*

Albi, *Uſez*, *Nimes*, *Alets*, *St. Pons* and *Lodeve* join'd with the Duke of *Montmorenci*. The Biſhop of *Leon* alſo was accus'd to have had a ſhare in this War, and could not obtain his Pardon till after the King's Death. On the other ſide, the Reformed ſerv'd the King with extraordinary Courage. The Second Conſul of *Nimes* preſerv'd that City for the King, and expell'd the Biſhops and the Firſt Conſul, who favour'd the Duke of *Orleans*. *Montaubon* ſent her Deputies as far as *Monceaux*, to aſſure the King of the Fidelity of the Inhabitants, who offer'd to march a League out of their City to meet the Duke, and fight his men if they approach'd near their Quarters. The Duke of *Eſpernon* alſo had ſo much confidence in em, that he made no ſcruple to enter the Town, tho much inferior in ſtrength, and to commit himſelf to the mercy of a People whom he had ſo rudely handl'd in time of War. *Marion*, Camp-Aſſiſtant on the King's ſide, made himſelf Maſter of *Privas*, which had been abandon'd ſince it was taken, and recall'd the Inhabitants who ſerv'd him ſucceſsfully, and defended the Town for the King againſt their own Lord. One would have thought that ſuch an Action ſhould have cancell'd the Memory of what was paſs'd: and indeed thoſe poor Creatures were ſuffer'd to reſett'e themſelves without any notice taken of it. But Thirty years after, they were made to underſtand, by Cruel Perſecutions, that paſt Offences are never to be expiated by ſucceeding Services; and that by a Maxim quite oppoſite to the Rule of the Almighty, Tranſgreſſions are longer retain'd in the Memories of Princes, then Good Services. 1632.

The Reformed faithful.

The Biſhops of *Albi* and *Nimes* were degraded by reaſon of their Rebellion; and the Biſhop of *Uſez*, dying in the midſt of the Proceſs, avoided the Diſgrace. The reſt were no leſs guilty, but perhaps might have better Recommendations; and their Acquittal coſt 'em no more then a little agony of Fear. However, the Proceſs commenc'd againſt Biſhops for High Treaſon made ſo loud a noiſe, that the Reformed could not forbear triumphing, and to reproach 'em with their Principal Members tumbling into Rebellion, which till then, was lookt upon to be the only Portion and Character of *Hereſy*. The

1633. Ministers lookt upon it as a piece of Divine Vengeance that the Bishops, who had so often accus'd 'em of breathing nothing but Rebellion, should so openly precipitate themselves into the Sin of Rebellion, that the veneration due to their Character could not exempt 'em from Punishment. But to mortify these Triumphers, they thought it expedient to put to death *Marets*, the Minister of *Alets*, as if he had had a hand in the Insurrection. Neverthless, all his Crime was only this: That all the People of the City siding either with the Lord or with the Bishop, he was not so fortunate as to hinder the City from joining with the Malecontents; though he himself sate still without so much as medling on either side. Thus was one Innocent Minister offer'd up to attone for the Transgression of several Prelats, and the Minister of *Alets* paid for the Bishop. *Couran*, another Minister of the same Church, was only banish'd. The City of *Lunel*, the Governor of which was the Bishop of *Nimes*'s Brother, was inveagl'd into to the Duke of *Orleans*'s Party; and *Scoffier* Minister of that Place, was set down in the Catalogue of those that were to be sacrific'd. But after the defeat and taking of the Duke of *Mommorenci*, he gave the Governor of *Aiguemortes* notice of the Flight of the Bishop and his Brother, which was well taken; and that Mark of his Affection for the King's Service, sav'd his life.

The Duke of Rohan *serves the King in Italy.*

The Duke of *Rohan* was recall'd to Court upon occasion of these Troubles; and honour'd with several Employments; whether it were to find him business that might hinder him from seeking for any in these Confusions; or whether it were to take him by the point of Honour, and engage him in the King's Service by that Mark of Confidence. But this War being suddenly ended by the taking and death of Marshal *de Mommorenci*, serv'd only to advance the King's Authority, and disgust the Duke of *Orleans*, who retir'd out of *France* a second time; as also to add some new access of weight to the Slavery of the People. The Reformed reapt this little advantage by it, That they had but few Injuries done 'em this year, and continu'd somewhat free from Molestations. Only the Ministers in the *Dauphinate* were still tormented because they preach'd in

more

more then one place. But upon a Petition which they presented to the King, they obtain'd a Decree which sent 'em to four Commissioners of the Parlament of *Grenoble*, who were order'd to take their Informations, and after that to give their Advice to the King. These Commissioners enlarg'd some Ministers, and sent 'em to the King for the interpretation of the Decrees of his Council; so that they were forc'd to tarry some years before the business was decided. The Consulships also gave some occasion for Innovation. *Machaut*, the Intendant, order'd that the Consulship of *Alets* should be alternative under the good pleasure of the King, and till he should otherwise ordain. But the Reformed who found this Sentence extreamly opposite to their Ancient Customs, appeal'd to the Council, where the Question hung for twenty years undecided. Upon a Process commenc'd against the Reformed of *Mountaign*, touching the right of Exercise, and building a Church, *Bignon*, Advocate General, procur'd a Decree which depriv'd the Reformed both of the one and the other. He laid down those things for a foundation of his Conclusions, which if he could have got 'em to have pass'd currant, the Reformed must have lost the three fourth parts of their Churches. First, He affirm'd that the Reformed had no right to any Church, but in places of Bailliage setl'd by the Commissioners; and he supported this Assertion by the Decrees set forth in 1562. and 1577. which by consequence had bin revok'd by the Edict of *Nantes*. Moreover, he would needs have it, that the permission of the Lord, which was produc'd by the Inhabitants, should be lookt upon as extorted; because it was not to be presum'd that a Catholic Lord would permit the establishment of a Religious Exercise that was contrary to his own. This was well found out to destroy all those Places where the Reformed Exercise was perform'd in Catholic Proprieties. Had the Church produc'd the most solid Proofs in the world of their Possession, and fail'd of the Lord's permission, it would have bin urg'd, that that very defect had disannull'd all the rest; and if they produc'd the Lord's leave, then they cri'd it must have bin extorted. But at last he pretended that the Place belong'd to an Ecclesiastic Lord;

1632. *Affairs of the Annexes in the Dauphinate refer'd to four Commissioners.*

Consulship of Alets.

Exercise forbid.

A shameful Cavil.

1632. and so the Reformed, who produc'd Evidences since 1558. could not reap the benefit of a Possession near fourscore years. This was no more then positively to say, That whatever Title the Reformed could produce, 'twas impossible for 'em to have any Justice done 'em.

An inconsiderate Curiosity of two Scholars.

There happen'd at the beginning of this year an Accident altogether singular; the Circumstances of which were so remarkable, as not to be omitted in this History. Two Scholars of the Academy of *Saumur* took a fancy to be present at the Mass, which the Catholics call *Midnight-Mass*, because it is said upon *Christmas-day* in the Morning, presently after Midnight Bell has rung. Many times a silly Curiosity carries young People to be Spectators of these fine Shows, because a prodigious Concourse of all sorts generally crouds to gape upon this Solemnity, as expecting something extraordinary. But what was more, these young Hair-brains presented themselves before the Altar, as if they intended to receive the Communion; but upon their taking the Symbols into their hands not with that reverence as they ought to have done, they were known for what they were, apprehended and indicted; but for fear of depriving the City of the benefit which they reap'd by the Academy, condemn'd to very easy Penalties. There was an Appeal from this Sentence. But the Chamber of the Edict of *Paris* surcharging the Sentence of the former Condemnation, order'd by a Decree of the 17th of *February*, That the Scholars should declare and acknowledge at *Saumur* within the ordinary Jurisdiction of the Seneschalship, in a full Court, upon their Knees, and bareheaded, That they had *rashly* gone upon *Christmas-day* in the Morning to Midnight-Mass, and that they had *indiscreetly received the Sacrament of the Altar*: That they should beg pardon of God, the King and Justice; that they should be banish'd out of the City and Provostship of *Paris* for three years, and out of the Seneschalship of *Namur* for ever; that they should be fin'd twelve hundred *Livres* to the King; of which two hundred should be laid out in Bread for the Prisoners in the Palace Jaile; two hundred for the purchase of a Silver Lamp, to be hung before the place where the Sacrament of that Church was deposited;

Depoſited; and the remainder for the ſetting up a Copper-plate, whereon the Decree ſhould be engrav'd, and for ſetling a Fund for the furniſhing that Lamp with Oil to perpetuity. The Decree alſo enjoin'd the Scholars to obey their Proſcription exactly, and forbid 'em relapſing into the ſame Tranſgreſſions again upon pain of death; ſent 'em to the Judges of *Saumur*, who were to ſee the Sentence duly executed, and to detain 'em in Priſon till payment of the Fine. Which laſt Clauſe was without queſtion added to oblige the Parents or Relations of thoſe Young men, to pay the ſaid Fine as a Ranſom for their Releaſe. However, they refrain'd in the Decree from the words *Amende*, and *Amende Honourable*; ſo that had it not bin for the Fine, a man might have ſaid that it had bin a Conſiſtory which condemn'd thoſe young Fops to a public Reparation for an Offence that deſerv'd it according to the Diſcipline of the Reformed: They had not then well ſtudi'd the Privileges of the *Roman* Religion. In theſe latter years they would have adjudg'd it, that thoſe Scholars by that Act had embrac'd the *Roman* Religion, and the Church and the Academy both, would have bin interdicted. 1632.

But the death of *Guſtavus* this year deliver'd the See of *Rome* from the fear of his Arms. But in regard the Generals that ſucceeded him preſerv'd the Advantages they had won, it no way cur'd the Wounds which the Houſe of *Auſtria* had receiv'd; and *France*, who found the convenience of an Alliance with *Sueden*, made a new Treaty with *Chriſtina*, *Guſtavus*'s Heireſs. Moreover, the Cardinal had much buſineſs both at home and abroad, and ſo much ado to guard himſelf from Conſpiracies againſt his life, that he had not time to think of the Proteſtants. Never were known within the compaſs of one year, ſo many Changes of Officers at Court, in the Armies, in the Governments of Towns and Provinces, then were ſeen this year. The Reformed made no figure; but for all that, the whole Kingdom was full of Factions and Cabals. So that theſe Commotions which could not be imputed to *Hereſy*, ſufficiently juſtifi'd the Religion upon whoſe Shoulders they would have thrown the Occaſions

The Death of Guſtavus. 1633.

Great Troubles in the Kingdom.

1633. Occasions and Causes of all the last Wars; and no less truly then apparently fix'd the Accusation upon the Wickedness and Infidelity of the Government. It seem'd but reasonable, that the Reformed should be excus'd, who had only taken Arms for their Liberty, when the Catholic Lords, Princes and People had recourse to the same means, for the preservation of their Privileges and their Dignities.

Advice of the Commissioners of the Dauphinate *upon the* Annexes.

In the mean time the Presidents *Frere* and *Perissol*, and the Counsellors *Basset* and *Calignon*, appointed Commissioners by the King in the Parlament of the *Dauphinate* to examin the affair of the *Annexes*, pli'd the Commission close, and drew up their Opinions, which they sent to the King the Seventh of *May*. They asserted that there were several Places within the Province where the Exercise was permitted, which were serv'd by one of the same Ministers; and this they thought could not be prevented, because the Articles of the Edict upon which the Right and Privilege of Exercise was founded, did not confine 'em to the place of the Ministers Residence, no more then the Memoirs sent by the King to the Commissioners who lookt after the execution of the Edict. But they presuppos'd, that under the Pretences of Marriage, Baptism, or some other Occasion, the Ministers took the liberty of preaching in places where they had no right; and that might happen out of a respect which the Ministers had for the Gentlemen, whose Houses were not precisely qualifi'd for the settlement of a Right of Exercise. The Commissioners pretended that they had provided against that Abuse; and advis'd the King to forbid the Ministers, and all the rest of the Reformed, under the Penalties of the Edicts. This Advice was follow'd in Council, and produc'd a Decree of the 26th of *September*, which copi'd it out almost word for word; which for some time gave some respit to the Persecutions begun by the Bishop of of *Valence*.

Re-establishment of Privas.

One thing happen'd this year which afforded not a little Consolation to the Reformed. For the Receiver of the Taxes of *Vivaretz* presented a Petition to the Council that he might be discharg'd, because he could not raise the Money which was laid out upon his Division. Now the principal ground of this

his Petition was the ruin of *Privas*, the Inhabitants of which 1633.
Town, durſt not venture as yet, either to build their Houſes,
or to till their Lands, becauſe they were not yet allow'd by
Authority to reſettle themſelves in oppoſition to the Rigo-
rous Terms of the Act or Edict of 1629. The Council by
a Decree of the 15th of *February*, referr'd the Receiver to *Mi-*
ron, Intendant of *Languedoc*, for his Advice. And *Miron*'s Ad-
vice was, To moderate the Severity of the Edict, and to
permit that the Inhabitants of *Privas* might return to their
Habitations, and reſettle themſelves in the City; and withal
to leave the Offices of the City free without diſtinction of
Religion. He alſo accompani'd his Advice with good Rea-
ſons, of which the chiefeſt were, That all the Rebels were
dead, or had made amends for their Offence; that the greateſt
part of 'em were ſlain at the taking of the City; that a good
many were dead of the Peſtilence that rag'd for three years
together; that thoſe few that remain'd had faithfully ſerv'd
the King, and ventur'd their Lives in his Service againſt the
Lord of the Place; that the Wives and Children both of the
one and the other had ſuffer'd enough to expiate both their
Husbands and their Parents Crimes; that the Lord of the
Place had bin the only hindrance that obſtructed thoſe poor
People from reſetling themſelves, and that there was no like-
lihood of finding Catholicks anow elſewhere to repeople the
City. The Council was mov'd with theſe Reaſons, and *Mi-*
ron's Advice was follow'd and put in execution. But in regard
there was nothing ſo much preach'd up at that time as the Con-
ſtancy of the Royal Word, which they would have had to be
the Subjects only ſecurity, they forgot to be ſo punctual as
they ought to have bin, in demanding the Revocation of the laſt
Edict in due Form: and ſo the Children were puniſh'd in our
days for the over-confidence of their Fathers. They had done
better, had they follow'd the Politic Maxim of the Cardinal
himſelf, who, to oblige the Duke of *Lorrain* to give him ſome
aſſured Pledge of his Word, told him, He muſt have other Se-
curity then the Word of a Prince, who was guided by Infuſions
from without, and had already broken his Promiſe. And in-
deed

1633. deed the King was incens'd against the Reformed by so many sorts of People, and there was so little reliance on the Promises that had been made in his Name, till the Present time, that it would have bin more proper to have demanded of him verifi'd Letters Patents for the Security of this Reestablishment.

Treatise, intitl'd, The Eucharist of the Ancient Church.

But the Ministers of *Paris* were not so favourably us'd, by reason of a certain Book that was publish'd under this Title *The Eucharist of the Ancient Church.* This Book was written by one *Aubertin*; and he had the Approbation of his three Collegues, *Mestrezat*, *Drelincourt* and *Daille*. They assum'd the Quality of *Pastors of the Reformed Church*, and of Ministers of the Gospel. *Aubertin* also, who dedicates his Book to his Flock, call'd 'em *the Faithful of the Reformed Church of* Paris. *Bellarmin* and *Baronius* were stil'd, as well in the Title as in other Places, *Enemies of the Church.* Now the Clergy's Agents bethought themselves of a short way to confute this Book which made a great noise. For instead of answering the Book, they endited the Author and his Approvers; and letting alone the Matters of Fact and Reasons, they attack'd the Titles of the Book and the Preface, and the Terms of the Allowance. Against *Aubertin* there was a Warrant given out to seize his Body by a Decree of the Privy Council, dated *July* the 14th, importing, That if he could not be taken, that he should be cited to appear within three short days; and the Approvers were summon'd to make their personal appearance. This Affair made a great noise, but came to little, being as it were stifl'd in the birth, and producing for this time no other than verbal Prohibitions. The Book was no longer sought after, so that the Success encourag'd the Author to review, enlarge and handle the Matter from the bottom in a Thick *Latin* Volume, which was never printed till after his death; nor durst any of the Impartial Catholic Doctors venture to refute it closely and roundly.

Exercises forbid.

But the Reformed were constrain'd to look on, and see the Rights of their Exercises violated in more then one place this Year. The Council took from 'em *Saujon*, by a Decree of the 15th

8th of *November*, becauſe the Lord of the place was a Catho- 1633.
lic. *Citois*, Seneſchal of *Richlieu*, which the King had erected into a Dutchy and Peerdom in favour of the Cardinal, for the ſame reaſon obſtructed the exerciſe at *St. Gelin*, which is a Demeſne that holds of the ſaid Dutchy. And the Cardinal, tho at the bottom he were not ſo nice as others in thoſe things, countenanc'd and approv'd what his Officer had done. The Colledges alſo which they of the Religion had enjoy'd in places of which they had bin a long time Maſters, were miparty'd this Year by a Decree of the Council of the 23d of *July*. The occaſion of this Decree, was a dividing of Voices which happen'd at *Caſtres*, upon a Petition of the Catholics of ſeveral Cities, who pretended to make the Edict of 1631, for miparty'd Conſulſhips, a Preſident for the Colledges. The Decree of the Council decided the diviſion of Voices in their Favour, and authoriz'd the Argument they alledg'd. *Partie-Colledges.*

But the following Year was not ſo ſerene nor ſo peaceful for 1634.
the Reformed: For tho the Cardinal, in a flattering Speech which he made the King, ſeated upon this Throne of Juſtice the 8th of *January*, acknowledg'd that Hereſy had not bin the ſole Rebel in his Kingdom, yet hardly any but the Reformed ſuffer'd this Year. Tis true, that the King of his meer Authority, without examining their Deeds and Evidences, cancell'd the Priviledges and Exemptions of ſeveral Cities that were not liable to the Vexations of Taxes. The Pretence was ſpecious; for it ſeem'd as if the King had not us'd 'em ſo ſeverely, but to throw upon 'em ſome part of the charge with which the others were over-burden'd. But in regard that in proceſs of time it was apparent, that tho theſe Cities were made liable to Taxes, and yet the reſt were no way eas'd, 'twas found that this ſame change proceeded from no other deſign then to reduce the whole Kingdom to a Uniformity, and involve the entire Body in the ſame Servitude. As for the Reformed, they were moleſted for other Reaſons. There was ſomething of Policy intermix'd with the Vexations that befel them. Ne- *The Continuance of the Publick Oppreſſion.*

1634. vertheleſs they were ne're a whit the leſs real nor incommodious. A Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, and a Divine of *Lion*, printed a Book at *Paris*, wherein he maintain'd that the King of *France* had a Right to all *Europe*, and that he did well to make Alliances with the Proteſtant Princes, to recover the Uſurpations of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; which was openly to publiſh the Cardinal's Deſigns. The *Spaniards* were willing to make the beſt of this opportunity, to revive the dejected Courage of the zealous Catholics in their Favour. Thereupon a certain Author who aſſum'd the name of *Alexander Patricius Armacanus*, wrote in their behalf againſt the Doctor of the *Sorbonne*. He made it out at large, That the Alliance of the King of *France* with Proteſtants, was contrary to the Intereſts of the Catholic Religion, becauſe the War with the *United Provinces* and that of *Germany*, were Wars for the ſake of Religion. He made uſe of all that had bin ſaid for the Juſtice of his Arms, againſt the King, and ſhew'd that the Houſe of *Auſtria* was under the ſame Circumſtances in reſpect of the *United Provinces* and *Germany*. He ſtrenuouſly made it out, That the King chiefly employ'd the Heads of the Reformed for the Conduct of his Armies; ſo that he then had given the Command of 'em to the Dukes of *Rohan* and *Bouillon*, and the Marſhals *de la Force* and *Chaſtillon*. I know not how he forgot that he had beſtow'd a Marſhal's Battoon upon one of the Reformed. Perhaps it might be after the Author had publiſh'd his Book. However, the Duke of *Sulli* receiv'd that Honour this Year in the Month of *September*; which was done, to make him amends for the Employments which the Queenmother had taken from him: A Recompence which he had ſtaid for above twenty Years. However, he liv'd ſeven Years afterwards, and in his latter days ſhew'd ſome more marks of Piety then he had done all the reſt of his life. He had bin always ſeen preſent at the Sermons preach'd in his Houſe, but after a very indecent manner: for he was generally playing with a little Dog that ſate upon his knee. But a young Miniſter rebuk'd him by degrees for thoſe ill Habits; accuſtom'd him to Cenſures; ſet up a Conſiſtory in the Church that met in his Houſe, and made him accept himſelf

Proceſſions of France to all Europe.

Anſwer'd.

The Duke of Sulli made a Marſhal of France.

the Office of an Elder, wherein he officiated till his death. But to return to *Alexander Patricius*'s Book, it was thought that there was nothing more proper to ward off the Gashes of his strenuous Objections, then to vex the remainder of the Reformed with some Acts of Injustice. But in truth they serv'd to very little purpose; for still the Cardinal bore the reproach of doing more mischief to the Catholics abroad, then to the Reformed at home; and that while he took from the one some Church or Church-yard, he was the occasion that the other lost whole Cities and Provinces. 1634.

I do not reck'n among the greatest Vexations of the Reformed, the Decree of the 16th of *March*, set forth in the Parlament of *Paris* against Foreign Ministers; which under pretence that they might hold Correspondencies with the Enemies of the Kingdom, or preach Doctrines contrary to the Laws of the Land, forbid 'em for the future to exercise the function of the Ministry in *France*; order'd those that were admitted to quit their Functions, and threaten'd the Reformed with heavy Penalties if they went to hear 'em. I also look upon another Decree of Council dated *June* 20. as a small thing, tho it made the same Regulation in particular for *Poitou*; and added Prohibitions to all the Ministers to preach in Villages, out of the places alotted for their Exercises. I rank in the same number the Decree of the Parlament of *Dijon*, which condemn'd the Reformed to spread Carpets before their Houses upon Procession days, or to suffer 'em to be spread at their own charges, excepting such as were very poor, and not able to defray the Expences. These were things that made little noise, neither could they be attended with any considerable Consequences. *Decrees upon several occasions.*

But there was something of greater Importance in the Decree which the Catholic Officers obtain'd from the Council *Febr.* 5. which adjudg'd to the Dean of the Catholic Counsellors, tho he were the youngest of all, in the absence of the President, the Right of Precedency, above the Reformed Counsellors, both in the Court of Audience, in the Council, and in the Town-house. 'Tis true, that the same Decree preserv'd to *Precedency adjudg'd to the Catholic Counsellors of the Chamber of Guyenne.*

1634. every one, in other Cases, as in all public and private Sittings, at the Visitation of Pris'ners, at Hearings, Examinations, and Confronting of Testimonies, and at the Torturing of Criminals, the Rank which appertain'd to 'em by the Antiquity of their Reception. But for all that, this Decree made a very great Breach in the Priviledges of the Officers of that Chamber. Nevertheless there was a Declaration of the 29th of *October*, about the Robes worn by the Counsellors of the Chamber of *Castres*. The Reformed, according to Custom, wore Red Robes and Caps lin'd with Ermin, both in the Public and Private Assemblies of the Chamber. But the Parlament of *Tholouse*, who could not brook that mark of Equality, had set forth several Decrees against that Custom, of which the Reformed took little Notice, as believing their Authority independent from that of the Parlament. Thereupon the King interpos'd in the Contest, and put an end to the Dispute by an Edict; wherein after he had set forth, that the Custom was not grounded upon any Edict, and that the Thing was done contrary to his Intentions, as he had made known to those Officers by several Letters under his Privy Signet, he forbid 'em, according to the Decrees of that Parlament, to assume that Priviledge, till the Chamber should be incorporated. Thus the Reformed were depriv'd of the principal mark of Honour which was to have bin annex'd to their Dignities, though the Edicts of their Creation ascrib'd the same Prerogatives to them, as to the Catholics.

The Counsellors of the Chamber of Castres, forbid to wear Red Robes.

There were many people who took for an Affair of Religion, the Comedy that had bin Acted for several Years together, at the *Ursulines* Nunnery in *Loudun*. That Convent was govern'd by a Priest, whose Name was *Urban Grandier*, learned, a good Preacher, and pleasant in Conversation. He had also written a Book against the Celibacy of the Priests, and spoken somewhat freely of some other Practises of the *Romish Church*. His Enemies therefore bethought themselves of Accusing him with *Magic* and *Witchcraft*; and particularly of having deliver'd some of the Nuns of that House into the Power of

The pretended Possession of the Ursulines of Loudun.

of the Evil Spirit. The Credulous People fail'd not to believe 1634.
his Story; and so much the more easily, because that Possessions of the Devil and Exorcisms had bin talk'd of time out of mind. But the Authors of this Farce perform'd their parts so well, and *Grandier* defended himself so well, that 'twas a long time before Judges could be found that would be so Complaisant as to determin the Affair to the good-liking of these Bigots. The Parlament of *Paris*, that pretends to great Knowledge in the Chapter of *Magic*, and never Sentence any Body to Death for that Reason alone, was not thought proper to take Cognizance of that Affair, wherein persons that were too upright and sincere, were not to be employ'd. Therefore they were in a great Quandary what Commissioners to Nominate for the Hearing and Determining this Cause. For as there was a necessity of having Ecclesiastics to judge *Grandier*, so there was the same necessity that his Judges should be at the Devotion of others. These Difficulties made 'em several times change the Exorcists themselves, who were no way so successfully Serviceable as they ought to have bin to the Designs of those who guided this Affair. There is nothing which affords more Divertisements then to read in the verbal Reports of those Exorcizers, the grand Oversights which those ill-instructed Religious Dances every moment made; whether it were mistaking one Question for another, and so making Answers no less absurd, or in pronouncing the *Latin words* which they were made to get by Heart, so ridiculously maim'd and mangl'd as they were; or whether it were in altering some Term, which made 'em stumble into monstrous Incongruities against all the Rules of Grammar. These *Buffonries*, which made all the Spectators laugh, put the *Exorcists* quite beside the Cushion, who afforded no less Pastime to those that were present by the Excuses which they alledg'd in Favour of the ill-prepar'd *Demon*. However, at length they found out such people as serv'd their turn to compleat this Farce. *Grandier* was Condemn'd to dye, as being Convicted by his own Confession, not only of having both Writ and Spoken in Contempt of the Catholic Doctrin, but of *Magick* also, by the Depositions of the pretended possest Persons.

Ridiculous Effects of Exorcisms.

The death of a Priest accus'd of having Bewitch'd his Nuns.

They

1634. They likewise took for Proof of his being a *Magician*, the Constancy which he shew'd under the Torments of the Rack, and at his Death; as also the Marks of his Aversion to the *Bigotries* practis'd by the *Romish Church* upon the like Occasions, which he testify'd upon the Ladder. But serions persons, who saw him do no more then what the Reformed did, when Condemn'd to the same Punishment, believ'd that all his *Magic* consisted only in this, that he was half a *Heretic*; and that he had done no other harm to the *Nuns*, then to teach 'em a Doctrin little conformable to that of the *Romish Church*, in reference to Monastic Vows and Celibacy. And there were some honest people who pity'd his Condition, and murmur'd that the Life of a Man should be Sacrific'd to the Hypocrisie of some certain Villains that made it their Business to gain by Frauds of that nature. However they thought fit to keep up some Remains of this Diabolical Possession for sometime after *Grandier*'s death, lest people should perceive that the whole Aim of this sacrilegious Play was only to get his Blood. But at length the Mischief surceas'd; the *Nuns* appear'd no more upon the Stage; and the *Missionarics* themselves made little or no more noise of the Accident, because there happen'd some things in the carrying on of the Comedy, the Reproach of which they had not the Impudence to bear.

New Vexations about the Annexes.

On the other side, the Persecution began again under the pretence of *Annexes*; and the Bishop of *Valence*, unwilling to be bauk'd in his Enterprize, renew'd his Violences in his Dioceſs. The Prior of *Aureil* also, in imitation of him, had the boldness by vertue of his own Authority, to Arrest *Apaix*, a Minister in those Quarters, who came to Preach in other Places, besides that of his Residence. He lock'd him up first of all in his *Priory*, from whence the Bishop's Almoner remov'd him to the Prison of *Valence*. Nor could he obtain his Liberty, till he gave Bail for his forth-coming. But at length he was absolutely releas'd, and his Bail discharg'd by a Decree of the Privy Council, dated *Novem.* 24. Which Decree might have bin taken for an Act of Justice, had it not bin attended eight days after, by a more rigorous Declaration then all the Decrees that

at had bin iſſu'd forth upon this occaſion. It was dated from 1634.
Germans, Decem. 12. and forbid the Miniſters of *Languedoc*,
d all others to Preach or perform any other Exerciſe of the
eformed Religion in any other Places then where they reſided;
ovided that Place too were one of thoſe where the Exerciſe
as allow'd. And the Penalty of tranſgreſſing was, to be pu-
ſh'd as Breakers and Diſturbers of the Peace, and a Fine of
ve hundred Livres, which they were to be conſtrain'd to pay
Impriſonment of their Bodies, and an Arbitrary Amerce-
ent. The Pretences for this Severity were, that the Tenth
rticle of the *Edict* of 1561. forbid Miniſters to ramble from
llage to Village to Preach; which as they affirm'd, was like-
ſe confirm'd by ſeveral Decrees. 'Twas preſuppos'd, that the
ght of Exerciſe did not belong to thoſe Places, and that the
iniſters of *Languedoc* had broken the Regulation: And this
eclaration was ſent to *Caſtres*, where it was Regiſter'd *Jan.* 5.
the following Year. Nevertheleſs, the Declaration afford-
d a fair Occaſion for the dividing of Voices: For it Reviv'd
n *Edict* which was cancell'd by that of *Nantes*, which was
pernicious Conſequence, in regard that all the Conceſſions
that Act might be eluded, by explaining 'em by the Terms
Other Edicts that were abrogated: And indeed this Method
as found ſo uſeful and proper to ruin the *Edict* of *Nantes*, that
ey purſu'd it as far as it would go. Moreover, the *Declara-*
n preſuppos'd that the *Annexes* were Places without Right
Exerciſe; but the Reformed never yielded that to be true.
Nevertheleſs the Thing being paſt into a Law, the Miniſters
ere reduc'd to a great Streight, from whence they could not
ee themſelves till after ſeveral years Patience under another
e go. But the moſt heavy Perſecution of the Reformed this
ear, was that of the Extraordinary Seſſions in *Poitou*, which
An Extraordinary Seſſions in Poitou.
t on purpoſe to vex 'em; and whoſe Juriſdiction extended
o *Angoumois*, *Aunix*, *Anjou*, *Le Maine*, *La Touraine*, *Le Li-*
n, and *Perigood*. This Grand Seſſions was an Aſſembly
ompoſing of Commiſſioners choſen out of one or ſeveral Par-
aments, which were ſent into thoſe Provinces where any pub-
c Diſorder were pretended to have bin committed, which
could

1634. could not be suppreſt by the Proceedings of Ordinary Juſtice. So that they were like thoſe Itinerary Parlaments, which formerly went from place to place to Adminiſter Juſtice when Neceſſity chiefly requir'd it. Theſe Grand Seſſions were wont to be a Terror to perſons in Power, who had oppreſt the people without fear of puniſhment: So that when this Grand Seſſion approach'd any Provinces, all Offenders againſt whom no body durſt open their mouths before, began to quake for fear of the Puniſhments which they deſerv'd. But this Year the Grand Seſſions did no harm to, nor terrify'd any body but the Reformed. And the manner of their pronouncing Sentence was enough to put thoſe poor Creatures in fear of being loſt paſt all Redemption. But in regard that in the main these Decrees made more noiſe then they did miſchief, and the rest of the Provinces being exempted from this Storm, it may be thought that the Cardinal ſought rather to ſhew his Grandeur and his Power, then the effect of his Rigour, to ſtop the mouths of thoſe that accus'd him of favouring *Heretics*.

Affrights of the Churches.

This Aſſembly ſat down at *Poitiers* the 4th of *September*, and that of the Audiences the 11th of the ſame *Month*; and under pretence of puniſhing Offences that were not pardon'd by the *Edict*, and after which no Inquiſition had bin made by reaſon of the Troubles, they put all the Churches of thoſe Provinces in fear of the loſs of their Exerciſes. After they had ordain'd the inferiour Judges to give Information of all the Violences, Rebellions, Uſurpations of Cures and Priories, to Decree, Seize, and make all requiſite Purſuits and Inquiries, even to the Definitive Sentence excluſively, the Grand Aſſize began to iſſue forth Sentences more deciſive. There was one of the 6th of *September*, which contain'd Nine principal Articles; The firſt forbid the Reformed for the future to Bury in Catholic Church-yards, under the Penalty of a 1000 Livres and to have the Corps's digg'd up agen. The ſecond ordain'd that the Catholic Service ſhould be re-eſtabliſh'd in Churches which had bin in the poſſeſſion of the Reformed. The third forbid Tolling to Church with the Bells that belong'd to the Catholics. The fourth took from 'em the Priviledge of having

An Important Decree upon ſeveral Articles.

Schools

schools in places where they had not leave to erect 'em by ve- 1634.
rify'd Letters-Patents. The fifth, to oblige the Reformed Lords
of Mannors to make choice in which of their Feifs they intend-
ed to settle their Habitation, and consequently the Right of
Exercise. The sixth ordain'd, that they should surcease their
Exercises in places where the Lords should become Catholics;
or that they should not perform 'em within the Feifs of Ca-
tholics, but with their consent. By the seventh, they were to
demolish all Churches built in Church-yards, or near to
Churches where the Catholic Service might be interrupted;
as also all those that had bin built since the *Edict*, without per-
mission verify'd. The eighth forbid Preaching in the Houses
and Habitations of Ecclesiastics; and the close of that Article
extended the Prohibition to Halls and Public Places. The ninth
condemn'd the Reformed to refrain from the word *Church*,
when they spoke of themselves, and to call their Doctrine by the
Name of the *Pretended Reformed Religion*, under the Forfeiture
of 500 Livres. This Article principally concern'd Treaties of
Marriage, where the Persons covenanting call'd themselves
Members of the Church belonging to the Places of their Abode.
This Nicety went a great way: But I have known Catholic
Notaries, whose Zeal was so scrupulous, that when the rough
Draught of the Contract was brought to 'em, which began, *A
Treaty of Marriage which by the good Pleasure of God will be Solem-
nized, &c.* would needs have the words, *By the good Pleasure of
God*, blotted out, as doing *Heresie* too much Honour.

This *Decree* was properly the substance of all the rest that were made by the Grand Assizes. There was nothing to be seen but the taking away of Church-yards, Exercises forbid, Preaching silenc'd, Churches pull'd down, and incommodious and vexatious Regulations. Upon the 20th of *September*, a Decree was set forth, which oblig'd the Reformed, both Men and Women, to get out of the way upon Tingling of the Bell, when they met the *Romish Sacrament* in the Streets; or if they could not, to put themselves into a Posture of Respect: and in regard the Women had no Hats to pull off, they would needs enforce them to kneel like the Catholics; and for the Men, tho this Regu-

Another troublesom Decree about meeting the Sacrament.

1634. lation were renew'd almost every year, neither getting out of the way, nor pulling off their Hats would serve their turns, when they fell into the Hands of the Populacy. The same Regulation was confirm'd by another Decree, dated *Nov.* 24.

The Church of St. Maixant Demolish'd.

The 26th of *October* came forth a Decree, which order'd the Church of *St. Maixant* to be Demolish'd. The Archbishop of *Tours*, who was Abbot of that Place, made a *Latin Speech* to the Grand Assizes, which favour'd very strong of the College; but the Cause of an Archbishop against the Reformed was too Specious to require much Pleading. Nevertheless,

Omer Talon's manner of Pleading.

Omer Talon, the Son of *James Talon*, Advocate General in the Parlament of *Paris*, who had the same Employment in the Grand Assizes, pleaded strongly for the Archbishop. He affirm'd openly, that the Reformed were suffer'd only by Toleration and Connivance, as men suffer a Thing which they had rather be without. From which dangerous Principle, he drew a Consequence much worse: That what concern'd the Religion of the Reformed, was not to be reckon'd among Things *favourable*, for which the Terms of the Law are wont to be favourably interpreted; but that in their Cases the Rigor of Expression was to be observ'd. Tho nothing could be said more contrary to the Intention of the Act, and the Repeated Promises of *Lewis* XIII. but chiefly of *Hen.* IV. who had declar'd more then once, that Ambiguous Expressions ought to be *favourably* explain'd. Besides *Talon* sought for the Interpretation of the *Edict* in the preceding *Edicts*; which was very strange in a man that made a profession of Honesty, as he did, and who was too clear-sighted not to understand that there was nothing more Unjust, or more Imprudent then to fetch from Laws revok'd, the Explanation of a New Law which Repeals 'em. 'Twas either a great piece of Injustice, or a manifest Absurdity to seek for the Sense of a new *Edict* in those that preceded: Besides, that they must have bin in some measure conformable to the New one, or else they could never be any way effectual; and by consequence, they could never be serviceable to pinch and strait-lace Concessions of a New Law, when they contain'd Expressions neither so Ample nor so Favourable.

Never-

Nevertheleſs, upon this Principle it was that *Talon* lean'd, That he might make a diſtinction between the Right of Exerciſe, and the Right of the Church. For he aſſerted, that no Churches could be built but in places of Bailliage; and ſuch whoſe poſſeſſion was grounded upon the Edict of 1577. becauſe the Sixteenth Article of the Edict of *Nantes* allow'd the having of 'em, *according to the Twelfth Article of the Conference of Nerac.* Fron whence he concluded, that the Favour not being extended in expreſs terms to New Poſſeſſions, eſtabliſh'd by vertue of the Siege of *Nantes*, they could not have places built on purpoſe to preach in; and that there could be no preaching but in the Miniſter's Houſe, or elſe in one that was hir'd. But to ſay truth, there was enough in the Article it ſelf of the Edict to refute this Cavil. For that this Article coming after all the reſt, which explain'd the Foundations of the Right of Exerciſe, 'twas natural to extend the Permiſſion for building of Churches, to all places where for the future it was lawful to preach. The Article of *Nerac* was not quoted to reduce the Liberty of having Churches to places where the Privilege of Exerciſe was purchas'd from the time of that Conference; but to teſtify, that in regard the Treaty of *Nerac* permitted the building of Churches, wherever the Exerciſe was then granted by the Edicts, it was in like manner permitted by the Edict of *Nantes* to build, or have 'em in all Cities and Places where that New Edict eſtabliſh'd the Exerciſe. But though no ſuch thing had bin, yet it may be ſaid that this Pretenſion was but a meer Cavil at beſt, from which there redounded neither Honour nor Advantage to the Catholics; ſince in reality, the Exerciſe being permitted, 'twas indifferent to the Catholics to ſee it perform'd in a Houſe built on purpoſe, or in a hir'd Houſe. 'Tis true, that the greateſt part of the Churches were built ſince 1600. but that was no reaſon why they ſhould be call'd Uſurpations; for that which hinder'd the building 'em ſooner, was, becauſe the Reformed had places there where they perform'd their Exerciſes which the Edict oblig'd 'em to quit; either becauſe they were Houſes belonging to Eccleſiaſtics, or becauſe they

1634. *A diſtinction between the Right of Exerciſe, and the Right of the Church.*

1634. they were Structures belonging to Corporations, as Halls, Town-Houses, and the like. The loss of which Buildings made 'em bethink themselves of having others; and till they could raise Money to build Churches, they were forc'd to hire Houses, where sometimes they lodg'd the Minister himself.

Several Decrees of the Grand Assizes against the Reformed.

Nevertheless, upon this Foundation it was, that the Grand Assizes condemn'd so many Churches: And it is requisite to be observ'd, for the better understanding whence it came to pass, that in one and the same Decree they order'd the demolishing of a Church, and at the same time the producing of the Tythes and Evidences by vertue of which they claim'd the Right of Exercise. The reason of which double Order was, because they thought that the Right of Exercise was no Evidence of the Right of the Church, but that the one might be had without the other. However, to involve more Churches in the same Inconvenience, they added one more of Proximity or Inconvenience to the Catholic Churches; and under those Pretences, besides the Church of St. *Maixant*, they condemn'd the Churches of *Cherveux*, *Chef-boutonne*, *Mougon*, *Genouille*, *Lusignan*, and I know not how many more. There were several Decrees also which order'd the Restitution of Church-yards to the Catholics; forbid keeping of Petty Schools; dispossess'd the Reformed of some Chappels; gave Commission to order the Ministers and Consistories of certain Ministers to produce their Evidences; forbid opening of Shops of Holidays, and to frequent Public Houses during Mass-time. Cooks also and Vintners were forbid to admit People into their Houses during that time, or to sell Flesh upon Prohibited Days. Others forbid blaspheming the Mysteries of the *Romish* Religion, or to hinder the Officers of the Places from spreading Carpets before the Houses upon Procession Days.

1635. These Proceedings continu'd for some time after the Year was at an end; nor were other Places besides those aforementioned, exempted from as great Acts of Injustice.

Upon

Upon the 16th of *January* the Privy Council iſſu'd forth a Decree, the Conſequences of which would have bin very dreadful, had it bin put in execution. For *Cacherat*, Minister of *Quilebeuf* in *Normandy*, was a Man of a mutinous, factious, turbulent, inſolent and tranſported Spirit; always at odds with his Church; always quarrelling with the Synod of his Province. He had created Troubles and Vexations that had laſted above ten years, and which had bin carri'd to the National Synods. Among the reſt, that which was held in 1631. had us'd him civilly; which made him but more proud and daring. But the Synod of St. *Lo* ſuſpended him from the Miniſtry for his Rebellions; and in regard he refus'd to appear, he was ſummon'd before the next. Theſe Proceedings tranſported him even to Rage; inſomuch that he preſented a Petition againſt all the Miniſters of *Normandy* to the Council, wherein he accus'd 'em of intruding into the Miniſtry without a Call; that they had abus'd their Functions; that they forſook their Pulpits to hold forth at Meetings; that their Miſſion was not conformable to the Statutes of their Diſcipline; and that they had bin illegally admitted by their Churches, whither they had never bin ſent either by Synods or Colloquies. He deſir'd they might be treated as Deſerters, and forbid to officiate in the Miniſtry, and that what they had hitherto done, might be declar'd null and void. He complain'd that they had loaded him with Calumnies to ruin his Reputation and that they detain'd his Salary from him, which they had not paid him in two years. Laſtly, he concluded, that no Miniſters might for the future be admitted before they produc'd Authentic Acts of their being call'd to be view'd by the Advocates General or their Subſtitutes: And that they who took upon 'em at preſent to officiate, ſhould be oblig'd within a Month to ſhew their Diploma's and their Qualifications to the Judges of the Places. Theſe Hairbrain'd Accuſations put the Reformed in great fear at a time when their Deſtruction ſeem'd to be ſworn. And they made no queſtion but the Bigots would embrace ſo fair an opportunity to put all the Churches in confuſion; more eſpecially becauſe he was one that liv'd ſtill in their Communion, who

1635. *Perſecutions raiſ'd by Cacherat againſt the Churches of Normandy.*

1635. who gave the occasion. Nevertheless, all this Hurliburly had no other foundation, then the lending of some Minister of one Church to another, without *Chacherat*'s Approbation; or some Order executed in his Church against his Will. At length, after a long solicitation, a Decree was made which dismist both Parties, but order'd, that for the time to come no Minister should be admitted without taking the Oath of Allegiance; that they who had officiated in Foreign Countries, should not reassume their Functions in *France* without the King's Permission, and taking a new Oath; and that no Foreigner should officiate in the Ministry, or in any other Religious Office without expres leave. But the Innovation of swearing Allegiance was that which most perplex'd the Reformed. For they held it much for their Ministers Honour, that the State was wont to be assur'd of their Fidelity, without exacting a solemn Promise; but that the Bishops were oblig'd to take the Oath before they could be admitted. Besides, they took this Oath for a forerunner of great Misfortunes; as being a Custom borrow'd from the Reign of *Charles* the IX. And lastly, they were afraid that it would prove the occasion of a thousand Cavils, to engage 'em to swear things either contrary to their Consciences, or prejudicial to their Liberties. But luckily for 'em this Decree came to nothing, as being never put in execution. As for *Cacherat*, he abjur'd his Religion; and having obtain'd a Pension from the Clergy, enough to live upon, without working for a Livelihood, he never any more disturb'd the Peace of the Churches. Some Memoirs there are that mention an Edict to the same purpose with the Decree; but I never saw it, and believe it to be an Error of him that compil'd 'em.

Precedency adjudg'd to the Catholic Counsellors of the Chamber of Castres.

But the 18th of the same Month the King set forth a Declaration that gave Precedency to the Counsellors of the Parlament of *Tholouse* that serv'd in the Chamber at *Castres*, in the ablence of the Presidents, before the Reformed Counsellors, tho never so much their Seniors; so that that same Chamber was reduc'd to the same condition with that of *Guyenne*. Toward the end of this Month also, the Catholics would needs make the Reformed of *Loudun* pay the Costs and Charges they had

had bin at in exorcising the *Ursulins*; for as yet they had not done with that Farce. The Reformed had erected a Colledge in that City, where they were very numerous. The Catholics therefore meditating which way to deprive 'em of it, presented a Petition to *Laubardemont*, deputed Commissioner to take the Informations concerning that same Diabolical Possession, and much at the devotion of the Ecclesiastics. They set forth, That the *Ursulins* house was too little to contain 'em, and for the performance of those Exorcisms that were requisite; that all the Churches of the City were taken up, excepting one Chappel which the Guardian of the *Franciscans* offer'd to lend 'em; that the Colledge of the Reformed ought to be taken from 'em, as being erected without the King's leave; and upon these Suppositions, they desir'd that the Colledge might be given to the Catholics; that so the *Ursulins*, or a part of 'em, might be remov'd thither, for the better convenience of exorcising 'em. Upon which, the Commissioner gave 'em a Grant of it with a Proviso, till the King should otherwise ordain. And thus the Reformed were made to pay the Expences of a Comedy, wherein they were no otherwise concern'd then to make themselves sport with it, and laugh at it in private. 1635.

The Colledge taken from the Reformed of Loudun.

The 9th of *March* the Council put forth a Decree, which forbid the Public Exercise of the Reformed Religion at *Paroi* in *Charolois*, a small Village, of which the Abbot and Monks of *Cluny* were the Lords. Cardinal *Richlieu* was chosen Abbot of it, and by Consequence he had an Interest in that little City: so that the Decree could not fail of a solemn execution. But besides the Interdiction of Public Exercise, it contain'd also a Prohibition to keep Schools therein; to sell Flesh upon prohibited days; to work with their Shops open on Holydays; to meet in Houses to perform the Duties of Catechizing, Preaching or Prayer; to hinder the Ecclesiastics from visiting and comforting the Sick; to sing Psalms in the Streets, or so loud in their Houses, as to be heard; to bury in the Church-yard belonging to the Hospital, or at any other hours then those that were prescrib'd by the Edict. It order'd also the Reformed to keep and spread Carpets before their doors upon Procession days.

Exercise forbid at Paroi

1635. days. It gave leave that the Reformed might send their Children to the Colledge which the Cardinal had founded, with promise that they should not be seduc'd to change their Religion; and that they might be Sheriffs if elected, without any obligation of being forc'd to hold. At the same time the Reformed of *Chaume*, a Borough depending upon the Jurisdiction of *Olon*, which belong'd to the Marquis of *Royan*, lost their Right of Exercise. Nor was there any notice taken of their Possession well prov'd; or that they had not only the consent of the Lord, but an agreement in writing made in the year 16[illegible] with him, the Curate and the Catholic Inhabitants, wherein the Lord expresly covenanted to desist from all opposition against their Right for the future. All the Favour they could have shewn 'em was, that they had the liberty left 'em to make their Addresses to the King, that they might have some other place allow'd 'em without the Jurisdiction of *Olonne*.

Order of the Intendant of Poitou about Annexes.

Now in regard the Declaration of the preceding year in reference to the *Annexes*, had render'd the Law general, tho it were only set forth for the Province of *Languedoc*, the Ministers of *Saintonge* and other places, were put to a great deal of trouble upon this occasion. *Rivet* of *Champvernon* was deputed to the Court by the Synod assembl'd at *Mauzé*, to crave some relief against these Vexations; who brought back a Reference of the 16th of *April* to *Villemontée*, Intendant of Justice in those Provinces. This new Judge was given to understand, that the Prohibition mention'd in the Declaration, and by the Decrees, depriv'd the Reformed of all manner of Exercise of their Discipline, and expos'd all Ministers that preach'd in any other place then where they resided, or by vertue of an Order, or Loane authoriz'd by the Synods or Colloquies, to a thousand Prosecutions: tho those Accidents many times could not be avoided, by reason of the death, sickness, absence, suspension or degrading of the Incumbent Ministers, or upon some other urgent Business which requir'd the Synod to depute Commissioners. They gave him to understand, that there were Ministers settl'd by the Synods, to preach alternatively in several places where they had a Right of Exercise, and [illegible]

consequence they could not be accus'd of preaching out of the places where they were fetl'd. The Commissioner was apprehensive of these Reasons, and by an Order of the 22d of *June*, gave the Ministers leave to preach out of their Residence when they should be sent upon any of the fore-mention'd Occasions. 1635.

However the Reformed of *Metz* were not so favourably us'd at the Council. For they had a desire to erect a Colledge in their City; but the Bishop of *Madaure*, Suffragan to *Metz*, oppos'd it; and the three Catholic Bodies of the City join'd with him. This Business was remov'd to the Council, where the Opposers obtain'd a Decree in their favour, dated *July* the 25th. That Decree forbid the Reformed to have either Masters, Regents, Classes, Schools or Colledges. It only gave leave that they should have Masters in the City, to teach Children to read and write *French*; but prohibited those Masters from taking Pensioners. It forbid likewise the having those Petty Schools without the City; reserving only the liberty of sending their Children to Catholic Schools. Now in regard the War began this year between *France* and *Spain*, the Affairs of State afforded some little Relaxation to those of the Reformed Religion: So that there remains little of moment for me to relate, but only what befel the Duke of *Bouillon*, Son of the Marshal. He became inamour'd of the Marquess of *Berghe*'s Daughter, who was indeed a very lovely Lady. To marry her, he renounc'd far greater Matches, to which he might have pretended. And he abandon'd himself so entirely to this Woman, no less a *Spaniard* by Inclination, then a Zealous Catholic, that by her Persuasions he quitted his Religion, fell off from the Interests of *France*, and reduc'd his own Family to the Precipice of Threatning Ruin. Therefore, that I may not be forc'd to return any more to this Subject again hereafter, I shall speak all together which is to be said of him; That he had a share in all the Confusions of *France*; that he admitted the Count of *Soissons* into *Sedan*, who was slain in a Combat before the Town; that at the same time that his Pardon was granted him for

The Reformed of Metz forbid to have a Colledge

The Duke of Bouillon changes his Religion.

1635. that Rebellion, he enter'd into the Conſpiracy of *Cinq Mars* againſt the Cardinal; that the Plot being diſcover'd, he was ſeiz'd in *Italy*, where he had the Command of an Army conferr'd upon him, to remove him from the City, and to be maſters of his Perſon when they pleas'd. That knowing well that the Cardinal never forgave twice, he offer'd to ſurrender his City to the King to ſave his life, and *Sedan* was the Price of his Liberty. The Cardinal before his death had the Pleaſure of that Conqueſt, after which he liv'd not long. Thus the Father of the Duke having had a Principality, as the fruit of his ſiding with the Reformed Religion; the Duke his Son loſt it as the Reward of his turning Catholic. And becauſe his Wife brought him little or nothing in Marriage, 'twas ſaid of him, That the Dowry which he had with her was the loſs of *Sedan*. This Misfortune befel him in the Year 1642.

The End of the Tenth Book.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Edict of Nantes.

THE SECOND PART.

THE 'LEVENTH BOOK.

The Epitome of the 'Leventh Book.

AN Aſſembly of the Clergy. A furious Speech of the Biſhop of Orleans. *Odious Accuſations. The firſt Accuſation, of openly violating the Edicts.* Daille's *Books attack'd by the Biſhop. Second Accuſation, for having taken a Prayer for the King out of the 20th Pſalm. A venomous Aggravation. Third Accuſation, for blaſpheming the Sacred Things. A fraudulent Queſtion of the* Miſſionaries. *The Biſhop's Concluſion. A Diſpute upon the ſecond Accuſation between* Daillé *and* Muis. *An Edict againſt Blaſphemers. A renewing of the firſt Accuſation. Papers of the Clergy. Anſwer to the 16th Article; to the 32, 33, and 26. Interdiction of particular Exerciſes at* Villiers le bel. *Exerci-*

ses prohibited at Corbigni, Vitré *and* Claye. *Other Regulations. The Bailliage of* Gex. *Schools Interdicted. An unlucky Decree of the Privy Council upon several Articles. Others touching Patents for Offices. Exercise forbid again at* Claye. *The House of Charity interdicted at* Paris. *The House of the Propagation of Faith, and a piece of remarkable Injustice. Conversion of* Francis Cupif. *Regulations of the Reformed of* Pons. *A National Synod at* Alenson. *The Commissioner's Speech, and his Instructions. Article touching Baptism. Answer of the Moderator. Article of* Annexes ; *of the payment of the Ministers and Baptism. A Deputation to the King. Papers from the Synod. The Deputies treated at Court, and their Speeches. Nomination of General Deputies. Particular Deputies.* Milletiere's *Projects condemn'd. The King puts* France *under the Protection of the Holy Virgin. The Death of the Duke of* Rohan. *A remarkable Order of the Intendants of* Languedoc. *A Presidial Court erected at* Nerac. *Sick People tormented by the Monks. Edict of the Duke of* Bouillon *in Favour of the Reformed of* Sedan. *The Birth of the King now reigning. A new Regulation for* Villers le bel, *and the* Dauphinate. *Statutes of the University of* Poitiers. *Order of Judge* Maye *of* Montauban. *Particular Acts of Injustice at* Rochechouard, *at* Vitré *and* Dijon. *Offices. Exercise forbid at* Taulignan. *Church yard at* Blois *forbid to be enclos'd.* Croquers. *Decree of the Parlament of* Pau, *forbidding the Exercise where there were not Ten Families. Exercise forbid at* Pivigemet *and* Beaulreu. *A singular Artifice to oblige the Reformed to call themselves* Pretended Reformed. *Blasphemies pretended, and pretended Sacriledge. Division of Voices at* Castres, *and the Effects of it. Interdiction of Exercise out of the usual places. Marriage of Priests converted. The Advocate-General's Plea. Precedence adjudg'd to the Catholics of the Chamber of Accompts at* Mompelier. *A new Decree about meeting the Sacrament. Vexation of some Officers of* Castres. *Exercises and Schools forbid. Burials, Blasphemies and Profanations. Offices. Priests and Monks changing their Religion. The ancient Church at* Vitré *pull'd down. Exercises forbid at* Gex, Sancerre *and* Chauvigni. *A new Cavil about the Right of* Fiefs. *Exercise forbid at St.* Ceré. *A Cavil about a Church-*

a Church-yard. Exerciſe forbid at St. Savin *and* Antibe. *Diſtance requir'd between the Church-yards of the Reformed and the Catholics. Burying violated. A pretended Miracle. Re-eſtabliſhment of the Maſs at* Tonnaiboutonne. *Offices. Schools. Blaſphemies and Prophanations. Other Examples. Univerſities. Books. Acts of Injuſtice at* Sancerre. *Death of the Cardinal. Exerciſes and Irreverences. Children of a converted Prieſt. Viſiting of the Sick, and Juriſdictions. The Death of the King.*

BUT the next Year a violent Tempeſt pour'd down upon the Reformed. The Aſſembly of the Clergy was ſate wn before the end of the Year 1635, and the chief Depus on'y ſpoke to the King upon the Subject of the *Regale*, hich the Parlament of *Paris* went about to extend to all the ſhoprics in the Kingdom. But *de Nets*, Biſhop of *Orleans*, ould not confine himſelf within thoſe Bounds, when he made Speech to the King upon the 17th of *February*. For he made e moſt violent Harangue that had ever bin ſpoken, againſt the formed, till that time. He utter'd nothing but Extravagans, Ravings and Blaſphemies ; nor did he vouchſafe the Remed any more honourable Epithetes, then thoſe of Inſolent, ad, and Frantic. 'Tis true, that at firſt, he acknowledg'd that the States of the Kingdom had applauded the Deſign of the ings of *France* to attempt the Cure of the Reformed, to whom gave the Appellation of *Diſtemper'd*, by gentle Remedies ; at is to ſay, by the Edicts of Peace : and to honour the Clerwith a falſe Moderation, he added, That the Eccleſiaſtical dy itſelf would not have bin ſorry to have ſeen ſtifl'd and exguiſh'd ſo many Fires kindl'd to reform and puniſh 'em, and ſet up in their room Lights more pure and innocent to illuinate their Conſciences and Underſtandings. But for all this ir Beginning, he fail'd not to accuſe the Reformed of three ings extremely odious. The firſt was, for openly violating e Edicts : the ſecond was, for ceaſing to pray to God for the ing in their Pſalms : and the third, for prophaning and blaſheming the Sacred Things.

1636.

An Aſſembly of the Clergy.

A furious Speech of the Biſhop of Orleans.

Odious Accuſations.

The

1636.

I. *Accusation, for openly violating the Edicts.*

The great Proof of the first Accusation was drawn from the Act of the National Synod in the Year 1631, wherein it was declar'd, That the *Lutherans* might be admitted to the Communion, to intermarry, and present Children to Baptism. Which he pretended was contrary to the Edicts, because it tended to the introducing of a new Religion into *France*; as if by that Act of Fraternal Communion, the Synod had ever pretended to associate the *Lutherans* in the same liberty of teaching their Opinions, and publicly exercising their Religion, as the Reformed had obtain'd by the Edicts. Which nevertheless was so far from the intention of the Synod, that in the Act of the Union itself, it was expresly requir'd, That such *Lutherans* as should be made choice of for Godfathers, should promise to teach 'em no other Doctrines then those about which there was no dispute. However the Bishop hung fast upon the Apology for that Reunion which *Daillé* had publish'd about two years after the Synod broke up. That same Minister had taken for the foundation of his Justifications the difference of Errors; of which there were some that were not so heinous as others; and among which as there are some that are intolerable, that brake all communion between the Orthodox and the Erroneous, so there are others that may be born withal, as no way tending to such a Rupture. He alledg'd for an Example of the latter, the Opinion of the *Greeks* about the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, which he did not believe to be of that consequence as to authorize a Schism. He endeavour'd also to settle general Rules, to judge what those Errors are that break communion by reason of their extreme distance from the Truth. This was a very prudent Apology, and the Author's Principles were managed with so much discretion, that it was impossible for any person to be offended at 'em, unless blinded either by his Passion or his Ignorance. The same *Daillé* publish'd the next year a little Treatise, which he entitl'd, *Faith grounded upon Scripture*, which destroying the Authority of Tradition when the Dispute lay about Articles of Faith, prov'd exactly the Doctrine of the

Daillé's Books.

e Reformed, and gave light to the Rules which he had pro- 1636.
d for the diſcerning of Errors.

The Biſhop attacqued theſe two Books with extraordinary olence. He could not endure that *Daillé* ſhould think the nathema pronounc'd againſt the *Greeks* too ſevere, only for an conſiderable deviation from the Doctrine of the *Latins*, uching the proceeding of the Holy Ghoſt; and ſo inſiſting on that Indulgence, and ſome other Principles that *Daillé* d maintain'd, he accus'd him of teaching, either in expreſs erms, or by Conſequences neceſſarily drawn from his Doctrine, at all *Hereſies* would admit of a Diſpute, except eight of e moſt important. I know not how the Epiſcopal Charity that Prelat could accommodate the uſual Maxims which each up Union, and deteſt Schiſm in ſuch vigorous Terms, ith this Complaint of a horrid Attempt of a Miniſter, that t no more then eight Reaſons of Diviſion among the Chriians: as if the grand Intereſt of public Edification and iverſal, ought not to make all good men wiſh, that ere had bin leſs then eight Reaſons of Divorce, if they uld have bin reduc'd to a leſſer number, without doing ury to the Truth. But the Biſhop's aim was to inicate, that this was to teach an Indifferency in Religion ntrary to the Edict, and that according to *Daillés* Prinples, no Man was bound to quit his Sect, to embrace a better pinion.

The ſecond Accuſation was ſtill more malicious. And the II. *Accuſa-*
ference which the Biſhop took for it, was the Alteration made *tion, for*
the 20th Verſe of the 20th Pſalm, which is the 19th accord *having ta-*
g to the *Latin*, and begins with theſe words, *Lord ſave the* *ken away*
ng; and in the *French* Paraphraſe of the Reformed, thus, *from the*
e Lord hear thy Prayer. 'Tis true, that this laſt Verſe had *20th Pſalm*
merly bin paraphras'd after this manner: *Be pleas'd, O Lord,* *the Prayer*
defend us, and preſerve the King. Be pleas'd to hear our Pray- *for the*
when we cry unto thee. But the Reformed having made *King.*
veral Alterations in *Clement Marot's* Paraphraſe, when they pply'd it to the Public Uſe of their Devotions, becauſe his ex-

preſſions

1636. preſſions were a little too harſh, too roving, and ſomewhat to ſlight, and having made theſe Alterations at ſeveral times, an upon ſeveral occaſions, it happen'd that this Couplet of th Pſalm was corrected among others, as having bin tranſlated b the Poet after a manner more conformable to the Vulgar, the to the Hebrew Original. Thereupon this Paraphraſe was in ſerted inſtead of the former, *Be pleas'd, O Lord, to defend* a *and cauſe the King to hear our Petitions.* Encounter all ou Fears. I make no queſtion, but that when this Correction wa made, the Reformed had a deſign to have a formal Prayer, ex tracted from the Words of the Holy Ghoſt, to deſire of God who governs the hearts of Kings, that he would encline hi to be favourable to their Suits. Upon that ſcore the found this New Paraphraſe more ſuitable to their Occaſi ons, as being in their Opinion more conformable to the *He brew* then the former. But certainly he muſt ſee with th Eyes of a very Irregular Paſſion, who ſees any thing in th Alteration, with which a Sovereign Prince could be juſtly an deſervedly offended.

A venemous Aggravation.

Nevertheleſs, the Biſhop found, as he thought, two Gro Errors in this Correction. The one was, That the Senſ was corrupted: And the other was, That the Reformed ha put themſelves in the King's room; and that they had a ſum'd the Prayer to themſelves which the Holy Ghoſt ha dictated in his behalf. This was branded as a piece of Inſo lence, and an Attempt, which aboliſhing the Prayer tha ought to be offer'd for the Preſervation of the King, raviſh'd from him, as much as in 'em lay, the Honour, Fear and Tribute that was due to him. So that the Biſhop would fain have prov'd from thence, That had it bin as much in the power of the Reformed to deprive the King of all the Prerogatives of his Crown, as it was to alter the words o the Pſalm, they would never have ſcrupl'd to have done it. And this Accuſation was aggravated with all the Tours, the Dreſſes and Enamellings of a Quaint Wit, that Propenſe Ma lice and Black Malignity could infuſe into a Quick Imagina tion.

on. Nevertheleſs, there is one Reflection to be made up- 1636.
n the Tranſports of this Outragious Biſhop, ſufficient to
ſcover the Injuſtice of 'em; that this Alteration had bin
ade for above Seventy years, and yet never any notice
d bin taken of it; and we find at this day the ſame Cor-
ction in the Pſalms that were printed in 1560, and 1561.
herefore had this bin ſuch a Crime, 'tis a wonder that the
al of the Catholic Clergy ſhould ſleep ſo long without
er taking cognizance of ſuch a Capital Crime. But the
mes were chang'd, and the Biſhop might ſay what he
as'd againſt an Unfortunate Party not in a condition to
fend themſelves.

The Third Accuſation was grounded upon the Expreſ- III. Accuſation, for blaſpheming the Holy things.
ns which the Miniſters made uſe of, in ſpeaking of the
fteries of the *Roman* Church. The Biſhop call'd *Drelin-*
rt Impious and Blaſphemer, by reaſon of the diſreſpect-
Expreſſions which were to be found in his Writings. That
iniſter, the True Scourge of Controverſie-Mongers and Miſ-
naries, and who had learnt from *Moulin* the art of finding
t the ridiculous part of Superſtition, call'd things by their
mes with great liberty. For he call'd the Church of *Rome*,
ſous Strumpet, and the Idolatrous Babylon. He call'd the
crament which the Catholics adore, a God of Dow, an
omination, a Wafer, which the Prieſt would make you
lieve he has turn'd into a Deity, after he has blown up-
it four or five words. He handled the Maſs like a piece
Farce and Mummery. Moreover, the Biſhop accus'd him
laying that the Virgin was an *Idol*, and the worſhipping
an Abomination: That the Feſtivals of the Saints were
meer Superſtition; that their Legends, which the Prelate
d *the Hiſtory of their Vertues*, was a Gallimaufrie of Ex-
vagant Romances and Idle Tales. He comp'ain'd that
e ſame Miniſter had call'd the Pope *Antichriſt*, and Cap-
in of the Cut-purſes, meaning the Biſhops and Monks:
d that he had call'd it in queſtion, Whether he were

1636. St. *Peter*'s, or *Simon Magus*'s Succeſſor. Above all things, h
aſcrib'd to him one thing very Criminal, that he had aſſert
that St. *Lewis* at the point of death diſguſted the Vaſs. U
on which we muſt obſerve, that one of the moſt wick
and inſnaring Queſtions which the New Miſſionaries ſtar
to puzzle ſilly People, was, Whether they believ'd, th
An Inſnaring Queſtion of the Miſſionaries. *Charlemaigne*, or St. *Lewis*, or the Reigning King, we
damn'd? 'Twas High Treaſon to anſwer in the Affirma
tive; and it was dangerous to anſwer in the Negative. T
then the Miſſionary concluded, that men might be ſav'd i
the *Roman* Profeſſion. But uſually they got rid of this fra
dulent Queſtion by anſwering, That they made no doubt b
that all Princes were ſav'd, becauſe that God enlighten'd e
at the hour of death, and infus'd into 'em a good liking o
the *Romiſh* Superſtitions. And this Vulgar Error the Bi
laid to *Drelincourt*'s Charge, becauſe he had ſaid ſomethin
like it in ſome of his Works. However, theſe Expreſſio
were not particular to himſelf, for that the greateſt part
the Miniſters kept up the cuſtom of talking of the Guid
and Practiſes of the *Roman* Church, in ſuch a manner
the Catholics deem'd not very decent. But He ſtuck cl
ſeſt upon *Drelincourt*'s Skirts, becauſe he inſtructed the Peo
ple by his Familiar Writings, and arm'd em with eaſy an
ſhort Anſwers againſt the Sophiſms of the Miſſionaries. S
that he was very odious to this new Order of Perſecutors
who made it their buſineſs for thirty years together, by a
imaginable ways, to do him one of their good Turns.

The Biſhop's Confuſion. The Biſhop, after theſe Terrible Accuſations, vaunted,
know not by what Figure, for it was very ſingular, that h
was oblig'd to reſerve a Charitable and Judicious Silence i
reference to the Language of the Miniſters; but though h
forbore to ſpeak of their Crimes, yet he talk'd loud of th
Puniſhment due to 'em, of which he demanded a ſevere In
fliction; that they ſhould be forbid to pronounce ſuch ha
nous Affronts and Blaſphemies againſt the Church, againſt
the Sacraments, againſt the Saints, againſt the Pope and h

Prel

1636. ...lates. That thoſe Paragraphs wherein the Pope was call'd ...nichriſt, might be raz'd out of the Prayers of the Re...rm'd; that the Prayer for the King might be reſtor'd as ...was. That all Innovations contrary to the Edicts might ...e puniſh'd and chaſtis'd; that Indifferency in Religion ...roach'd by *Daillé* might be ſtifl'd in the Birth; that his Books ...ight be burnt by the hand of the Common Hangman; and ...at he might be puniſh'd ſeverely as a New Arch-Heretic, ...gether with all thoſe that favour'd his Libertiniſm. Which ...t Clauſe had an Eye upon *Aubertin*, *Meſtrezat* and *Drelin...*, his Aſſociates, who being appointed by the Synod of the ...rovince to overlook the Books, had ſubſcrib'd their Appro...ation of his Works. The Biſhop at laſt proteſted, That he ...ſpoke not out of any hatred of Perſons, becauſe Charity ...orbad him; but to deſtroy Errors, and prevent the Erro...neous from *rendring themſelves odious to God*, *unfaithful to the King*, *baneful to themſelves*, *and unprofitable to the Pub...*. This is juſt purſuing the Motions of a ſort of Charity, like that of the Inquiſition, which puts People to death after they have repented, for fear leſt if they ſhould let ...em live they ſhould expoſe 'em to the danger of a Relapſe.

A Diſpute upon the 2d Accuſation between Daillé and Mus.

The ſecond Article of Complaints, touching the *Paraphraſe* upon *Pſalm* 20. of an Affair of State, became a Buſineſs of Criti...ciſm: *D. Mus*, Royal Profeſſor of the *Oriental Languages* at *Paris*, upheld the Biſhop's Cauſe; and in a new *Verſion* of the *Pſalms*, wherein he follow'd the *Hebrew* exactly, and in a literal Com...mentary which he added, he thought it beſt to follow the *Vul...gar* in the *Tranſlation* of this *Verſe*. This man wrote againſt *Daillé*, who defended himſelf againſt the Attacks of the Biſhop with as much Vigor as Modeſty; and anſwer'd *de Mus* in ſuch a manner, as to win the more unbyaſs'd ſort of people to be of his ſide, or at leaſt ſo propitious to him, as to judge that there was nothing that could give offence in the Alteration which he had made in the *Couplet*, or that hinder'd the *Pſalm* from being an entire Prayer for the King. But the third Accuſation gave ſuch a Blow, that the Conſequences of it were ſoon felt: For

1636. the King set forth an *Edict* which was verify'd in the Parlament of *Paris*, *March* 9. and which condemn Blasphemers of *God*, the *Virgin*, and the *Saints*; For the fourth time, inclusively to redoubl'd Fines, Forfeitures, and Penances: For the fifth time, to be Pillory'd: For the sixth time, to have the Upper-Lip cut off: For the seventh, to lose the Lower-Lip also; And for the eighth, to have the Tongue pull'd out.

Edict against Blasphemers.

Effects of that Declaration.

'Twas an easie thing to extend the Rigor of this Declaration to the Reformed, who no sooner taught that the Merits of the *Saints* were of no benefit to Men, or that God never appointed the *Holy Mother of Christ* a Mediatrix for Sinners, nor *Queen of Heaven*, but they were accounted Blasphemers. For which Reason it was, that upon the noise of this Declaration, *John de Gap*, a Capuchin, going to hear *La Faye*, a Minister of *Loriol* Preach, carry'd a Complaint against him of the 24th of *March*, and inform'd the Judges of several Blaspemies, which, as he said, that Minister had pronounc'd in his hearing. This Affair spun out for above two Years before it was fully prosecuted; but at last a *Capias* was issu'd out against the Minister, and Inquiry made after his Person, which enforc'd him to keep out of the way till the Tempest was over. However *Chartier* a Merchant's Son of *Blois* had not bin so easily acquitted, could they but have caught him. For there was a Complaint and an Information put in against him upon the 22th of *May*, for some pretended Blasphemy which he had utter'd against the *Sacrament*, the same Day that the *Romish Church* carries it about in a Pompous Procession. Now in regard he did not make a voluntary Appearance, but kept himself from being taken, he was condemn'd for Contumacy the First of *October*, to undergo the *Amende Honourable* before the Principal Church of *Blois*, to have his Tongue bor'd, and his Lips slit; to be Fin'd Three hundred Livres to the Poor, and Banish'd for ever out of the Balliage and County of *Blois*. These were the Fruits and Penalties of this Declaration. But this Violence lasted not long; and tho we have seen from time to time some Vexation arise from this Fountain; nevertheless it

it was not the Occasion of so much Mischief as they who set forth the *Edict* expected. 1636.

As for the first Accusation, it produc'd no more then Childish Cavils, with which the *Missionaries* astonish'd inconsiderable People: Not but that the *Clergy* would fain have made a Business of Importance of it. For the Bishop of *St. Flour*, who took his leave of the King, in the Name of the *Assembly*, upon the 20th of *April*, could not forbear talking of the *Union* with the *Lutherans* after a most Envenom'd manner. He made a Speech full of Allusions to the Affairs of the Reformed, more especially to the taking of *Rochelle*, which he call'd the *Rock that had a share in all the Commotions of the Kingdom, and the Foundation of a Religion contrary to that which Christ establish'd upon the Rock.* Among other things he congratulated the King, That his Power which in other Reigns was limited, now knew no bounds. A Complement which it is a difficult thing to believe, That Subjects who have any Sense or Understanding, Cordially bestow upon their Sovereigns. The rest of his Speech rowl'd all upon the Immunities of the *Clergy*, which as he made the King believe, were violated in divers things. Moreover, he presented to the King a *Paper* from the *Assembly*, of which there were many Articles that concern'd the Reformed. The greatest part were Answer'd by the King, with those Extensions that carry the Concession farther then was desir'd. Thus the Sixteenth Article demanded, That the Reformed might preach no more upon the Lands which belong'd to the *Ecclesiastics*; nor within 5 Leagues within Cities where Parlaments sate, nor in Episcopal Cities, nor in Places so near Catholic Churches, as to disturb Divine Service: That Churches built in such Places might be pull'd down within three Months; and that the old Churchyards might be reserv'd to the Catholics. The King granted every thing, and added the pulling down of all Churches that had bin built since the *Edict*, without Letters Patents enregister'd: And in Cases of Difference about the Execution of the *Edict*, he summon'd the Cause before himself, because at that time there were no Commissioners. In like manner, as to the Thirty

The first Accusation reviv'd.

The Clergie's Papers.

Answer to the 16th Article.

1636. Thirty ſecond Article, wherein the *Clergy* demanded that
To the 32d the Miniſters might not be ſuffer'd to Preach in the *Aumoſnes*, the King expreſt the Prohibition in more rigorous Terms then thoſe of the Demand; and forbid the Miniſters to Preach without the Place of their Habitation.

To the 33d Likewiſe to the Thirty third Article, which requir'd the Executions of Decrees of Parliaments, and Grand Aſſizes, for the Demoliſhing of Churches, the King conſented; and withall, added thoſe that had bin ſet forth for the Reſtoration of the *Eccleſiaſtics* to their Eſtates and Priviledges; and upon pretended Infringements of the *Edicts* committed by the Reformed. The reſt demanded that the *Chamber* of the *Edict*, or *Party-Chambers* might not take Cognizance of Appeals of Temporal Perſons from Eccleſiaſtical Courts; That the Reformed might be depriv'd of ſuch Honorary Priviledges as belong'd to 'em in the Churches: And that the Biſhop might confer Benefices inſtead of Him who had the Right of Patronage. That the Reformed Judges might not take Cognizance of the Tranſgreſſing of Holidays; That the Judges of Courts poſſeſt in Peerage with the King, if they were Reformed, might be Reimburſt, and Catholics put in their room: That the Commiſſion given out for the Execution of the *Edict* in the *Dauphinate*, might be revok'd; That the Materials of the Fortifications of the Reformed Cities which had bin Demoliſhed, might be beſtow'd upon the *Clergy* to build Churches: That the Syndics & Promooters of Dioceſſes might be admitted Plaintiffs in Suits about Infringements: That the ſecond Place at all General Aſſemblies in Town Houſes might be allow'd the Biſhop's Vicar: That it might be lawful to lay Impoſitions upon all the Inhabitants of *Pariſhes*, for the building of Vicaridge houſes, Reparations of Structures, purchaſe of Ornaments, and other Things of the like nature: That Tythes might be paid by the Reformed, who as they pretended had bin exempted in ſome Places for ſixty Years together, by the Misfortune of the Wars; and this, notwithſtanding any Contracts, Agreements, or Decrees that had bin made or iſſu'd forth to

the contrary. The King granted within a little all theſe De- 1636.
mands to the *Clergy*. Nor do I ſee but one Article wherein he obſerv'd any Meaſure of Equity for the Reformed; and that was upon the Twenty ſixth Article, Wherein the *Clergy* de- *To the 26th*
manded that the School-Maſters might be Catholics; which the King granted according to their deſire; but without any prejudice to Schools granted the Reformed by Letters Patents enregiſter'd.

Now in that ill Humour wherein the Council was at *Particular Exerciſes forbidden at* Villiers le bel.
that time, there appear'd ſeveral Decrees, which put the Reformed to no ſmall Trouble. For the Inhabitants of *Villiers le bel* and parts adjoyning, were accuſtom'd to meet upon *Sundays* or *Holidays* in that Borough, when the Seaſon would not permit 'em to repair to *Charenton*, which was the neareſt Place where there was any Exerciſe. The Place of their Meeting was ſome Private Houſe where they Rendezvouz'd, upon the Sound of the ſame Bell which Call'd the Catholics to Church. But in regard they had no Miniſter, they only met to hear ſome Sermon, or ſome Chapter in the Scripture read, to ſing Pſalms, and Pray together. Theſe private Exerciſes did no body any harm; nor could the Catholics be diſturb'd, in regard the Reformed had ended their Devotions long before the Catholic Church was done. Yet would they needs have theſe Aſſemblies to be a Miſdemeanour, and to render their Proſecutions of thoſe People the more plauſible, 'twas added, that they ſpoke undecently of the *Romiſh Preachers*; and that they made the Children of the Catholics that were ſent to their Schools to read the Books of the Reformed. Upon which immediately came forth a Decree of the Privy-Council, dated *May* 16th, by which theſe Petty Exerciſes, and ſuppoſed Miſdemeanours were ſeverely forbid.

Corbeil was a little City, where the Reformed had a Place *The Exerciſe forbid at* Corbeil.
of Exerciſe by vertue of as clear a Poſſeſſion as could be in the World; ſo that the Commiſſioners had continu'd 'em in it by a ſolemn Ordinance made in the Year 1600. That Ordinance

1636. dinance remov'd 'em to the farther end of one of the Suburbs of the City, within the Jurisdiction of *Corbigni*, with a *Proviso*, till the Opposition which the Abbot made to the settlement of the Exercise in the City should be determin'd. This Business hung in suspence near Seven Years; after which, there was a Decree of Council of the 13th of *March*, 1634. which allow'd the Exercise, not within the City, but in one of the Suburbs, and within the Jurisdiction of the City; and appointed that Place for the first Place of the Bailiage. But in regard there happen'd since that, an Alteration in the Proceedings of that Court, and because the City depended upon the Abby of *St. Leonard's*, the Abbot obtain'd this Year a Decree upon a Petition, which forbid the Reformed their Exercise in that Place, or upon any Lands, or within any Jurisdiction of the Abby. Nor did they, when they took away this, appoint any other Place for the Reformed; but constrain'd 'em to sell the Inheritances which they had Purchas'd in the Suburbs, before they would provide 'em another Place. 'Twas only told 'em, that the King's Officers should give 'em notice whither or no there had bin a Place of Bailiage deliver'd according to the *Edict*; that if there were, there might be one allow'd 'em. By which it appear'd, that the Decree had bin issued forth without any knowledge of the Cause; because this Place had bin granted in Right of Bailiage by a Definitive Decree. But for all that, this Decree was put in Execution, without any regard at all had to the Opposition which the Reformed made. They also took the Opportunity to serve this Decree when *Monsanglard*, the Minister of the Place, was in his Pulpit; to the end the Thing might make so much the Greater Noise, and more effectually redound to the Reproach and Affront of the Reformed. This *Monsanglard* had bin accus'd in Court, for having said, That at *Rome* they sold Remission of Sins; for which the Judge of the Place Condemn'd him to the *Amende Honourable*, and all the Consequences of that Punishment. But upon his Appeal, the Minister being remov'd to the Prison of *Paris*, call'd *La Conciergerie*, and pleading

ing in his own justification, That he took what he had said out of a Book of the Rates of the *Apostolic Chamber*, Printed at *Rome* it self, they were asham'd to Confirm the Sentence, and Dismiss'd both him and the Process out of Court. 1636.

There is also another Decree to be seen of an uncertain Date, set forth by the *Chamber of the Edict* of *Roüen*, which forbid the Reformed to continue their Exercise in the Borough of *St. Sidoine*, because it depended upon the Abby of *Almenesche*. Another Decree of Council ordain'd, That the Church of *Vire* should be pull'd down, as being too near the *Catholic Church*, after they had built another which shou'd be neither within the Jurisdiction, Signiories, or Precincts of the *Edifices*. The 20th of *June*, came forth another *Edict* of the Privy Council, against the Lord of *Claye* and *Biche*, which forbid the Exercise within the Signiories where the Lord did not actually reside, the presence of his Domestic Servants not being sufficient to Authorize it. The same Decree forbid Preaching without the Place of their Residence, upon pain of Corporal Punishment and Imprisonment. I also find Two Decrees Cited by such as have Collected those Sorts of Acts against the Reformed; the First of which was Dated the 15th of *July*, the Other the 12th of *December*. They Imported, that the Exercises should not be perform'd in the Lord's Houses when the Minister should be absent or sick. The Parlament of *Bourdeaux* also Signaliz'd themselves by a Decree set forth the 4th of *July*, against the Authority of Parents. For one *La Vaie* dwelling in the Borough of *Castres*, had marri'd a Catholic Wife, by whom he had six or seven Children, which the Wife, making an ill use of her Husband's Indulgence, brought up in the Catholic Religion. This Woman happen'd to die before the Children had attain'd the Age of Discretion, and the Father was accus'd for constraining the Children to go to the Reformed Church. Upon which the Parlament interpos'd, and gave the Advocate-General leave to bring in an Information: and in the mean

Other Regulations.

A Decree to the prejudice of Paternal Authority

1636. time General Prohibitions were sent abroad, forbidding Parents to force their Children to go to Protestant Sermons.

Bailiage of Gex. The Bailiage of *Gex* was us'd after the same manner as the rest of the Kingdom; where the Prince of *Condé*, as Governor of *Burgundy*, upon which the Bailiage depended, put in execution the Prohibitions forbidding the Admission of Foreign Ministers, comprehending under that Name the Inhabitants of *Geneva*. He also equally divided the use of the Common Pastures of the Country between the Reformed and the Catholics, though the Reformed were Ten for One.

1637. *Schooles forbidden.* The greatest part of the Decrees which I have enumerated, were revived again the next year: But there were several to which they added other Articles very grievous and troublesome. The Parlament of *Rouen*, by a Decree of the 18th of *March* forbid the keeping of any Schools at *St. Lo*. For the Consistory had set up some according to the Exhortation of the National Synods, and had also put in Regents, such as those Synods approv'd. The Promoter *Coutances* undertook this Business, and upon an Appeal from the Sentence of the Ordinary Judge he procur'd a Decree, which annull'd the Power of the Consistory; forbid 'em for the future to give Approbation of the like nature; permitted Masters only to teach to write and read in private Houses, but not to instruct or Catechize, not to say Public Prayers, or read Lectures, contrary to the Doctrine of the *Romish* Church. Upon the 21st of *April* the Privy Council set forth a Decree which forbid the Exercise in the absence of the Ministers; as also in any other Places then those wherein it was lawful for 'em to reside by the Edicts. The same Decree forbid the hindring of Fathers, Mothers, Tutors, Kindred, Masters, *&c.* to send their Children, Relations, Friends, Servants, *&c.* to Masters of Catholic Schools approv'd by the Ordinaries. So that what with taking

A Vexatious Decree of the Privy Council upon several Articles.

taking away from the Reformed the liberty of having Colledges, what with obliging the Conſiſtories to ſuffer the ſending of Children to ſuſpected Maſters, they who had Children to bring up, were reduc'd either to let 'em grow up in ignorance, or expoſe 'em to the Snares and Inveagling Perſuaſions and Allurements of Catholic Tutors. By the ſame Decree, the Reformed were alſo order'd to ſpread Carpets before their doors upon Solemn Proceſſion-days: upon neglect of which, after the firſt Summons, they were to be ſpread at their Coſt and Charges; and if they obſtructed or oppos'd the doing of it, they were condemn'd to Impriſonment; which was directly oppoſite to the third private Article of the Edict of *Nantes*. 1636.

Upon the 28th of the ſame Month came forth another Decree of the Privy Council, the effects of which were ſtill more vexatious. For it forbid the Bailiffs and Seneſchals to admit any Plaintiffs or Demandants in a Suit, whether Notaries or Advocates, without the King's Letters Patents. For the Council bethought themſelves of inſerting into Letters of this Nature the Clauſe of the Catholic Religion, on purpoſe to exclude by that means all the Reformed from any Offices. But Cuſtom has ſettl'd a Remedy againſt this Artifice, in regard that in almoſt all the Juriſdictions of the Kingdom, the Judges admitted People to the exerciſe of theſe petty Employments, upon the bare reſignation of him who had the Letters Patents: ſo that they paſs'd from hand to hand without having any recourſe to the King; which ſpar'd the Reformed the Affront of a Refuſal, the Catholics the Trouble, the Delays, and the Expence of a Suit; there being none but Employments that were ſomewhat conſiderable, for which they troubl'd themſelves to take out the King's Letters Patents. *Another Decree touching Patents for Offices.*

The King was made believe, that it was contrary to his Oath, that there ſhould be any Offices in the Kingdom which did not depend upon him, and which were executed by perſons that were not inveſted in 'em by his power. The firſt

1637. design was to deprive the Reformed of the easie means to maintain themselves in those petty Employments, which caus'd 'em to be valu'd in the places of their Abode, and shelter'd 'em from a thousand petty Vexations. But it so fell out, that this Regulation did as much Injury to the Catholics, as to others; and that the Name of Reformed serv'd in this, as well as in other things of greater moment, to involve all the *French* in the same Restraint. This was Sport for the Clergy; who exempting themselves from Servitude, sacrific'd to their Passion and Malice against the Reformed, the Liberty of the whole Kingdom.

Exercise forbid a-gain at Claye.

Upon the 23d of *June* came forth another Edict from the same Council against the Lord of *Claye*. This was the fifth that had bin issu'd out against the Exercise in his House, under pretencee that he never resided there; yet to ward off this Cavil, he had declar'd at the Sessions-house in *Paris*, that he had made choice of his House at *Claye* for his principal Habitation, and that he intended to reside there for the future: which ought to have mintain'd his Right of having Sermons in his House, had it not bin the Maxim of the Council to make use of any Pretence to forbid the Exercise of the Reformed Religion, and still to uphold the Prohibition when the Pretence was remov'd.

The House of Charity for Fools at Paris.

The Reformed of *Paris* had set up a House in the Suburbs of St. *Marceau*, whither they carry'd their sick People; they had already furnish'd it with Fourteen or Fifteen Beds, and design'd to have sent in more. Now it happen'd that a Cooper's Prentice, born a Catholic, working with a Reformed Master in the Church Mershes, fell sick, and with his own consent was carri'd to this New Hospital; whether he had imbib'd any tincture of his Master's Religion, or whether the Abhorrency which poor Creatures have for the *Hôtel de Dieu* at *Paris*, where the Infection is generally mortal to all that are carri'd thither, caus'd him to prefer a House more neat and healthy. However it were, his removal from one end

d of *Paris* to the other, could not chuſe but be taken no- 1637.
ce of. Upon which a Commiſſioner came upon the 19th of
to this New Houſe of Charity, to draw up a Verbal
ort of the condition it was in, and of the uſe for which
was deſign'd. Upon which Verbal Proceſs, the Privy Coun-
il iſſu'd forth a Decree of the 30th of *June*, wherein without ſo
much as mentioning the Religion, but only ſuppoſing that it was
contrary to the King's Authority, to erect Hoſpitals without
the King's Permiſſion, (as if there had bin ſo much need of
the Authority of Men to exerciſe Works of Humanity and
Charity ſo expreſly approv'd of God) and pretending in
the ſecond place, that the ſick People were not lookt after,
and reliev'd in that New Eſtabliſhment, as Chriſtian Chari-
ty requir'd; it was ordain'd, that all the ſick People which
were in the Reformed Hoſpital, ſhould be remov'd to the *Ho-
tel de Dieu*, where they ſhould be receiv'd upon the firſt
command; that the Beds ſhould be put into the hands of
Truſtees, to be at the King's diſpoſal to whom he ſhould think
fit; and that the Governor ſhould leave the Houſe with all
his Family, upon pain of Impriſonment, and other corporal
Puniſhment. This Decree was put in execution by the Uſher
of the Council upon the 4th of *July*, who found no more
then five ſick Perſons in the place: one of which finding
himſelf ſtrong enough to provide for himſelf without aſſiſt-
ance, had his Liberty to go where he pleas'd. The other
four refuſing to be carri'd to the *Hoſtel de Dieu*, and naming
the places whither they deſir'd to be carri'd, were remov'd
without any oppoſition by the care of the Uſher, who did
his Office with more Civility then the Rabble would have had
him.

There was a new Houſe erected in the *Fauxbourg St. Ger-*
main by the Pope's Bulls and the King's Letters-Patents, *The Houſe of the Propagation of Faith; and a remarkable piece of Juſtice.*
under the name of, *The Propagation of the Faith*; which was
deſign'd for the lodging of young People that might be in-
duced to embrace the Catholic Religion. Now one *La Fra-*
ye happning to die, left two Daughters with his Wife.
One

1637. One of these having attain'd to Thirteen years of Age and the other to Eleven, they were both inveagl'd into this House. Their Mother presented a Petition to the Baily of the Suburb, who was then Judge of the Suburb-Court and redemanded her Daughters. The Judge having examined the matter, and finding it to be a manifest Cheat thought it his duty to do justice, and deliver'd the Children back to their Mother. Now the Pretence which they made use of to gain the good will of the Children was, that their Mother was marri'd again, and would be sure to misuse 'em. Upon which the Governours of the House made a most hideous complaint both against the Father-in-law, and the Baily; accusing the one to have committed several violences in the House; and the other for coming to the House to take away the Children by main force, accompani'd with several drawn Swords that made a noise and hubbub before the Door, to the great scandal of the House. And moreover, they positively affirm'd, That the Children had many times declar'd before their Father-in-law himself that they desir'd to be bred up in the Catholic Religion. Thereupon the Council made a Decree, which plainly shew'd that they were not convinc'd of the truth of the Relation. For it only decreed, that the Baily should deliver the Verbal Process to *Thiersaut*, Master of the Requests, to the end that upon farther Examination such order might be taken as should be thought expedient. However, the King summon'd before himself and his Council all Causes concerning that House and the *New Converts*, and forbid the Baily to take cognizance of 'em for the future. As much as to say, that they thought it not just to condemn a Judge who had done no more then his duty; however, they would not leave the Reformed under the Protection of those that made a conscience of doing 'em Justice.

The Conversion of Francis Cupif.

The Doctors also of the *Sorbonne* would needs be stickling this year to display some marks of their Zeal against the Reformed. For it so fell out, that *Francis Cupif*, a Doctor

ctor of that Faculty, and Curate of *Contigni* in the Dio- 1637.
s of *Angers*, embrac'd the Reformed Religion, and ſet
th a Declaration of the Motives that had oblig'd him to
Which Declaration he addreſs'd to the Biſhop of the
ceſs; believing it moſt proper to give him an account
his Conduct. But the Biſhop, either diſdaining a Cu-
e of a Village as beneath him; or elſe, as many times
ſals the Prelates, not having Learning ſufficient to anſwer
m, left the care of being reveng'd upon him, to the *Sor-*
ne. Whereupon, that Colledge upon the 14th of *July*
ew up a Sharp and Violent Order, by which they de-
ded *Cupif* from all his Dignities, and beſtow'd a thou-
d Maledictions and Curſes upon him. But he avoided
being far more ſeverely handl'd by retiring into *Hol-*
d, where he wax'd old in the Functions of the Mini-
y; wherein he acquitted himſelf in a more edifying man-
r, then the greateſt part of thoſe that abandon the Church
Rome are wont to do.

The Reformed were very numerous at *Pons* in *Saintonge*. *Regulations againſt the Reformed of Pons.*
or could their Adverſaries contrive any other way to vex
n, then by beſtowing upon 'em a Regulation dated at *Bour-*
ux, *December* the 5th, upon the Motion of the Advocate-
neral; which forbid 'em to work upon Holidays with
eir Shops open, nor to ſell Fleſh upon days prohibited
the *Romiſh* Church; nor to throw their Dirt about the
oſs which the *Recollects* had erected, nor at the end of
e Streets that adjoin'd to their Church. Here it is to be
ſerv'd, that thoſe Monks had erected a Croſs on purpoſe
that very place which time out of mind had bin the
mmon Dunghil for all the Neighbourhood. But the Con-
nt being annoy'd by it, bethought themſelves of this Ex-
dient to remove the Nuiſance; and the more eaſily to ob-
in their Deſires, they demanded the Prohibitions only
gainſt the Reformed, to deprive the whole City of a Con-
nience; and a Fine of 80 *Livres* was laid upon all that
fus'd to obey the Decree.

In

1637. *A National Synod.* In the midst of these Vexations and Injuries done the Reformed throughout all the Provinces, they assembl'd a National Synod at *Alanson*. Which Assemblies serv'd to no other purpose, then to give 'em an opportunity to bewail together the bad condition of their Affairs, and to seek what Remedy was most proper to be appli'd to their Calamities. They were extream'ly tormented with the presence of the Commissioners. For when they had drawn up a Paper of their Complaints, 'twas thought a great matter well accomplisht to receive it back from the hands of their Deputies; nor could they many times obtain the favour of an Answer. Nevertheless, the Court was still jealous of these Assemblies; and they were so accustom'd to fear the Reformed in a Body, that they were always alarum'd at that which was no more then the shadow of their Union. And indeed, the Reformed were as yet considerable for their number. Their Churches in the Country were for the most part compos'd of Nobility and Gentry. There were several, wherein there were reck'nd fourscore or a hunder'd Families of Gentlemen; which did so much honour to their Religion, that you might frequently see three score or fourscore Coaches waiting before the Place of their Exercises. They were not therefore yet so low, but that they were in a condition to put their Adversaries to trouble had their Intentions bin evil. So that the Court, who knew too well what was in their power to do, were afraid lest the Synods should take up Resolutions which the Gentry were to put in execution. For which reason, they were unwilling that any Synods should be held for the future in any other Place then at *Charenton*, to the end they might have a near eye upon those formidable Assemblies. However, there was no danger on that side. For the Reformed well understood, that they were at the mercy of their Enemies, and that they had nothing left to preserve and support 'em but the good will of the King's

Kings pleaſure. The Knowledge of this oblig'd 'em to extend their Obedience as far as it would reach, for fear of being Exterminated upon the Leaſt pretence, as Rebels: and the Synods Labour'd by good Diſcipline, to remedy the Miſchiefs that might ariſe from the Perſecution. 1637.

The Court gave leave for their Synod to be held at *Alenſon*, a Small City, where there was little Probability that the Reformed ſhould attempt any great Matters; nor is it ſo far remote from *Paris*, but that upon Occaſion the King might ſend his Orders thither in four and twenty Hours. Nevertheleſs there was a high Value put upon this Favour, as if it had been a thing of Great Importance. The Brief by which permiſſion was given, and the Commiſſion was Couch'd in the ordinary Terms, and breath'd nothing but good Will and Kindneſs. The Commiſſioner was St. *Mark*, a Councellor of State; a Perſon as much at the Devotion of the Court as *Galand* had been. The Synod alſo ſat down the 27*th*. of *May*, and after the Uſual preliminary Ceremonies, St. *Mark*, having preſented his Commiſſion, made an Ingenious Speech before he propos'd the Articles with which he was entruſted by his Commiſſion. Firſt of all he ſhew'd, that the Greateſt Part preac'h the Doctrine of Obedience; and to Confirm 'em in their ſo doing, he declar'd, that the King had promis'd Conſtantly to obſerve the Edicts, ſo long as the Reformed perform'd the Duties of Faithful Subjects. He Extoll'd in a flattering manner the Kings Power, which the Hand of God that aſſiſted him all along render'd formidable both abroad and at home. He ſpoke of the Misfortunes which the Reformed had ſuffer'd, while they had Places of Strength in their Hands; and of the repoſe which they enjoy'd ſince they depended Solely upon the Kings Favour. He compar'd their Condition grounded upon the Kings word, and upheld againſt the Paſſions of People, agitated by too various Commotions, to the Earth that hangs pois'd in the Air by the Word of God. He heighten'd the Confidence which the King had in 'em, as appear'd by that Mark of his Favour which he had beſtow'd upon 'em, by graciouſly permitting 'em to aſſemble in a Time of War: And from all theſe Reflexions, he concluded that it behov'd 'em to

At *Alenſon*.

The Commiſſioners Speech.

1637. regulate all their Affections, their Words and Actions, by Obedience.

And his Instructions.

After this, he came to his Instructions, and declar'd. I. That the King forbid all Holding Intelligence, both Domestick as well as Forreign. The Pretence was, that the King had been inform'd that the Colloquie of *Nimes* and *Rousselet*, and the Minister, had receiv'd a Letter from the *Canton* of *Bern*, with whom altho' they were in Alliance with the Crown, and of the same Religion with the Reformed, it was not Lawful to hold Correspondence even in Ecclesiastical Affairs, because it made the State jealous of a Correspondence of another Sort; for which reason the Kings Subjects were not allow'd to Visit Forreign Ministers: Whence it follow'd, that 'twas a Breach of their Duty to receive those Letters, or else that they ought to have accquainted the Governor or the Commissioner with 'em. II. That the King was no way pleas'd to hear that one Province held Communication with another; as had happen'd between the Synods of lower *Languedoc* and the *Dauphinate*, upon occasion of the two Ministers *Cregut* and *Arnaud*. The Reason of this Prohibition was, because the Reformed being no Body Politick, they could not hold Politick Councils. Moreover that the King would not permit that any Minister should be deputed to be present in one Synod in the Name of another; nor that Provincial Synods should Ordain General Fasts. III. That it was the Kings Pleasure the Ministers should preach Obedience, and that when any thing should be Ordain'd, which might seem repugnant to Liberty of Conscience, for want of knowing the Motives that induc'd him to it, they should not tax his Conduct with any design against Religion, the Liberty of which he was resolv'd to maintain: Consequently, that He order'd 'em to abstain from the Words, *Scourges of God*, Martyrs, Persecution, and other the like Terms. IV. That he forbid 'em to make use of the Words, *Antichrist*, or *Idolaters*, or any other of the same Nature, when they spoke of the Pope or the Catholicks; and to forbear all Sharp and inveterate Expressions against the Ministers who had chang'd their Religion, under the Penalty of Interdiction, or a greater Punishment for the same Offence repeated. V. That he forbid

bid the Selling Religious Books, whether Printed within or without the Kingdom, if they were not first Examin'd and approv'd by two Ministers, appointed by the Synods, under the Penalty of Confiscation. VI. That whereas at *Andusa*, the Synod had refus'd to ordain the Benediction of a second Marriage of a Person, whose First Marriage had been adjudg'd Null and Vacant by the Sentence of the Magistrate, it was the Kings Pleasure that the National Synod should enjoyn Obedience to the Judges in such Cases, and that what had been done to the Contrary might be amended. VII. That the Ministers should obey those Declarations which concern'd the *Annexes*, upon Penalty of forfeiting the Favours granted by the Edicts. VIII. That they should not make use of the Money taken out of the Poors Box to pay the Ministers, who were referr'd for the payment of their Salaries to the XLIX^th^. Article of *Particulars*. IX. That they should not go a begging from House to House, under pretence of necessary Expences, in regard the King gave leave to the Heads of every Church to assemble, in the Nature of a Consistory, to regulate the Contributions for payment of the Ministers Salaries; for defraying the Expence of Journeys for the Colloquies and Synods, for the payment of Academies and repair of Churches, of which there should be a Roll made up and Authoriz'd by the Magistrate, and declar'd to be of as full force as when the Kings Mony was to be Collected. X. That they should Correct the Sentence of the Provincial Synod of *Nimes*, which had adjudg'd a certain Summ to *Petit*, Professour in Theologie, out of the Academy Money, which had been rais'd upon the three Colloquies, contrary to the Settlement of the Regulations. XI. That there should be an Emendation of what had been adjudg'd by the same Synod, touching the Nullity of Baptism administer'd by Persons never lawfully call'd to the Ministry. 1637.

The Commissioner, being unwilling to speak any thing of his own Head upon this last Article, which was a matter of Importance and Nicely to be handled, tho' earnestly recommended to his Management, read the very words of his instruction, which without doubt had been drawn by a Divine of the

1637. lower Form. The ſubſtance of it was, that from the Judgment of the Synod there aroſe an Opinion of the Anabaptiſts, who repeated Baptiſm upon the Queſtion which they ſtart, whether he who perform'd the Ceremony, had been rightly call'd or no. A new Argument of which that Sect was never wont to make uſe. That there was an Ambiguous Interpretation to be made of the Sentence of the Aſſembly, which ſeem'd to intimate that the *Roman* Church approv'd the Baptiſm of the Anabaptiſts, tho' ſhe declares their calling to be Illegitimate. That Baptiſm was of force *Ex opere Operato*, according to the Language of the School-men, to expreſs that Vertue of the Sacrament by which it actually confers Grace upon thoſe who receive the Outward Symbol, wihout any Inward preparation to participate of it, provided they obſtruct not the Operation of it by any Mortal Sin. Now the *Roman* Church not having any need of Legitimate callings, by the Confeſſion of the Reformed themſelves, 'twas not for them, to invalidate that Baptiſm which ſhe Approves, becauſe that in a Caſe of neceſſity probably adjudg'd, all Perſons have a Calling to adminiſter it.

The Moderators Anſwer.

There might be curious Reflexions made upon this odd Piece of ill contriv'd Theology, were they not too remote from my Subject to make any upon 'em. I ſhall therefore only ſay, that all the Commiſſioners ſweet Words, could not ſoften a ſort of Articles ſo new, and ſo full of Inconveniencies that they could not be obſerv'd without reducing the Reformed to a moſt cruel Confinement. More eſpecially the Third was couch'd in Terms that were very Extraordinary: And it was an exacting from 'em, a ſtrange degree of Blindneſs, to deſire that the Reformed ſhould remain perſwaded, that their Enemies had no other then good Intentions toward 'em, tho' at the ſame time they ſhould ſee 'em doing things actually prejudicial to the Liberty of their Conſciences. For this is that which was meant at leaſt by that ſame ſtrain of Language; *When for want of knowing the Motives, it might ſeem to them, as if the Proceedings of the Court were prejudicial to that ſame precious Liberty.* The Synod anſwer'd the Commiſſioners Speech, as people anſwer when they tremble. They excus'd

one

ne part of thoſe things which had ſerv'd as a Pretence and Ground-work for his Inſtructions; and as to almoſt all the reſt, they made great Proteſtations of their Ready Obedience. The Moderatour began with returning Thanks to God, that e had inclin'd the Kings Heart to uphold the Reformed by is Good Will and Favour; to which he added ſome kind f adulatory Complements to the Commiſſioner. He excus'd he Letters receiv'd from the *Switzers*, which only concern'd he Calling of *Rouſſelet* to the Profeſſion of Theology at *Neuf-hatel*, where he was born; and which had been produc'd at he Synod, in preſence of the Commiſſioners then ſitting a-nong 'em. He excus'd the Correſpondence that had been eld between the Synod of Lower *Languedoc* and the *Dauphi-ate*, as neceſſary for the Enquiry that one Province was ound to make after the Paſtors of the Other, according to the lethod of their Diſcipline. He aſſur'd him that Private ynods ſhould not ſet up any more Regulations, nor appoint ny more general Faſts, but that they ſhould ſubmit to the Go-ernment; that they ſhould keep cloſe to the Confeſſion of aith, and the Word of God: That they ſhould abſtain from arſh and bitter Expreſſions againſt all Perſons whatever; to hich he added, that it was the Humble Supplication of their hole Body to his Majeſty, that on his part he would Vout-afe to reſtrain the Affronts and Inſolencies of the Catholicks. He promis'd that nothing ſhould be written without Appro-ation, and that they would obey the Decrees of the Mageſtrate ouching the Diſſolution of Marriages: From which the Pro-ince of *Cevennes*, which was accus'd by the Commiſſioners, roteſted that they never had the leaſt thought to de-art. 1637.

He enlarg'd ſomewhat more, and was a little more reſo-ute upon the Article of Annexes; and told the Commiſſio-er, that they never preach'd by force in any Place: That the Edict of 1567. which was alledg'd to Authorize theſe new Prohibitions, ought not any longer to have the Force of a Law, ſince it was revoak'd by the Edicts which were after-wards ſet forth; and more eſpecially by the Edict of *Nants*: hat the Miniſters never preach'd but in ſuch places where free Article of Annexes.

Exerciſe

1637. Exercise was allow'd: That several of those places also had been Confirm'd by the Commissioners who had consider'd 'em, as separate Quarters of the same Body: That the Ministers never preach'd out of those Circumscrib'd Limits, in the Church of another Minister, but in case of Absence or Sickness, or when some other Lawful Cause requir'd it. That they had leave by Vertue of the Edict to abide where they pleas'd themselves; and by Consequence in other places besides the District of their Exercise, when they found it for their Convenience. Upon these Grounds, they besought the King to revoke those Prohibitions which derogated from the Edicts. They besought him likewise to hinder the Officers of Justice from medling with Annulling Contracts made between the Churches and their Ministers, to let the Method stand without any alteration for raising the Salaries of the Ministers, and paying the Schools; and to ratifie what had been done in Favour of *Petit* the Professor, as being Conformable to Custom.

Payment of Ministers.

Baptism. In a word, he justifi'd the Opinion of the Synod of *Nmes*, touching Baptism, as being the Doctrine of all the Reformed Churches: He rejected the *Opus operatum* of the *Roman* Church, and humbly implor'd the King, since he permitted the Profession of the Reformed Religion, to give leave, that that same Determination of the Synod might be allow'd of.

After this they deputed two Ministers and one Gentleman to be sent to the King: but when they went about to read the Instructions of the Provinces for drawing up the Papers which the Deputies were to Carry, the Commissioner endeavour'd to have hindr'd 'em, as if it had been matter of Politick concern, with which the Synod had nothing to do to Meddle. Nevertheless he Suffer'd himself to be overrul'd, when they gave him to understand, that there was nothing of Debate or Consultation in the Case, but only a meer collection of such Complaints and Remonstrances into one Paper, which the Deputies of the Provinces brought ready Digested. He would also have oblig'd 'em to set down at the head of the Paper the Title of *Pretended Reformed* Religion: but as for that they excus'd themselves, by returning him for answer, That the King had never exacted from his Subjects

jects that they ſhould brand themſelves with any ſuch Appellations, in things wherein they were to ſpeak according to their Conſciences. So that at length they deliver'd to their Deputies their Letters, their Inſtructions, and their Complaints. Their Inſtructions recommended to 'em three Articles in particular: The Point concerning the Annexes; that of Baptiſm; upon which they were afraid that the Council would make ſome untoward Order; and the Point of being exempted from ſpreading Carpets before their Houſes, which had occaſion'd great Vexations over all the Kingdom. As for the Paper of Complaints it ſelf, it contain'd Nine Heads: And tho' the King had done nothing in conſideration of the Complaints of the preceding Synod, yet they reſolv'd to preſent 'em, rather that they might preſerve to themſelves the Liberty of making their Complaints, then for any hope they had of an anſwer. 1637.

The Firſt Article complain'd that notwithſtanding all the Promiſes which the King had made by the Edict of the Year 1629. There were no leſs then Thirty eight Places, where they could not obtain the Reeſtabliſhment of Free Exerciſe, tho' it had been put forth in 1620. All which places were nam'd in the Article. Forty ſeven Others were alſo mark'd down in the Second, ſome in *Saintonge*, ſome in *Aunix*, others in the Iſlands of *Oleron* and *Rè*, and ſeveral other Places, where they had Suppreſs'd the Free Exerciſe of the Reformed Religion by Force, through the Misfortune of the Times. The Third Article demanded the Liberty of preaching in the Annexes. The fourth contain'd three Complaints. That the Church-yards were not reſtor'd to the Reformed, which had been taken from 'em before the Year 1625. tho' the Reſtitution were promis'd 'em in the Anſwer return'd to their Papers: That in other Places they had been depriv'd afreſh both of their Church-yards and Churches: That in other Places they had been hindred from building Churches: and they nam'd ſeveral Places where theſe Acts of Injuſtice had been done 'em. There was one Town among the Reſt, where they were enforc'd to bury their dead in their own Fields, and where above Three at a time were forbid to attend

1637. attend the Corps. The First spoke of *Alenson*, where the Synod was assembl'd; which had had a Suit before the Council, touching the Right of Free Exercise in that City; and of Burying their Dead in the Suburbs of St. *Blaise*, where there was a Church yard. There had been a Decree of the 13*th*. of *May*, which put a stop to the Cavils of the Catholicks: Nevertheless, in contempt of the Decree, and during the sitting of the Synod it self, they had given a new Assignment upon the same Brangle to the Reformed at the Council. The next concern'd the Affairs of the Country of *Gex*, where *Machaut*, by his Ordinances had overturn'd all ancient Customs of the Province, and the Regulations themselves which had been made by the Commissioners in the Year 1612. with the Consent of the Bishop, and the Catholick Inhabitants. Which Regulations had been confirm'd in Council, by a Decree of the 13*th*. of *December*, the same Year. But for all that, *Machaut* anull'd 'em, without giving notice to the other side. 'Tis true, they did not mention the Prince of *Condè*'s Name in this Complaint, tho' he had at least as deep a share in these Violences as the Intendant; for they were willing to pay that Respect to his Quality. The Seventh and Eighth complain'd of some Decrees of the Parlament of *Rennes*, of *Roven*, of *Bourdeaux*, and of the Council it self, which condemn'd the Reformed either to spread Carpets before their Houses upon Procession-days, in places where that Ceremony was observ'd; or to contribute toward those things from which they were expresly discharg'd by the second Article of *Particulars*; more especially as to Fraternities, building or repairing of Vicaridge Houses, or the Hiring of Houses wherein Mass was to be said. The Places where these Sentences had been given, were *Vitrè* in *Bretaigne*; *Claye*, a Village near *Paris*; *Harfleur*, in *Normandy*; *Bourdeaux*, where the Parlament had made a Decreee, tho' the *Partie-Chamber*, which was then at *Agen*, had taken Cognizance of the Matter, and given a quite Contrary Sentence. The Other Places were St. *Ambrois*, in the Diocess of *Usez*, *Sauve* and *Peiroles*, in Lower *Languedoc*; and *Segues*, in *Provence*; where Judgments had been pronounc'd by Inferiour Judges. In the Ninth, they complain'd of

of the taking away of Children; for which they inſtanced the Daughter of one *Riaon*, an Apothecary at *Manets*, a ſmall Town adjoyning to *Alenſon*; another of *Giles Cou-* *ſin*, not above two Years and a half Old, which the Nuns of *Tregair*, an Epiſcopal City of Lower *Britanie*, had brought up after the Death of her Father. The Tenth, and the next Following ſpoke of Colledges, by reaſon of which the Reformed had been ſu'd, wherever they went about to erect any: And more eſpecially, for that the Commiſſioners, who were appointed to make a Partition of the Colledges of Royal Foundation, between the Catholicks and the Reformed in the Province of *Languedoc*, diſagreeing upon this, that the Catholick Commiſſioner had forbid the Reformed to teach Theologie in that part which was adjudg'd to their ſhare, the Council, deciding the Partition, had confirm'd the Sentence of the Commiſſioner, tho' in a Caſe of the ſame nature they had giv'n a Decree in favour of the Academy of *Montauban*. And the Pretence for ſo doing was, for that formerly the Academy of *Nimes*, was ſhar'd between that City and *Montpellier*; in one of which they taught Human Learning and Morality, in the other Divinity. But the Synods underſtanding the Conſequence and Inconvenience of that Diviſion, had reunited to *Nimes* all the Parts of that Colledge. And this was enough for the Council to take from the One the new Priviledge it had obtain'd, without reſtoring it to the Other. The Twelfth and Fourteenth ſpoke of the Miniſters, from whom in ſeveral Places they had taken away the Liberty of Reſiding therein, and whom they had depriv'd of almoſt all the Priviledges granted 'em by the Edicts. They were aſſeſs'd in the Pariſh Rolls, even for thoſe Eſtates which they had let to farm: And ſome there were, that were conſtrain'd to pay the Total for the whole Pariſh. The Thirteenth made mention of ſeveral Places, where the Reformed had been conſtrain'd by Menaces and Violence to quit their Habitations. The Fifteenth renew'd their Importunities, ſo often repeated, for the Releaſe of thoſe who had been condemn'd to the Gallies during the Wars. The Sixteenth made Remonſtances upon 1637.

1637. the Attempts of the Parlaments, and which was most Surprizing, and a novelry altogether, of the Intendants upon the Jurisdiction of the Party-Chambers. And they instanc'd for Examples of these Attempts, the Parlaments of *Aix* and *Rennes*, and the Intendant of *Labress*, who together with the Presidial Judge of the Borough, had given a Sentence quite contrary to the Decree of the Party-Chamber of *Grenoble*. In the Seventeenth Complaint was made, that the Reformed were excluded from all manner of Dignities and Employments, Doctorships, and Degrees in the Faculty of Physick, and Freedoms of Companies: Moreover that they were depriv'd of their Offices which they had in possession, as had befallen the Notaries and Proctors of the *Bailliages*, in pursuance of the Decree of the 28 of *April*, which forbid the Exercise of any Offices before the Kings Patents obtain'd. The Eighteenth Complain'd of the Parlament of *Pau*, which first began to give the Reformed of *Bearn*, to understand that they were no longer to enjoy their Liberty. They forbid 'em to toll their Bells upon certain days, which was onely to give notice of the Hours of their meeting; to appeal from the Judgments of the Provincial Synods any other where then to the Parlament; and to appoint Fasts in the Churches of the Province, before they had obtain'd leave. Lastly, they desir'd the Continuance of the Money paid of his own Bounty; and complain'd that the Assignments formerly given were revok'd.

Deputies how treated at Court, and their Harangs.

By the Complaints renew'd in this Paper, it is apparent, that little notice had been taken of those that preceded: but for all that the Deputies repair'd to Court, and desir'd Audience. *Ferrand*, the Minister, who was the Chief Person in the Deputatiun, made a most flattering Harangue to the King. He carry'd as High as Possibly he could the Kings Independency, whom he call'd the *First next to God, and the Second after Him*: And assur'd him that whatever he said of Royal Power, was the Doctrine of all the Reformed, which he expres'd in such Terms as made a Tacit Opposition to the Opinion of the Catholicks upon that Subject. And thus the Reformed became guilty of that weakness which is Common to all that are in fear. They exalted beyond

beyond Meaſure, by flattering Aggravations, that Power, which as they began already to be deeply ſenſible was abus'd to their Miſchief, not conſidering that when they preſcrib'd no bounds to the Power which oppreſs'd 'em, they legitimated, as I may ſo ſay, the Conduct of their Oppreſſors, and depriv'd themſelves of their Priviledge of Complaining. But all this ſtood 'em in no ſtead: For the King rather choſe to remain Liable to the Cenſures of the Pope, then to be beholding for his Exemption to the Doctrine of the *Hereticks*. The ſame *Ferrand* alſo made a Speech to the Cardinal, in moſt Submiſſive Language, and in his ſpeeches both to the King and that Prelate, he made uſe of the uſual wiſh, very Common in the Mouths of the Reformed, but much more in uſe when the Catholicks ſpeak or write to the Pope; wherein they wiſh that God would cut off ſomething from their own Years, to make an Addition to the Life of their *Pontiff*. But notwithſtanding all their Cringing Submiſſions, they carry'd nothing back along with 'em but fair words, and the King wrote as well to the Synod as to the Commiſſioner certain Letters which contain'd the ſame in Subſtance that he had ſaid by word of Mouth to the Deputies. The Chiefeſt Favour they obtain'd, was Money to defray the Expences of the Synod; but the Anſwer to their Papers was put off, till the breaking up of the Aſſembly. 1637.

Nomination of General Deputies.

The Commiſſioner was very Importunate with the Synod to break up; and by his Earneſt inſiſting upon their Separation, it was evident that when the Court beheld the Reformed met together in their Aſſemblies, ſhe was ſenſible of thoſe Fears which their ancient Union had infus'd into her. And indeed there were but few Reaſons that could oblige the Aſſembly to ſit any long time; for they had finiſh'd their Buſineſs, and had appointed General Deputies: Which Nomination was done with Little Ceremony. The Marquiſs of *Clermont* was continu'd, and they joyn'd *Marbaud* with him for his Aſſociate. They had alſo written to the King upon this Subject, and he had promis'd, according to Cuſtom, to conſent to the Nomination, after the Synod

1637. was broke up. Nevertheleſs the Marquiſs of *Clermont* remain'd alone in the diſcharge of that Employment; and neither *Gaband*, who had been appointed by the Preceding Synod, nor *Marbaud* who was nam'd by this, were any way concern'd with him. But the Synod no way ſatisfi'd that the Court refus'd to anſwer their Paper, and foreſeeing alſo that ſo ſoon as they were once ſeparated, their Complaints would be forgot, were deſirous to take ſome Courſe that they might not loſe the Benefit of all their Cares. To that purpoſe they thought it proper to joyn Particular with the General Deputies, who might ſolicit the Anſwer which was promis'd to their Papers, and chiefly take care of three Articles which they jud'gd to be of Greateſt Importance. The Commiſſioner was deſirous to thwart this Reſolution, and pretended that a Deputaion of that Nature was a Politick Affair, with which an Eccleſiaſtical Aſſembly had nothing to do to meddle without Expreſs leave. But the Synod ſtood their Ground; and having given him to underſtand, that there was nothing of Debate and conſultation, that their buſineſs only was to appoint certain Deputies to carry on an Innocent Solicitation, a Liberty which the Laws allow to all men whatever, and that it could not be diſpleaſing to the King, who had frequently ſuffer'd the ſame freedom, they then went on with their Deſign, and Deputed *Angle* and *Gigord*, two Miniſters of Great Credit and Authority in their Provinces.

Particular Deputies.

Militiere's Projects Condemn'd.

La Militiere, who had already render'd himſelf very troubleſome by his Projects of Re-union, addreſs'd his writings to this Synod, where they were condemn'd: And as for the Behaviour and Writings of *Daille*, who had refuted this Viſionary, they were approv'd: And they wrote moreover to that ſame Reconciler, that if within ſix Months he did not manifeſt his Repentance, by an Authentick Declaration to the Conſiſtory at *Paris*, they would no longer look upon him as a Member of the Reformed Churches. But the Greateſt Good this Synod did the Reformed, was their appeaſing the Diſpute which had made a great noiſe for ſome years, upon the Subject of *Univerſal Grace*. Nothing was

not

ever known more Hot and Violent then the Fury that appear'd in the *pro* and *con* of this New Controverſie: And it had certainly Compleated the Ruin of the Churches, had not the Synod found out a way to calm the Tempeſt, by obliging the contending Parties to a Mutual Toleration. 1637.

The next Year was not remarkable for any Great Events that concern'd Religion. However, the Reformed were not a little griev'd to ſee a Declaration ſet forth by the King, upon the 10*th.* of *February*, by which he put his own Perſon and his Kingdom under the Protection of the Bleſſed Virgin: The Memory of which, was to be perpetuated by a Picture ſet up on purpoſe in the Cathedral Church of *Paris*, commonly call'd *Noſtre Dame*. This Declaration contain'd in Subſtance thoſe Expreſſions which the Reformed, perſiſting in their Sentiments touching the Object of Religious Worſhip, could not chooſe but look upon as Impious: And that alone was enough to blaſt all their Hopes of expecting any thing Favourable from a Prince, whoſe Zeal for his own Religion tranſported him to that excels of New Devotion. For to put his Kingdom under the Protection of a Creature, tho' never ſo Holy, never ſo Divinely Priviledg'd, was evidently to vow the Extermination of thoſe whoſe Principles enjoyn'd 'em to believe, that in ſeeking ſuch a Protection, the King renounc'd the Protection of God. 1638. The King puts *France* under the Protection of the Holy Virgin.

The Duke of *Roban* dy'd this Year of the Wounds which he receiv'd at the Battel of *Rhinfelt*: Which at firſt were not lookt upon to be Conſiderable; or at leaſt there was no body that ever beleiv'd they had been Mortal. Which was the reaſon that ſome People believ'd 'em to have been poyſon'd; and that the Jealouſies the Court had of him, had given an occaſion to lay hold of this Opportunity, to ſend him out of the World without any Noiſe: And the Chyrurgeons that were ſent him, under pretence of being ſerviceable to him, were thought to be the Inſtruments of this black Piece of Politicks. 'Tis ſaid that the Dukes Journey into *Germany*, to ſerve the King in the Duke of *Weimar*'s Army, whither he went, againſt Death of the D. of *Roban*.

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1637. the Good liking of the Court, and where he would not accept of any Command, was the Effect of some secret Projects, the Consequences of which some People were much afraid of. Some believ'd that he held a Strict Correspondence with the Deceas'd King *Gustavus*; that they had joyntly labour'd the Re union of the *Lutherans* and Reformed; that their Intreagues in Order to it had produc'd the Act of the Synod of *Charenton*: That in pursuance of that Act, the Reformed in *Gustavus*'s Army had receiv'd the Communion after the *Lutheran* Manner, and the *German Lutherans* who serv'd under the the Duke of *Rohan*, in the Country of the *Grisons*, had receiv'd after the manner of the Reformed: That those two Aspiring Genius's built Great designs upon this Re-union; that the Death of *Gustavus*, procur'd by those who were desirous to stop the Torrent of his Victories, disappointed all the Duke's designs. Therefore it was giv'n out that he was about to revive the same Correspondencies with the Duke of *Weimar*, a Prince of vast Courage, great Experience, and accompted one of the Bravest Captains of his Time. Nor had the Duke of *Rohan* any more then one Daughter, who was a transcendent Match; and therefore 'twas verily thought that he had a design, to the end he might procure a stricter Union with the Duke, to give him his Daughter in Marriage. But that Prince was by no means belov'd in *France*, because he had nothing that was Low or Base in him, and for that he knew how to render himself redoubted. Besides he had settl'd himself in *Germany* by his Conquests, and this Year he took *Brisac*, more upon his own account then upon the Kings. A Person of such Importance, Powerful upon the Frontiers, esteem'd among the Protestants, respected by all Men, would have been too Formidable, had he been united with the Duke of *Rohan*, by so strict an Alliance. Nor were the Reformed in *France* become despicable as yet; and therefore they were unwilling they should have a Leader, of that Fame and Authority as the Duke of *Weimar*. The *Hungarians*, on the other side, were grown so strong, that their Enemies were constrain'd

to grant 'em the Priviledge of being a Fourth Eſtate in the Kingdom: And it was to be fear'd, leſt the Duke of *Rohan*, who made it his Buſineſs to advance the Reformed Party in *France*, ſhould have a deſign to procure 'em at leaſt the ſame Priviledges; and that under the Pretence of the Marriage of his Daughter, he would engage the Duke of *Weimar* and other *German* Princes in ſuch an Enterprize. Theſe Conſiderations, made it very much to be ſuſpected, that the Cardinal, who knew very well how to ſtart a great many others, was deſirous to fend off the Blow, by ſending the Duke of *Rohan* into another World; as knowing him capable to go through with whatever he undertook. 'Tis true, that Great Men are ſeldom thought to dy a Natural Death; and it is a rare thing to ſee any one depart this Life without ſearching for the Cauſes of his Death in the Politicks of his Enemy. However it were, the Duke of *Rohan* dy'd in the ſixty eighth year of his Age; and his Death was a great Affliction to all the Reformed, who had a great Confidence in him, tho' ſuch Perſons among 'em, who had been gain'd by the Court, would needs perſwade 'em that he had ſacrific'd the Publick Good of the Churches to his own Intereſts. But above twenty years after his Death, they who had ſeen the Warrs which he had manag'd, never mention'd him without tears in their Eyes. 1637.

The 28*th.* of the ſame Month of *April*, *Miron* and *du* Pr. Intendants of *Languedoc*, ſet forth an Ordinance at *Mont-*, which was the Rule and Model of all thoſe which were afterwards iſſued out againſt thoſe whom they thought good to call *Relapſers*. They took for their Pretence, what happens but too frequently in Truth, that both Men and Women, who found it for their advantage to marry Catholicks, openly profeſs'd the Catholick Religion, when the Catholicks would not ſo much as hear of the Match upon any other Condition; but almoſt as ſoon as ever the Marriage was Conſummated, the Reformed would return to their firſt Religion, and then ſubmitted themſelves by a Publick Confeſſion to attone for the Crime of Abjuration which they had committed. They made 'em alſo undergo the ſame Puniſhment, tho' they had not abjur'd, but had onely comply'd ſo

A Remarkable Ordinance of the Intendants of *Languedoc*.

1638. so far as to suffer themselves to be married by a Catholick Priest. The Clergy were doubly affronted by this; in the first Place, beholding the Mysteries of their Religion prof[aned] by such a Piece of Inconstancy; and next to see the uncertainty and vanity of their Conquests. Thereupon they made their Complaints to the Intendants, aggravating in a most inveterate manner that Profanation of their Catholick Sacraments. That Bitterness, as well as their Ignorance in Ecclesiastical Antiquity, chiefly appear'd by the Comparison which they made between the Reformed and the *Jews*, who were accustom'd, said they, in the Primitive Times, to feign themselves Catholicks, and under that Colour, *went to Communions, on purpose to break the Images and profane the sacred Host.* They pretended that this Prophanation was contrary to all the Edicts, which never pardon'd such sort of Crimes. Upon these Complaints the Intendants order'd the guilty to be prosecuted. But the Custom was too deeply rooted, and the Mischief was grown too common to be cur'd by such a Remedy; nor do I find that the ordinance wrought any Effect.

Presidial Court at *Nerac.*

In the Year 1629. the King had erected a Presidial Court at *Nerac*, a City in the Province of *Albret*, where the Reformed were the most Numerous. The end of which establishment was to strengthen the Catholick Party, by conferring upon 'em the greatest part of the Offices and Employments in that new Court. But neither in the City nor in the Province were there Catholicks enow to be found, who were capable to supply those Offices: So that they were forc'd to send for Graduates, to officiate for the present time, in expectation of able Persons that were fitly qualifi'd for their Places. Nor could they meet with a sufficient Number of Catholick Graduates: But at length the Project was brought to perfection this Year, by sending for men of Ability from other Places, and admitting some of the Reformed into Employments which the rest could not supply.

Sick People tormented by the Monks.

At this time also, the Sick were continually tormented by the Monks, who made an ill use of their infirmities, to extort from 'em some Declaration that might pass for a profession of the Catholick Religion. I meet with one remark-

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able Example during the ſickneſs of *Anne Violette*, a Maid of three or four and twenty Years, who liv'd at *Poitiers*. This poor Maid falling ſick, loſt her ſenſes, through the Violence of her Diſtemper: Which is confeſſed by the Monks themſelves, who wrote the Relation of it, in the true ſtyle of a Legend. An *Auſtin* Friar went to Viſit this Maid of his own Head, and caus'd her to pronounce certain Words, from whence he concluded her willing to die a Catholick. In the mean time *Cottiby* Miniſter of the Place came thither, and his Meeting with the Monk having occaſion'd a loud Diſpute between 'em, drew together a great Concourſe of People, always liſtning after Novelties, and among the reſt came the Maior, pretending to prevent Diſorders. But inſtead of having any Regard to the condition of the ſick Perſon, he put all the People out of the Chamber, and being Maſter of the Room, caus'd a verbal Anſwer of the Queſtions propounded to the poor Creature in a Delirium, to be drawn up as before himſelf, being a Magiſtrate, to the end report might afterwards be made of it for a certain Truth. However, the Ravings of that unfortunate Creature ceas'd not. She had till then moſt dreadful Dreams, and ſhe lay Crying without Intermiſſion, that ſhe was damn'd. And upon that it was, that the Fryar had grounded his Conceit, that ſhe would be willing to quit her Religion to rid her ſelf of her Fears. But after they had made her talk as long, and what the Monk pleas'd, her Viſions and Outcries ſtill continu'd, and her Fears of Damnation were ſtill the ſame. Nevertheleſs the Catholicks would not loſe this fair Opportunity to ſignalize their Zeal, and cri'd up the Deliriums and Ravings of this poor Creature in a high Feaver for a *Miraculous* Converſion. This happen'd toward the end of *July*. 1638.

An Edict of the D. of *Bouillon* in Favour of the Reformed of *Sedan*.

The laſt of the next Month, the Duke of *Bouillon* publiſh'd an Edict in Favour of the Reformed within his Principality of *Sedan*; and tho' it contain'd no more then eighteen Articles, it was as much to their Advantage as could be deſir'd. The Three firſt imported Aſſurances to uphold 'em in the free Exerciſe of their Religion and Diſcipline in all

1638. the Exercises of their Academy, their Colledge and their Schools; in the Possession of their Churches, Church-yards, Goods, Houses, Rents, Revenues, Foundations, Donations and Legacies, which belong'd or might belong at any time either to their Churches or their Poor; in the Administration of those Estates, and in the Enjoyment of such Funds as the Prince was wont to supply 'em withall, for the whole both ordinary and extraordinay Expence, which might depend upon the Exercise of their Religion, or for the subsistance of their Academy and the Poor: The Direction also of those Contributions was left to a Council which should always consist of Reformed Members. The Fourth promis'd to support that Council in all the Power and Authority deriv'd from the Primitive Institution of it. The two next that follow'd, discharg'd the Persons and Estates of the Reformed from whatever might be burdensome to their Consciences; so far as to enfranchise their Houses from all manner of Vassalages and Subjections that should be contrary to their Religion. The Seventh dispens'd with the Laws observ'd by the Roman Church in reference to degrees of Kindred relating to Marriages. The Eighth gave Liberty to all those who had a desire to embrace the Reformed Religion, to do it freely, and receiv'd 'em under the Prince's Protection, provided they took the Oath of Fidelity as other Citizens did. The Ninth confirm'd all the Marriages so solemniz'd or to be solemniz'd by Ecclesiastical Persons, that had quitted the Roman Church, without any Necessity of having recourse to any other Declaration then what was contain'd in this Edict. The Tenth asserted the Right of Parents, and allow'd to Fathers all that Authority which Nature had given 'em over their Children, and ordain'd that Pupils, whether Catholicks or Reformed, should have Tutors and Guardians of their own Religion. Disinheriting of Heirs, upon the Accompt of Religion was forbid, and declar'd null and void by the Eleventh Article. The Twelfth permitted the Printing and Selling of Religious Books, provided they had been viewed and examin'd by the Council of Moderators. The Thirteenth maintain'd the Reformed in their

their Right to have a Printer. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth 1638.
gave the Reformed free Admittance into all Employments, even thoſe of the Civil Government and Shrievalty, and promis'd that regard ſhould be had in the ſupplying of thoſe which were vacant, to the Number, Affection, Quality and Merit of the Reformed: Which was, in truth, to aſſure 'em the poſſeſſion of all Employments. The Three laſt concern'd the Execution and Stability of the Edict; that the Prince gave his Faith and Word to ſee it perform'd: No leſs deſiring that his Succeſſors ſhould make the ſame Promiſe upon their coming to the Dignity; that if they were Minors, their Mothers or Guardians ſhould promiſe in their Names, after they had firſt receiv'd the Oath of Fidelity from their Subjects; and that the Princes themſelves ſhould renew that Engagement when they came to be of Age; that all the chief Officers at the time preſent ſhould ſwear to ſee it fulfill'd; and that all that ſhould come to Preferment afterwards ſhould take the ſame Oath; and that the Edict ſhould be read and publiſh'd in all Places where it was neceſſary. Which Publication was firſt made upon the 10*th.* of *September* in a General Aſſembly of the Officers, Burgeſſes, and all the Inhabitants in preſence of the Duke himſelf: Upon the 18*th.* in the Soveraign Council; and in the *Chancery* upon the 29*th.* of the ſame Month. This Edict was alſo ſtyl'd in the Preface *Perpetual* and *Irrevocable*; nor was the Religion of the Reformed call'd the *Pretended Reformed*, but barely *contrary to the Catholick*. However, this Edict as expreſs and clearly couch'd as it was, and tho' ſet forth before *Sedan* belong'd to *France*, has prov'd no more Inviolable then that of *Nantes*.

For upon the fifth of *September* it was, that *France* beheld the Birth of the King now Reigning, who has cancell'd all theſe Edicts. Both the King and Queen had made great Vows to the Holy Virgin, that they might obtain Children by her Interceſſion. For which reaſon it was that they acknowledged the Succour which ſhe had afforded 'em in anſwering their Supplications, by ſending moſt magnificent Preſents to the *Lady of Lorretto*; and among the reſt a Statue of the Newborn Prince of Maſſy Gold, carri'd by an Angel in Silver; The preſent King born.

1638. the whole of a very considerable Value. Certainly the Reformed had great reason to fear the Effects of such a Gross Piece of Superstition as this, and that a Prince for whose Birth they were beholding, as they said, to the Intercession of Saints, would be bred up under a great Antipathy against those who lookt upon the Doctrine of Intercession as a dangerous Error. Moreover, the Birth of this Prince occasion'd the Creating of several Guilds or Fraternities; and multiply'd the Nobility, by ennobling Letters, which were so couch'd, that there was not any Clause inserted to hinder the Reformed from the reaping the Benefit of 'em, to the end the Joy might be general. So that in regard they met with a thousand Obstructions in the Common ways to advancement, there were many Persons that took out these, either that they might have the Liberty to follow their Trades, or to ennnoble themselves. But the Favours that were done 'em, did not ex-
1639. tend very far; nor was the Year 1639. more propitious to 'em then the Rest. The Cardinal had embroyl'd himself with the Court of *Rome*, and he had a mind to make himself fear'd in that Court, as he was dreaded over all the rest of *Europe*. There was nothing talk'd of in *France* but of creating a Patriarch, and by that means of breaking off all Corespondence with the Holy See. Searches were made by the Cardinals order, what Quarrels the Popes had with the Kings of *France*, and Memoirs of every one were drawn up. Therefore, to prevent least these Contests should prove a Scandal to the Catholicks, there was no other way then to let 'em see, that there was nothing of good intended by 'em toward the Reformed.

Therefore the Privy Council, by a Decree of the 18*th.* of *January*, renew'd their former Prohibitions to the Inhabitants of *Villiers le Bell*, forbidding their Assemblies to sing Psalms and say their Prayers; to work upon Holy days, or to bury their Dead, but at such Hours as were permitted.

New Regulations for *Villiers le Bell* and the *Dauphinate*.

But the Parliament of *Grènoble* went farther, and rammas'd together in one long Decree of the 21*th.* of *March*, whatever several other particular Regulations contain'd of most incommodious and offensive to the Reformed. It forbid their Ministers to preach in the Houses of the Lords of the Manor in

their

their abſence, or of their Wives and Families, or in the abſence, of the ordinary Chaplain. It forbid the Miniſters to preach out of the Places where they were ſettl'd; and all others, as well as Miniſters, to obſtruct the ſending of Children, Pupils and Servants to Catholick Regents and Tutors approv'd by the Ordinaries, under the Forfeiture of two thouſand Livres, confiſcation of Fiefs, or Court Juriſdiction; and the penalty of Impriſonment or other corporal Puniſhment to be inflicted upon the Miniſters. It forbid the admitting of Notaries or Proctors without Letters Patents, and 'till they had made it out by an exact Examination, that they were qualify'd for the Employment mention'd in their Letters; and ſuch as had not undergone this Tryal, were interdicted. It condemn'd the Reformed to ſpread Carpets before their Doors upon ſolemn Proceſſion-days, and more particularly upon *Corpus-Chriſti* day, and the *Aſſumption* of the Virgin, a day which the King had made choice of to preſerve the Memory of his Vow, by vertue of which he had put himſelf under the Protection of that Holy Saint; the Efficacy of which, ſuch was the Perſwaſion of the People, had obtain'd the Birth of the *Dauphin*. And if the Reformed fail'd of doing it upon the firſt warning of the Officers, the Catholicks were authoriz'd to cauſe the Carpets to be ſpread, at the Charges of the Reformed, who were liable to Corporal Conſtraint, if they refus'd Reimburſment. It order'd Information to be given of ſuch Hoſpitals as had been erected without leave of the King or Parlament, and forbad the Erecting of new ones, or any other Houſes of Retirement, without leave firſt obtain'd. 'Twas mention'd alſo in the Decree, that the Chambers had bin conſulted, but the Suffrages of the Reformed Counſellors were not numerous enough to carry it againſt the Catholicks. 1639.

The Univerſity of *Poitiers* had certain Ancient Statutes which oblig'd their Members to certain Devotions; which Statutes had bin neglected, while the Edict was obſerv'd with any thing of Sincerity, becauſe they could not bring the Reformed to ſubmit to 'em. But when their Deſtruction was openly labour'd, they bethought themſelves of Reviving their Statutes, that they might have an Opportunity

Statutes of the Univerſity of *Poitiers*.

1639. nity to put the Reformed by, when they demanded their Degrees. The Pretence was, that these degrees were conferr'd in the Cathedral Church, where it was presuppos'd that the Reformed could not take 'em: And moreover that they could not be present at the Processions which the University, according to the Statutes were bound to solemnize every Month, carrying in Pomp to the Church of the *Jacobins* that which the Catholicks call the Holy Sacrament. These Statutes had bin reviv'd in the years 1619. and 1620. But that they might have a more specious Pretence to refuse the Reformed their Degrees, the Bishop this year set forth a Chapter Ordinance, dated *April* 28. wherein he declar'd, that he would no longer suffer the Reformed to take Degrees in his Church. So that the Ordinance of one single Bishop render'd fruitless the Edict of a Great King.

An Order of Judge *Mage* of *Mountauban.*

The first of the same Month came forth a Decree of Council which summon'd *Constans*, a Councellor in the Presidial Court of *Mountauban*, and *Rieuperieux*, the Kings Advocate, to be heard upon an Affair which had made a great Noise; and until they had had their Hearing, they were suspended from their Employments. The Business was, that *Mage* the Judge, and the Judge Criminal of *Montauban*, had upon the 16*th.* of *January* set forth an Order which Oblig'd all the Inhabitants of the Jurisdiction, both within and without, as well Catholicks as Reformed, to observe Holy-days, and forbid 'em to expose to sale either Flesh or Fowl, or Wild-fowl, upon such days as were not allow'd of by the *Roman* Church. In this Order, to make it more authentick, they cited a Decree of the Chamber of *Castres*, set forth in *March* 1634. And an Order of the Intendant of *Guyenne* of the 16*th.* of the same Month 1638. Now when these two Judges, who pretended that the sole Cognizance of the Civil Government of the City belong'd to them, caus'd the Order to be read in Court, *Rieuperieux* oppos'd it; and requir'd the Judge Criminal and four Counsellors that were present to do him Right upon his Opposal. But *Mage*, the Judge, persisting, and ordaining the Order to be Register'd, *Constans*, who was eldest Councellor, gave an Injunction to the contrary, and forbid the

the Prothonotary to Regiſter it. The Heat of this Conteſt brake up the Court, and the Judge having fortifi'd himſelf at the Council, fail'd not according to the Maxim obſerv'd there, always to lay all the blame upon the Reformed, to the end he might obtain a Confirmation of his Order, and a perſonal Summons for *Conſtans* and *Rieuperieux*. 'Tis remarkable that this was a Diſpute about Competitorſhip, or rather ſufficiency of Power; a Tryal of *Skill* to know whether the firſt Judge could alone of himſelf make Orders relating to the Civil Goverment, without advice of the Counſellors, and without imparting it to the Kings Advocates. But becauſe there was ſomething more in the Matter which concern'd the *Franchiſes* of a Proteſtant City, the Judges Order was confirm'd before any Cognizance had bin taken of the Reaſons for *Rieuperieux*'s Oppoſition. 1639.

Particular Injuſtices at *Rochechouard*.

The Church of *Rochechouard* had bin tormented near ten years by the Lord of the *Feif*, who omitted no Invention to ruin it. The People had always met in the Common Hall of the City, which was a very ſmall Town: But in 1630. the Lord inſtigated by the Biſhop of *Limoges*, took from 'em the uſe of the Houſe by Vertue of his own Authority, without any proſecution at Law. Nevertheleſs the Church ſuffer'd this Attempt without making any Reſiſtance, and provided themſelves of another Houſe wherein to continue their Exerciſes. However, four years after the Lord would needs lay hold of the Opportunity, and deſtroy the Church by means of the Grand Seſſions that us'd to be kept in that Hall; but failing in his deſign that way, the Buſineſs was remov'd to the Chamber of the Edict at *Paris*; where he had not that Succeſs neither which he deſir'd. This oblig'd him, becauſe he would not ſeem to be baffl'd, to remove the Cauſe before the Council, where all the Miſchief he could do, was, that he obtain'd an Order of the 12th. of *May* this year, for the Reformed to produce their Original Titles, of which they had nothing but compar'd Copies in the ſuit commenc'd. And the ſame Order forbid the inſerting of any Alterations or Innovations on either ſide. The Church having done their Duty, the Lord let the thing hang for ſeveral years, perceiving he could ground no Right upon

1639. upon the support of undenyable Proofs: So that at last, he let the Business quite fall; and the Reformed, who enjoy'd their Liberty, fearing themselves to molest the Quiet of their own Priviledges, by demanding Judgment, never minded the suing for any Decree in their Favour. And the Affair still remains undecided, according to the Custom of the Council, who never did any thing for the Advantage of the Reformed, but when they were so earnestly press'd to it, that they could not avoid it: Which cost that Church very dear, as I shall relate in another Place.

Upon the *16th.* of *June* the Parlament of *Rennes* condemn'd the Reformed in *Vitre*, to spread Carpets before their Doors upon Procession days; tho' about ten years before they had set forth an Edict quite opposite to it: And upon the 14*th* of *December*, the Parliament of *Dijon* made another, which was no less singular. For two of the Reformed had had a suit together: The one demanded that his Cause might be sent back, the Other requir'd that the Cause might be continu'd. Accordingly the Parlament judg'd the continuance of it; and the Pretence was, that it was a case wherein the Cause of the Defendant was to be favour'd. They might have said with much more Justice, that in regard the Dispute was about a Franchise, he who was willing to wave it, could not so well do it, to the Prejudice of him that endeavour'd to make use of it.

At *Vitrè* and *Dijon.*

The sixteenth of *December*, the privy Council condemn'd the Reformed, who practis'd as Proctors in some Jurisdiction or other of *Poitou*, to produce their Letters Patents, and to justifie that they were qualified for the Employment; that is to say, that they were *Roman Catholicks*: In the mean time they were forbid to practise in them. This was the Language of all the Courts in the Kingdom, who knew the King had by that means a design to exclude the Reformed from all petty Employments. The same day came forth another decree which forbid the Exercise of the Reformed Religion at *Taulignan* in the Province of the *Dauphinate*; and which would not permit 'em to bury but in the dusk of the Evening, as at *Paris*, and other great Cities, under

Practice of Notaries forbid.

Taulignan.

under the Forfeiture of three thouſand Livres. I meet with alſo another Decree the ſame day, which forbid the Reformed of *Blois* to lock up their Church-yard. For the Archdeacon, who is the chief Clergy-man of that City, had preſented a Petition to that Effect, wherein he ſet forth, that the locking up of the Church-yard would create a Jealouſie in the Catholicks: For that the Church-yard being advantagiouſly ſeated to command the City, which was built upon the Deſcent of a Hill, they might meet together and fortify themſelves in it, to the great danger of the City. Which was a Precaution that ſignifi'd very little, at a time when *France* was already ſubdu'd, and patiently bore the Yoak. So that there were none but the *Croakers*, who made a little Buſtle in ſome of the Provinces: For ſo were the Peaſants call'd, who not being able to bear the Taxes and Impoſts with which they were overwhelm'd, nor the Vexations of the Gentry, had taken Arms to defend themſelves. Nevertheleſs the Council granted thoſe Prohibitions to the Archdeacon, not becauſe the Reaſon of the thing deſerv'd it, but becauſe it would be an Inconvenience to the Reformed, who Burying their dead in an open Place, would be expos'd to the Affronts of the Rabble. 1639. Church-yard at *Blois*. *Croakers*.

The next year they continu'd their Vexations of the Reformed, by a thouſand Squabbles and Cavils. The Biſhop of *Oleron*, in *Bearn*, and the grey Fryar *Placede* his Proctor, attempted to put down the Exerciſe at *Oleron*, *St. Marie*, *Luc* and *Saucede*. And the Parliament of *Pau*, whither the Cauſe was remov'd, retain'd it; and in the mean time forbid the Continuance of Preaching in Places where there were not above ten Families of the Reformed in all: Grounding their Proceedings upon the Anſwer return'd to the Paper preſented by the Eccleſiaſticks in 1617. upon which a Decree was made the 23*th.* of *January*. The Parliament of *Paris* alſo, by a Decree of the 7*th.* of *September* forbid *La Gatelinière* to ſuffer any Preaching in his Houſe at *Paigeniet*, nor in any place belonging to the Bailliage of *Tours*. The ſame day likewiſe the Parlament of *Bourdeaux* ſent the ſame Prohibitions to thoſe of *Beaulieu* in *Limoſin*, at the ſame time forbidding 1640. Decree of the Parliament of *Pau*.

1640. 'em to hold a Synod in the City, or to make use of the Common Bell for tolling to Sermon, under the Forfeiture of 10000 Livres. 'Tis true indeed that this was not ordain'd but for such a Time, and till it should be order'd otherwise.

Schools. The Schools were the Subject of many Cavils, as well as their Exercises. For the Syndic of the Clergy of *Roven* took his Opportunity when the Council stay'd at *Roven*, in regard the Chancellor had Orders to repair into *Normandy*, and Command the Forces that were sent against the *Piednuds*, or the *People that went Barefoot*; for so were they call'd in that Province, who were nam'd *Crokers* in other Places. This same Syndic set forth in his Petition, that the Catholicks themselves had not the Liberty to keep Schools, without leave of the Chancellor of the Metropolitan Church; whence it follow'd that the Reformed were not to have that Priviledge without Permission. For this reason, the Council, upon the *6th.* of *February*, set forth a Decrcee prohibiting Schools to be kept at *Roven*, or in any other Places where there was not a Right of Exercise. Upon the *10th.* of *December* the Parlament of *Bourdeaux*, at the Instance of *du Sault*, a Zealous Persecutor, who pleaded in the room of the Advocate General, by a Decree forbid *Orai* and *Grenier*, Regents of the Reformed Schools at St. *Fr.*, to keep 'em open, for that they had intruded into 'em of their own Heads, without leave of the Court. The Fifteenth of the same Month wrote expresly to the Bishop of *Poitiers*, to let him understand that 'twas his Pleasure for Decorums sake, that the Schools where Boys and Girls were taught, should be distinct. Two Months after appear'd a Judicial Sentence, upon a Motion of the Kings Advocate, that all Schoolmasters, as well Catholicks as Reformed, should be bound to take their Licenses from the Bishop; and by Consequence, to observe the same distinction between the Schools of both Sexes. Since that, the Law is very much alter'd; for that by forbidding the Reformed to have any more then one School in a Place, they have provided against their Observance of that Distinction: As if the Profession of Heresie were a reason sufficient to deprive *Here-*

1640.

...cks of their Right to observe the Decorums of Morality.

The Advocate General in the Parlament of *Pau*, bethought himself of a rare Artifice, to oblige the Reformed under that Jurisdiction to give their Religion the Title of *Pretended Reformed*. They were wont to qualifie themselves with the Addition of *the Religion of the Edict*; or barely *Of the Religion*: And this they observ'd in all their Publick Acts; even in the Pleadings of Advocates. But the Advocate General undertook to prohibit 'em that Custom, and to render this Severity more Tolerable, he was desirous to usher it in by some Act of Justice. He shew'd how that the Catholicks commonly call'd 'em *Huguenots* and *Hereticks*; which might cause great Disorder; besides that the Reformed were not to be Suffer'd to use such Expressions as frequently came out of their Mouths. In Conformity therefore to this Request, the Parlament set forth a Decree, forbidding the Catholicks to call the Reformed *Huguenots* or *Hereticks*; and prohibiting the Reformed to give their Religion any other Name then that of the *Pretended Reformed*. But the Catholicks never obey'd those Prohibitions, either in *Bearn* or elsewhere; and the Reformed avoided, as much as in 'em lay, the Assuming a Title which they could not own with a safe Conscience.

Singular Artifice to oblige the Reformed to call themselves *pretended Reformed*.

Vanier and *Mangets*, Inhabitants of *Nanterre*, having let slip something in common Conversation, touching the Person of the Holy Virgin, and the Honour due to her, which seem'd very remote from the Sentiments of the *Roman* Church, whose Disciples never mention that blessed Creature, but with that Respect which they pay to God himself, the Discourse of those two Men was lookt upon as Blasphemy, and the Judge of the Places order'd 'em to be prosecuted as Blasphemers. To this they added another Crime as little understood as the former, and accus'd 'em of endeavouring to seduce some *young People* of the Town from the Catholick Religion. And they inserted that Term *young People*, to hedge in the Article of the Edict of *Nantes*, which equally forbid as well the Catholicks as the Reformed, to practise the Trade of Seducers. But in reality, these young Men were Persons ripe in Years, and of an Age which absolutely discharg'd the Ar-

Blasphemies pretended.

1640. ticle of the Edict from taking Cognizance of 'em. The Crime of being Seducers was common to Both, but *Vanier*, was chiefly charg'd with the Blaſphemy. For which being convicted, he was Condemn'd to undergo the *Amende Honorable*, and to the Gallies for five Years: The other was onely Sentenc'd to the Firſt Puniſhment, and baniſh'd the Town and Pariſh. But the whole cauſe being remov'd to the Chamber of the Edict at *Paris*: The Puniſhment was mitigated; ſo that *Vanier* was condemn'd to Confeſs in the Court of *Nanterre*, with his head bare and upon his Knees, that *he had raſhly and Impiouſly* utter'd the Blaſphemies that were laid to his Charge, and which he had own'd in his Interrogatory. He was alſo baniſh'd out of the Provoſtſhip of *Paris*, and fin'd eight Livers. There are two Things in this affair which plainly make it out, that theſe pretended Blaſphemies conſiſted only in the Liberty which *Vanier* had taken to expreſs in Terms not rightly choſen, the Doctrine of the Reformed touching Religious Adoration. That is, that he freely confeſs'd before the Judge what he had ſaid, which was more then a Perſon accus'd of down right Blaſphemy, would have doubtleſs done with ſo much Confidence. The other is, that the Sentence pronounc'd by the Judge of *Nanterre*, was mitigated by the Chamber of the Edict; which would not have ſo fallen out, had there been any thing of Solid in the Accuſation of Blaſphemy. There have and will be ſeen Examples, by which it is to be obſerv'd, that the Advocate General became the Appellant for a ſlighter Puniſhment, when there was but any pretence for it in the Accuſation of the Baſphemer, and that the Chief Judge had not pronounc'd the Utmoſt Severities of the Law. This Decree was iſſu'd forth the 1 *th.* of *September*.

A Pretended Sacriledge.

Such another Accident happen'd at *Poitiers*, upon a pretended Sacriledge. For a certain Croſs erected in the Highway, near that City, was found pull'd down and level'd with the Ground, upon St. *Michael*'s day. Upon which there was both Inquiſition made and Information given before the Judge of *Poitiers*, and the Teſtimonies charg'd the Crime

Crime upon a Perſon of the Religion: And had he been Convicted of the Fact, he had deſerv'd no leſs then Breaking upon the Wheel. For People have been burnt alive for Committing certain Inſolencies againſt the Croſs, which after their Death, was found where it ſtood, to be as ſound and as free from any Dammage, as when it was firſt erected. But this ſuppos'd Criminal was acquitted at ſo Cheap a rate, that it ſerv'd for a ſtrong Preſumption of his Innocency. For he was condemn'd only to the Charges of the Tryal, to a ſlight Fine, and to ſet up the Croſs again. And he rather choſe to fulfil the Sentence, then to proſecute the Reverſal of it, fearing to enlarge and Swell his Accuſation by an Appeal. 1640.

Upon the 12*th.* of *September* a Decree was publiſh'd at *Caſtres*; the Conſequences of which were Tedious and Vexatious. The Advocate General ſet forth four Things. I. That the Reformed never put off their Hatts to the Sacrament, when they mett it in the Streets, nor ever fell upon their Knees. II. That they would not let their Domeſtick Servants go to Maſs. III. That they would not ſuffer 'em to be Comforted in their Sickneſs. IV. That they conſtrain'd 'em to work upon Holy-days: And of all theſe Abuſes he mov'd for a Regulation. As for the three laſt Articles, a Regulation was granted him with a *Nemine Contradicente*: And the Reformed were forbid to give their Servants any Trouble in thoſe Particulars. But they were divided upon the firſt: The Catholicks, moſt Zealous Members of the Parlament of *Thoulouſe*, were of Opinion that the Catholicks ſhould be order'd to kneel, when they had not time to get out of the Way. On the other ſide, it was the Judgment of the Reformed, that thoſe of their Religion were not bound to Kneel; that it was ſufficient to Ordain that they ſhould retire into their Houſes, or any where elſe upon the ſound of the Bell; that the Reformed in General had never Violated the Edicts; and that particular Perſons when they had Committed any Fault, had been always puniſh'd by the Chamber, without Diſſimulation or Connivance. Upon this Diviſion of Opinions being carry'd

Partition of Voices at *Caſtres*, and the Conſequences of it.

to

1640. to the Council, there came forth a Decree of the 24th. of *October*, which confirm'd the Opinion of the Catholicks, order'd the Reformed that could not get out of the way, to put themselves into a Condition of *Respect as Others did*: And upon their Refusal, condemn'd em, for the first Fault to a Fine of 500 Livres, for the Second 1500, and for the Third 2000, and Banishment out of the Province. There could be nothing order'd more Expresly against the Articles of the Edict, which exempted the Reformed from every thing that was contrary to their Consciences.

Several Contagious Diseases had been very rife in *France* this Year, and had made a great Havock of the People, principally in the Southern Provinces. And this Contagion having spread it self in several Places where the Reformed had a Right to Assemble, and perform the Exercises of their Religion, chiefly at *Nimes* and the Parts adjoyning, they took the Liberty to meet in the Streets, in the Publick Places, and in the Fields; whether it were, because they would not deprive those Persons of the Comfort of Pious Exercises, for whom it was not safe to have a free Conversation with Others, that they caus'd 'em to sit under the Wind; or because they were willing to prevent the Sourd from being Infected, by suffering 'em to sit among persons suspected of Infection in close Places: But most certain it was, that they never pretended thereby to make any Encroachments; and one would have thought, that at a time when such a Terrible Judgment requir'd the Incessant Applications of Prayer and Devotion, the People might have been dispenc'd with the delays of a Regular Address to obtain the Princes leave. Nevertheless, this Attempt was lookt upon as Criminal, tho' it had been authoriz'd by a Decree of the Party Chamber. Thereupon there was a Decree made by the Privy Council, which forbid any such sort of Exercise; which reserv'd to the King the Power of appointing some Place, for the Reformed where to meet in Case of Contagion, and which order'd *Machaut*, Intendant of the Province, to prosecute *Du Cros*, and others accus'd of this New Crime: And the Intendant was authoriz'd

riz'd to give a final Sentence, from which there ſhould be no Appeal. Now they who are acquainted with the deſigns of the Council, and the Comiſſioners, to whom ſuch things are referr'd, can never queſtion but that the deſign was to reduce the Reformed, either to forbear their Exercises while thoſe Contagions continu'd; or elſe to infect one another if they would not deprive thoſe that were upon Recovery and ſuch as were ſuſpected of Infection, of the Conſolation of their publick Devotions, who both of 'em ſtood in the greateſt need of it. This Decree came forth the *30th.* of *October*, but had not authority enough to ſerve for a Regulation. 1640.

Marriage of converted Prieſts.

But there was a particular affair, and which made a great noiſe adjudg'd by the Parliament of *Paris*, the *22th.* of *Auguſt*. There was a certain Prieſt in the Dioceſs of *Nevers*, whoſe name was *Sebaſtian Tridon*, who not conforming to the *Roman* Religion, and abhorring the Tyranny of Celibacy, embrac'd the Reformed Religion, and afterwards marri'd. The Biſhop of *Nevers*, to prevent the Noiſe of this Converſion from ſpreading any further, and to brand the Prieſt with Infamy, ſet a-foot an Accuſation of Lewdneſs againſt him, and omitted nothing of Falſhood or Falſe dates, to colour the Calumny. For which reaſon the Prieſt appeal'd from the Sentence of the Biſhop, as a Secular Perſon from an Eccleſiaſtical Court, and undertook to prove the Falſhood as well of the Decree, as of the verbal Report of a pretended Lying-in of the Maid, whom he was accus'd to have debauch'd. On the other ſide, three Brothers which he had, oppos'd his Marriage, and obtain'd of the Judge of St. *Peter le Moutier*, Prohibitions to *Montunglard* the Miniſter, and all others, to proceed any farther towards the Celebration of the Marriage, as alſo to *Tridon* and *Mary Bruander*, who was betroth'd to him, to think any more of it. 'Tis true, it deeply concern'd the Brothers, as well for that by the Marriage they loſt the hopes of ſucceeding as Heirs to their Brother; as for that *Tridon* quitted ſeveral rich Benefices, by forſaking the *Roman* Religion. For it appear'd by the Proceſs, that he was in poſſeſſion of an Abby, a Canonſhip, and a conſiderable Vicaridge.

Well

1640. Well — There was an appeal from that Sentence, as also from the Proceedings of the Official; and the Cause being remov'd into the Chamber, *Tridons* Advocate insisted upon the Liberty granted by the Edict, and upon the long Toleration of several Marriages in the same Case. The Bishops Advocate, who was also for the Rest of *Tridons* adversaries, insisted chiefly upon the Vow of Priesthood, which he pretended was inviolable; and which is worthy observation, he said nothing of the Challenge, but by the by; only he told the Court that the Methods he had taken were *impertinent and false*. And at the Conclusion of his Plea, he put home to the Reformed a Point of Honour, who if they lov'd the Purity of their Religion, would never admit any to the Profession of it, but such who embrac'd it upon the Principles of Vertue, not such as became their Proselytes for love of Libertinism, and publickly abandon'd their Continency. As if, not to say any thing of the lawfulness of Marrige at present, it could be deny,d, that a man who only sought to marry for no other reason, then to find a Remedy against Incontinency in the state of Wedlock, were not visibly overrul'd by the Maxims of Vertue. And the Advocate General, *Talon*, likewise, tho' he had laid a great stress upon the Opinion of the *Roman* Church, which believes that the sacerdotal Character, such as that she deems to be imprinted by Baptism, can never be lost, nor repeated, could not forbear to second the Advocates conceit; but the Advocate pretending that Celibacy was an Apostilick Tradition, deriding as Fabulous the Story of *Paphnutius*, who in a full Council had given the Name of Chastity to Conjugal Society, according to the Relation of *Socrates*; *Talon* acknowledg'd the contrary, that Marriage and Orders were not incompatible by their Institution; and that Celibacy was only introduc'd for the sake of greater Purity; but in the main he asserted, that the Particular Articles were never enregister'd; tho' eighteen years before, his Father *James Talon* had maintain'd the contrary, and caus'd the Register to be brought into Court: That they contain'd Priviledges and Resignations, *irregular* from the common Law; which were not capable of any extended Interpretation

terpretation, but were to be expounded according to the Letter: That it was with the Liberty of Sentiments granted by the Edict, as with the Liberty of Exterior Actions, which are reduc'd into Laws of the Kingdom: That Prieſts might Embrace the Reformed Religion, but not Violate the General Laws of Celibacy, which were the Laws of the State: That there were a thouſand Inconveniences to be fear'd if they ſhould be permitted to Marry, more eſpecially, if the ſame Prieſt, after he was Marry'd, ſhould happen to return to the *Roman* Church. He cited the Decrees made upon the Marriage of the Cardinal *Chatillon*, and the *Chevalier de la Ferte Imbaut*; and to elude the Force of the long Toleration of Mariages of the ſame Nature, he would needs have it believ'd, that it proceeded from two Cauſes: Firſt, for that the Kindred of Marry'd Prieſts ſtifl'd the memory of their Crimes, for the Honour of their Families, as not being any way bound to reveal 'em. The Second was, that the Eccleſiaſticks were never eager in the Proſecution of ſuch People, which was the cauſe of their Impurity. Theſe were the Advocate General's Reaſons, which it would have been an eaſie thing to have refuted, had the other ſide been permitted to Anſwer. For the two Cauſes from whence he deduc'd the Toleration of Marriages, of the ſame Nature with *Tridons*, were notoriouſly Falſe. The Kindred having had always prevailing Reaſons to prevent 'em; and the Eccleſiaſticks never omitting any Opportunity of perſecuting thoſe Prieſts who forſook the *Roman* Church. Beſides, that outward Sentiments or Actions were ſo far from being reſtrain'd within the Bounds of the Laws of the Kingdom, by the Edicts, that quite the contrary, thoſe Edicts were only promulgated, to exempt the Reformed not only in reſpect of Sentiments, but in regard of outward Actions from the Rigor of the Common Laws as to what concern'd Conſcience. Nevertheleſs, in regard the Time for Interpreting any thing in Favour of the Reformed, was not yet come, *Parquets* Concluſions were followed in part, and the Sentence of the Judge was Confirm'd; but they order'd no General Regulation upon the Matter. However 1640.

1640. 'tis true, that a President in adjudg'd Cases, never fails to have the Force of a Regulation, especially when there is an Antipathy against the Parties against whom the Judgment is given.

Precedency adjudg'd to the Catholicks.

By a Decree of the 30*th.* of *November*, the Catholick Officers in the Court of Accompts, Aids and Finances of *Montpellier*, were adjudg'd to precede the Reformed, in all the same Cases, and with the same Expressions, as Precedencie had been adjudg'd to the Counsellors of the Chambers of *Languedoc* and *Guyenne*, by the Decrees which I have set down in another Place. So that in all the Soveraign Jurisdictions, the Reformed were despoyl'd of all the Privileges which in pursuance of the Edict, they were equally to enjoy with the Catholicks.

1641. A new decree about meeting the Sacrament.

But the next Year produc'd 'em those Vexations, of which the Consequences were no less afflictive; and the Chamber of *Castres* was the Principal Object of their Cavils. For the Decree of the 23*d.* of *October*, touching the Veneration which was to be pay'd by the Reformed to the Sacrament, and which oblig'd 'em to kneel when they met it in the Streets, having been presented to the Chamber to be regist'red, *Izarn* the Prothonotary, being backt by the Reformed Counsellors, refus'd to enroll it; *Boyer* and *Baule*'s, Consuls of the same Religion, refus'd the Publication of it. The reason of their refusal was evident enough; because the Reformed could not give that Exteriour Mark of Veneration to the Sacrament, which they did not think proper to be ador'd without doing an Injury to their Consciences. Whereupon the News of this refusal being carry'd to Court, it was there deem'd convenient to issue forth a new Decree of the second of *January*, to interpret the former. There it was Acknowledg'd that the Equivocal sence of some Expressions was the reason of their requiring the Reformed to kneel; and therefore to exempt 'em from this Injurious Compliance, it was ordain'd that both Men and Women should get out of the way upon the Tingling of the Bell; and if they could not, that they should put themselves in a Posture of respect, the Men by putting

ting off their Hats only. But to the end that this Interpretation ſhould not be thought an act of Kindneſs, there was another Decree made the ſame day, that the Prothonotary and the Conſuls ſhould be proceeded againſt, for refuſing to Regiſter and publiſh the firſt Decree, and enjoyning the Chamber to allow 'em Commiſſioners. 1641.

In Purſuance of this Decree there was an Information drawn up againſt the Parties accus'd: And when the Chamber met to conſult upon it, the Three Parties preſented two Petitions; the one in reference to what *Tzarn* had done, and the other relating to the Miſdemeanor of the Conſuls: And they deſir'd they might be read, before they enter'd into Conſultation. The Catholicks were for throwing 'em aſide without reading 'em, and arguing upon the Matter of Fact, were for committing 'em to Priſon; and ordering 'em to appear at the Chamber, and to be heard at the Bar as Criminals; that they ſhould be Iron'd; only that in favour to 'em their Irons ſhould be put on at the Chamber door, and knockt off again when they went out: And that this ſeverity ſhould be part of their Puniſhment. On the other ſide, the Reformed were for reading their Petitions which had not bin imparted to the Reporter, becauſe the Diſpute was about the Refuſal of Commiſſioners, and Cancelling the Informations: That it was but juſt to conſider whether the Commiſſioners ought to be Judges: That only contumacious Perſons were depriv'd of the Right of Refuſal, and had their Mouths ſtopp'd till they ſubmitted to Juſtice: That the Petition was according to law; nor did they inſiſt upon it out of a Spirit of Contradiction, but as forejudg'd by the Commiſſioners themſelves, who had not deſir'd the Impriſonment of the Parties; as little deſign'd by the Decree it ſelf, which was couch't in the mildeſt Terms that could be conceiv'd in ſuch a Caſe. Upon this, the Catholicks not willing to ſubmit, the Court continu'd ſtill divided; and notice was ſent of it to the Council, for them to decide the Matter. The Reformed deputed thither the Preſident *Vignoles*; but he was not well receiv'd; and the King wrote to the Reformed Counſellors, to let them underſtand, that their Deputation

Vexation of ſome Officers at *Caſtres*.

1641. was no way pleasing to him: And to exhort 'em to appear more moderate for the future, when the Dispute was about putting in Execution the Decrees of his Council and his Commands.

But for fear the Catholicks had not gain'd a Victory compleat enough, the 15*th* of *April* came forth another decree, which determining the Division of the Court, ordain'd that without taking notice of the Opinions of the Reformed, they should proceed to pass sentence upon the Parties accus'd; and forbid any Division of the Court upon that Instruction, upon Pain of being accompted Encouragers and Abettors of Disobedience. There could be nothing more unjust then this Prohibition, nor of which the Consequence could be more dangerous. For 'tis well known, that in Criminal Affairs, he that is master of the Instruction, is also Master of the Sentence which the Instruction prepares. So that the Reformed not daring to divide upon the Instruction, the Catholicks had the Liberty to expound it how they pleas'd; and their Associates being no more then Spectators of the Proceeding, had indeed no voice to give, but only in the concern of a definitive Sentence. This and Time together produc'd odd Consequences; and gave the Parlament of *Thoulouse* a great Occasion to Triumph in this particular, who thereby saw the Downfall of all the Power which the Reformed had in the Party-Chamber. There was a Necessity therefore for the Consuls to buckle under the Authority of *Caminade*, the Catholick President, who had commanded 'em to proclaim the Decree, when all the Authority of the President *Vignoles*, who forbid 'em, was not sufficient to excuse 'em. In short, they were confin'd, amerc'd a hundred and fifty Livres, order'd to beg pardon for their Disobedience to *Caminade*, as having done it rashly and erroneously, to pay the Costs and Charges of the Tryal, which the Court was to tax, to give a Declaration in writing to be regist'red, and to be suspended from the Consulship for six Months, and they were forbid during that time to be present at the Town-House, or at any publick Assemblies.

This Affair which concern'd the Chamber, was attended by

by another no leſs vexatious to the Conſiſtory; among whom it was a Cuſtom to create Tithing-men, whoſe buſineſs it was to make up the Rolls of all the Inhabitants of the City. Theſe Rolls ſerv'd for ſeveral ends; either to know whether the Number of the Reformed or Catholicks encreas'd or diminiſh'd; or to ſee by the Roll who were moſt proper to ſerve as Elders and Deacons, which were frequently chang'd in the Provinces; or to judge upon whom it was moſt proper to aſſeſs the Taxes, which were then rais'd by Authority of the Conſuls, together with the Royal Money for the Payment of the Miniſters, and for other Expences of the Churches. But the Catholicks believ'd, or at leaſt fain'd to believe, that there were greater Myſteries conceal'd under this Cuſtom. This Year therefore the Conſiſtory having given out certain Orders to the Tything-Men, they made up three Rolls, of which two contain'd the Names of the Reformed and Catholicks both together; the Third, the Names of the Reformed only. Upon this, there was ſome diſturbance made by the Catholicks, who refus'd to tell the Tithing-men their Names, and complain'd of ſome hard uſage upon their refuſal. This petty Buſineſs, having thus made way for complaints, occaſion'd a great Hurly-Burly afterwards. There were great Inquiſitions upon it, ſeveral perſons were heard; the Tithing-men, the Informers, the Miniſters, the Elders; and Monitories were alſo publiſh'd in the Cathedral Church. But all that they could gather from this exact Enquiry was, that an Order had been given by the Informer to the Tithing-men to make up a Roll within their ſeveral Precincts, of ſuch Perſons as were capable of ſupplying the Place of Elders, becauſe the Time appointed for a new Election drew near; that it was not uſual to give ſuch Commiſſions to the Tithing-men; that they were alſo intruſted with Diſtributing the leaden Tokens to ſuch as were to be at the Communion; that whether they had miſunderſtood, or whether they had receiv'd any other Orders then what appear'd, they had made uſe of the Name of the Conſuls to oblige ſuch as refus'd to tell their Names; that one of 'em being ask'd by ſome one of his Tything, whether

1641.

Moleſtation of the Conſiſtory of *Caſtres*.

1641. whether the Roll were made up in order to any Guard which they were about to appoint, an anſwer was made that Perhaps it might be ſo: That *Sillas*, a *Gaſcoin* Gentleman, who came to *Caſtres*, where he ſtay'd five or ſix days, under pretence of ſome Orders from the King and the Prince of *Condè*, had lodg'd at the Beadle's Houſe; that during his ſtay he had obtaind a *Capias* againſt a Servant of his, who as he ſaid, had robb'd him in his Lodging. It might appear by that, that theſe Rolls conceal'd no dangerous Myſteries, in regard that all the Confeſſions were Unanimous and Ingenious. Nevertheleſs there came out a Decree of the laſt of *Auguſt*, which Condemn'd the Beadle and the Tithing-men to ſeveral Penalties; forbid the Conſiſtory to make uſe of Tything men in the Execution of their Diſcipline, only with allowance to employ ſuch other Perſons as they ſhould think fitting; and not to meddle with any thing of Politick Affairs. As for the Nomination of the Tithing-men, it was reſerv'd to the Conſuls, who were order'd to appoint 'em *Party-per-pale*. And ſome there were among them who had been in that Employment for above Eighteen Years; which was a Demonſtration that the Power of appointing thoſe Officers had been a long time Veſted in the Conſiſtory. But the leaſt pretence was ſufficient to deprive the Reformed of their beſt Eſtabliſh'd Privileges.

Exerciſes & Schools prohibited.

The Reformed had Schools at *Coubè*, which were Govern'd by two Regents, *Guillamet*, otherwiſe call'd *Teſſat*, and *Champeraut*. But upon the 28*th*. of *February*, came forth a Decree of the Councel of State, which forbid the keeping of Schools in that Place, and which order'd the two Regents to appear, as if they would have made a Crime of their Profeſſion. Several Places alſo there were, where the Exerciſe of Religion was Prohibited. For Example, a Decreee of the 15*th*. of *March*, forbid the Continuance of it at *Beſſai*, becauſe it was a Catholick Lordſhip. And as for the Exerciſe that was kept at *Marevil*, it was order'd that *Villemontè*, the Intendant, ſhould inform himſelf by Deeds and Teſtimonies of the Time when it firſt began.

Another

Another of the 3d. of *April*, forbid the Reformed to assem- 1641.
ble together at *Mombaison*, whither they had remov'd their Exercises, after they were thrust out of *Tauligman*; and the same Decree forbad *Vulson de la Colombiere*, to preach in any more then one Place. 'Tis Remarkable also that the Bishop of *Valence* and *Die*, who was a perpetual Goad in the sides of the Reformed within his Diocess, set forth in the Petition upon which he obtain'd that Decree of Council, that within three leagues round *Tauligman*, there were no less then thirty four Places where the Reformed Religion was exercis'd. A great Honour for a Bishop, to have caus'd the suppression of the greatest Part. There was also a Decree at *Paris*, issu'd out of the Chamber of the Edict, whereby, after the Business had hung nine Years together in suspence, *Bournazeau*, was forbid to preach: For which the Pretence was, that the Lord was a Catholick, and Party to the Process. However, 'tis true, that the Decree reserv'd to the Reformed the Power to provide themselves of another Place without the Barony. But that was only a delusive clause which was added to their Decrees, to make People believe that they did Justice alike to both Parties: To the Lord, by freeing his Mannor from the Exercise of a Religion which was contrary to his own; and to the Reformed, by allowing 'em the Choice of another Place. But these Prohibitions were equivalent to an absoute Interdiction; for that when the Reformed demanded another Place, either it was impossible to agree upon it; or else they wrangled 'em out of it, upon the score of their Right. And if they took possession of a new Place without asking leave, they were forbid to continue their Meetings, as not having any Power to assemble without permission. The same Chamber also, after several Cavils and Decrees, forbad *Montaigu*, to preach in the absence of the Lord. And this Decree came forth the *7th.* of *September*.

Burials also afforded a world of Matter for Trouble and Vex- Burials.
ation. For the Reformed were wont to bury their Dead in a certain Place of the Diocess of *Nismes*, neer adjoyning to *Garrigues*. But the Bishop Pretended, that formerly there had

1641. had ſtood a Chappel in that Place, and to prevent the Reformed from carrying their Dead thither, he erected a Croſs upon the ſame Ground. But the Reformed being nothing terrifi'd at that, the Biſhop of his own Authority caus'd all the Bodies to be digg'd up again which had been interr'd ſince his Erecting the Croſs. After which he bethought himſelf of getting a Decree upon a Petition to the Privy Council, which forbid any more Buryings in that Place. And to render the pretence of their Prohibitions more Specious, the Biſhop caus'd a Proceſſion to be made in that Place upon the day which the Catholicks call *Corpus Chriſti* day, and ſet up a Repoſitory for the Sacrament.

Blaſphemies and Prophanations.

Blaſphemies and Prophanations were ſtill another pretence of ſeveral Vexations. For an Inhabitant of *Nanterre*, one *Mangets*, another of the ſame name beſides the Perſon of whom I have already ſpoken, was accus'd to have uttered ſome Blaſphemies. The Judge having underſtood his Duty by the Decree of the Chamber of the Edict, which had revers'd his Sentence the Year before, pronounc'd another more moderate, and condemn'd the Criminal to make an atonement for his Fault, by kneeling with his Head bare before the Auditory of *Nanterre*, and three Years baniſhment out of the Juriſdiction. This Buſineſs being remov'd to *Paris*, by an Appeal of the Party condemn'd, the Advocate General was in an ill humour at that time, and mov'd to be admitted an Appellant as from a Puniſhment that was too ſlight. Upon which the Chamber of the Edict, by a Decree of the 11*th.* of *May*, enhanſing the Penalty impos'd by the Sentence of the Judge of *Nanterre*, condemn'd *Mangets* to nine Years baniſhment out of the Provoſtſhip of *Paris*. Moreover, a certain private Perſon of *Couhè*, was condemn'd to a Fine by a Sentence of the Judge of thoſe places, upon the 10*th.* of *April*, and the Fine was diſpoſed of toward the maintaining a Light in the Parochial Church: And the pretence was the Profanation of the Church-yard, into which the ſame Perſon was accus'd for having carry'd ſome Dung, and to have ſet up Tenters to ſtretch his Serges. But all the Crime which he had Committed in that particular, without

without doubt was no more, then that being one of the Reformed, he had not obtain'd leave of the Curate by ſome preſent or ſome little Gratuity: In regard there is no Church-yard at this day, wherein the ſame Liberty is not to be had at the ſame Rate. 1641.

Offices. The Proctors alſo were perſecuted, under pretence that they had not Patents for their practice, or becauſe they were not of the ſame Religion which was therein expreſs'd. For Example, there liv'd at St. *Maixants*, one of the Reformed whoſe name was *Gaſcon*, and who was of the ſame Profeſſion. This man was envy'd by the Catholicks that liv'd by the ſame employment: And that was a common thing, in all Places where there were any Reformed Officers; becauſe they had generally more buſineſs then the others; whether it were that the old opinion of their Probity, caus'd 'em to be more confided in; or whether it were that to render themſelves more conſiderable, they ſtrove to be more exact then others. Which was the reaſon that the Reformed were more reſpected for their own ſakes, then for the ſake of their Employments. Upon this ſcore *Gaſcon* receiv'd the Money due to the Corporation, which vex'd the others, who thought there was ſomething to be got by that Employment: So that they began to think of getting him out of his Office, that he might no longer be an Eye ſore to 'em. To this purpoſe, *Hardi*, a Catholick Proctor in the ſame Court, maintain'd one day, in a Proceſs, wherein he was Proctor for the ſame ſide, that he had no right to plead at the Bar, becauſe he was not duly qualified. But this attempt not having the deſir'd Effect, the Catholicks combin'd together againſt the Reformed, and reſolv'd to exclude 'em every one from thoſe petty Employments. To which end, they thought it their beſt way to complain of 'em to the Governour, and to accuſe all the Notaries, Serjeants and Proctors of the Religion of Frauds and foul Practice: And by agreement of the ſame Aſſemby where that Reſolution was taken, they gave warning to *Gaſcon* not to meddle any more with the receipts of the Common Stock. Which affair, being at lengh, after ſeveral proſecutions remov'd to the

1641. privy Council, there came forth a Decree of the thirteenth of *December* which order'd the Parties accus'd to produce their Patents, and to juſtify their being duly qualifi'd, and if they fail'd of ſo doing, to ſtand interdicted. Which was the ſhorteſt way to deprive 'em of their Employments; for a proceſs upon an accuſation of foul Practice, would have bin tedious, and where the Informer had at leaſt bin in as much danger as the Party proſecuted: But in regard that all Patents expreſly mention'd the Profeſſion of the Catholick Religion, the Binding the Reformed who had no Licences, to to produce 'em, was to ſtrike a ſure blow. The ſame Council alſo upon the 19*th.* of *November*, had made a decree of the ſame nature, againſt *Garàemau*, who was a Proctor in the *Marſhalſea* of *Poitiers*.

Prieſts and Monks changing their Religion.

In like manner the Parlament of *Rennes* ſignaliz'd their Zeal againſt ſuch Prieſts and Monks as chang'd their Religion, by a Decree of the 13*th.* of the ſame Month. It call'd 'em Apoſtates, as if they had renounc'd their Chriſtianity; and order'd that they ſhould be ſent back to their Biſhops or their Superiours, to be puniſh'd according to the ſacred Decretals, and in the mean while, it forbid the Miniſters to marry 'em. The Decree of the Parlament of *Paris* was cited in this: a clear demonſtration that in ſuch Decrees paſſion frequently prevail'd above Judgement and Honeſty. And in one decree which made the Change of their Religion liable to Puniſhment in Prieſts and Monks, the Parlament cited another Decree, againſt which the Advocate *General* had maintaind'd that it was lawful for 'em to change.

1642. Nor did the Troubles in the Kingdom during the year 1642. nor the conſpiracy of St. *Mars*, nor the lingring ſickneſs of which the Cardinal died the 4*th.* of *December*, prevent it from being very vexatious to the Reformed. For they had geat injuſtice done 'em in reference to their Priviledges and Places of Exerciſe. They had a Church at *Vitre*, built upon a Piece of Ground which they had purchas'd themſelves, and of which the poſſeſſion was confirm'd to 'em by a peremptory Decree, in the Reign of *Henry* 4*th.* who had written to the Inhabitants by way of Exhortation, to live at

The Ancient Church of *Vitrè* pull'd down.

Peace

Peace and Unity one among another. But for all this, after the Duke of *Trimvoille* had chang'd his Religon, the Catholicks reviv'd their Old Grudges, and made new Efforts to pull down the Church, under pretence that it was too near their Mass-house. The Duke 'tis true, who left the sole Authority over his house to the Dutchess his Wife, who was very Zealous for the Reformed Religion, and who had the Courage to bring up her Son according to her own Sentiments, would have no hand in the Process, in regard the Dutchess openly protected the Reformed: But the Catholicks to the end they might have the Better success, to the Affair of Religion joyn'd certain Complaints of some Extravagancies which they pretended the Reformed had committed upon *Christmass-day* at Night. This same Misdemeanor was, that they had taken some pieces of the *Bracle*, which the Catholicks call *Holy bread*, and given it the Dogs to eat: To which they added other Requests upon several Articles; so that after long and troublesom Contentions the Privy Council made a Decree of the *24th.* of *January*, which gave the Catholicks full content. For they were order'd to allow the Reformed another place in the Suburbs, provided it were no Ecclesiastical Fief, at least three hundred foot from any Catholick Church or Chappel: That the Catholicks should assign the Ground; but that the Reformed should build the Church like the other; and that when it was finish'd, and not before, they should resign their own to the Catholicks, to be turn'd into a Townhouse, or for any other Convenient use. That the Catholicks should be reimburs'd their Advance-mony out of the common Stock; and that the perpetual Curate or Vicar should be the first in delivering his Opinion at all meetings of the Coporation, before any of the Laity; only after the Seneschal, the Seneschals Deputy, and the Lord High Justiciaries Proctor. As for the Complaints concerning the extravagancies, they were referr'd to the Parlament of *Rennes*; and the Appeal from the Sentence given by the Seneschals Deputy, who had order'd the Tombstone to be taken away from the Grave where *Mommartin* was buried, 1642.

1642. was referr'd to the Chamber of the Edict of *Paris*.

Exercises forbid at *Gex*.

The 12*th*. of *February*, came forth a Decree of Council which forbid any more Preaching in the City of *Gex*. Another of the 20*th*. of *June*, forbid as well Preaching as other Exercise, either publick or private, in the City of *Sancerre*; which City had enjoy'd an uninterrupted Exercise of their Religion ever since the Reign of *Charles* IX. It was famous for the long Siege and the Dreadful Famine which it had endur'd; and never was any Right or Priveledge more notorious or better deserv'd then Her's. Nevertheless, the Prince of *Condè*, who had purchas'd the *Signorie*, put a higher value upon the refusal of his Consent to the Continuation of their Exercises: And that was sufficient to justifie the Violation of a Priviledge confirm'd by so long a Possession. *Alard* Minister of the place, who was personally summon'd, upon his appearance was sent back with a Bundle of Prohibitions: But this was nothing in Comparison of what was adjudg'd the 21*st*. of *November*, at the same Council, in reference to the Meeting-place in *Chauvigny*. Free Exercise had been there Establish'd according to the 19*th*. Article of the Edict of *Nantes*; nor did there want any thing of Evidence to prove it. Moreover this very Place was nam'd in the Edict it self; and the Eighteenth Article contain'd these express words, *the said Exercise shall be also continu'd in the said City of* Chauvigny. Nevertheless the Council forbid any Exercises there for the Future; and the Pretence was, that *Chauvigny* was the first Barony belonging to the Bishop of *Poitiers*, and that that same preheminence of the Place had been conceal'd, when the forementiond Article was obtain'd: Tho' there be nothing more false. For there was a long Negotiation upon this Subject during the Treaty of the Edict; and the Question about particular Places, where the Reformed were desirous to preserve their Right of Exercise had given a fair Opportunity to make known at large all the Qualities and Immunities of this.

At *Sancerre*.

And at *Chauvigny*.

Upon the 30*th*. of *July* also, the Chamber of the Edict of *Paris*, made a very singular Decree upon the Subject of

of the Right of Exerciſe. *Baudovin*, an Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, was Lord of *Champroſe*, a ſmall Mannor in *Brie*. Thither he retir'd a Sundays to refreſh himſelf after his weekly Toyl at the Publick Barr, and had a Sermon preach'd before him. But that Liberty would not be allow'd him, tho' he declar'd that he never intended to ſettle any fix'd Exerciſe there. But becauſe the expreſs words of the Edict were, That a Lord abiding in one Place where he ſuffer'd preaching, might do the ſame in another of his Houſes, while he ſtay'd there, Advocate General *Talon* found out a Cavil to render that Conſideration fruitleſs to *Baudovin*; for he pretended that that Permiſſion was of no force to thoſe who were Houſe-keepers in a Town, for which there was a place of Exerciſe appointed: But only to thoſe who living in the Country, where they had free Exerciſe in one of their Houſes, went to live for ſome time in another; and as every thing was held for good Argument againſt the Reformed, this Evaſion paſs'd for ſuch. Therefore becauſe *Baudovin* was a Houſkeeper at *Paris*, he was forbid to have any Preaching at *Champroſe*, tho, at the Time that he was there himſelf; and this at the Inſtigation of no body elſe but his Curate. 1642.

Exerciſe forbid at *Quercy*.

The Parlament of *Tholouſe*, by ſeveral Decrees, among which was one of the 12*th*. of *September*, forbid preaching at St. *Cerè* in *Quercy*, becauſe it was a Mannor belonging to the Duke of *Bouillon*, who was become a Catholick. Upon which we muſt obſerve, that many Times the Exerciſes were perform'd in the Signories of Lords, without any dependance upon the Lords, becauſe the Right thereto was obtain'd by ſome Article of the Edict. But every thing was put into a General Confuſion, that Occaſions might not be wanting to moleſt the Reformed. The ſame Parlament went yet further at the beginning of the next Year, and not content to Suppreſs the Exerciſe, they diſpoſſeſs'd the Reformed of a Church-yard deliver'd to 'em by an Ordinance of the Commiſſioners appointed to ſee the Edict perform'd. For which, the Pretence was, that having loſt their Right

Cavil about a Church-yard.

of

1642. of Exercise, they had no Right of Burial. And yet there were several Places where the Reformed never pretended to any Right of Preaching, where nevertheless they were allow'd Church-yards. The reason of which was, because the Church yards were allow'd 'em, not as Places of Exercise by Vertue of any Possession, or some other Title, but only for Convenience or Necessity, when they liv'd in Places too remote from those where the Exercise was settl'd.

At St. *Savin* and *Antibe*.

They were also forbid to preach at St. *Savin*, and *Antibe*, because they were part of the Church Revenues: St. *Savin*, being comprehended in the Decree of *Chauvigni*, and *Antibe*, being the subject of another that came forth the 16*th*. of *December*, upon the Petition of *Godeau*, Bishop of *Grasse* and *Valence*. It was there also decreed that the Church-yard belonging to the Reformed should lye at a distance from the Catholicks, because the Bishop had set forth in his Petition the near Neighbourhood of those Places as a great Inconvenience, in regard that the *Bones* of the *Faithful Christians*, might happen to be intermix'd with the Bones of the Hereticks. Which was a kind of nice Precaution at too great a distance from the last Day, at what time the Divine Judgment was to make the distinction. They were also forbid to expose their Corp's in Publick, to use any Funeral Pomp, or bury 'em in the Day-time.

Distance between Church-yard and Church-yard.

Sepulchre violated.

There was one *Ann Trovè*, who had spent the greatest part of her Life in the Catholick Religion, tho' she had Marry'd her Daughter to one of the Reformed, with whom she liv'd. This Woman some-time after she had receiv'd the Communion in the *Roman* Church, fell sick at her Son-in-Law's House, dy'd without sending for the Curate or any other Ecclesiastick, and was buried in the Church-yard belonging to the Reformed at *Chaunay*. But the Catholicks would needs have it thought that she persever'd in their Religion till her Death, and that it was through the Fraud of her Son in-law, and the rest of her Reformed Kindred, that she was depriv'd of their Prayers, and of a Catholick Burial.

Burial. However, there was no other Proof then Presumption, inferr'd from her Receiving the Communion in her Parish before she fell sick. Nevertheless, the Son-in-Law was condemn'd to dig her up again, and carry her into the Catholick Church-yard at his own Charges: And because the Body did not seem to be putrifi'd, tho' it had lain about two months in the Ground, they would needs make a Miracle of it; and to hinder the Miracle from being contested, some of the Kindred were brought before the Judge, to confess, that they smelt no ill Smell that came from the Corps. Which was enough for Catholick Credulity: So that for Fear the Memory of this wonder should perish, the Forfeitures adjudg'd against those who had buri'd the Woman in the Church-yard belonging to the Reformed, was apply'd toward the making a Cross which was erected over her Grave, with an Inscription containing the whole Story. However, 'tis certain they never bethought themselves of informing the world of this Miracle till *May*; which was a long time after the thing happen'd. But that which is most observable is this, that in the Relation of this Accident, they alledge for a most convincing proof of the wonder, that the two Months, during which time the Body lay in the earth, were the sharpest and most bitter cold Months in all the Winter: As if it were such a wonder that Frost and Cold should prevent Corruption; not to speak any thing now of certain cold Grounds where Bodies will not begin to putrify till after they have lain twenty years together. 1642.

Tonnebontonne is a place within the Colloquy of St. *John d'Angely*, where Mass had not bin sung for Fourscore and five years before. But this year the Parlament of *Bourdeaux* restor'd it in that Place, by a Decree of the last of *March*. The Lords of that Manor had built up a Chappel, or as the Parlament call it, in their Decree, a *Sepulcher*, for themselves and their Family, upon the place where formerly had stood the principal Altar of the Catholick Church. That decree therefore commanded the pulling of it down, and took from the Lords whatever had belong'd to the Ecclesiasticks. Nor did it forget to condemn 'em to dig up all the

Mass restor'd at *Tonnebontonne*.

1642. the Bodies that had bin buri'd in the Sepulcher; to the Reſtitution of the Church yard, the Bells, the Curates houſe and the Alms-houſe, and to rebuild the Church; obliging the Inhabitants to contribute two thirds of the Charge; and thoſe that had a ſhare in the Tithes, the other Third: For this was the way to involve the Reformed in the Penalty of the Condemnation, in regard that almoſt all the Inhabitants were of that Number. Beſides, that the Edicts had forbid the reviving the Memory of any Acts of this Nature, and diſcharg'd the Reformed from all the Penalties upon demoliſhing of Churches before the Edict of *Nantes*. But the Parlament never looking upon that Edict as a Law to bind their Sentences, made it openly the May-game of their Paſſion and their Cavils.

Offices. The Reformed alſo who had got into ſmall Employments, were proſecuted this year, as in the Preceding; ſo that upon the 29*th*. of *April*, the privy Council ſet forth a Decree like the reſt againſt Serjeants, Notaries, Proctors and Commiſſioners of the Regiſtry. In like manner the ſame Council ſet forth another decree upon the Eleventh of *March*, which confirm'd all that had bin enjoyn'd by the Biſhop of *Poitiers* about the diſtinction of Schools for Boys and Girls; and the particular Order of the Judge of the Place, which enforc'd the Reformed to get a Licence from the Biſhop, and to ſhew it the Kings Advocate, before they began to teach.

Schools.

Blaſphemies and Prophanations. Pretended Blaſphemies and Irreverences were the Occaſion of a world of unjuſt Acts. Four young Men were accus'd of ſtealing the *Pix* upon *New years-day*, and of throwing the Conſecrated Wafers about the Church-yard. For which they were committed to the Cuſtody of the Provoſt, but they being deſirous to decline his Juriſdiction, demanded a Removal of their Enditement to ſome Chamber of the Edict. *Couchè* was the Place where the accident happen'd, which falling within the Juriſdiction of the Parlament of *Dijon*, it was there to be determin'd, as being the moſt proper Judicature. Thereupon the the Parlament ſent back the Enditement to the Provoſts, who gave Sentence of death upon

upon all four. But in regard they were only condemn'd to be hang'd, tis much to be queſtion'd whether the Court had any good Proofs of the Crime. Otherwiſe had the ſame Sacriledge bin committed by the Catholicks themſelves, they had bin broken upon the Wheel, or burnt alive. And indeed there is one Relation of the Death of thoſe poor Creatures, which might give us ſome reaſon to believe that the Puniſhment was mitigated, becauſe they chang'd their Religion. But the ſtyle of that Relation is ſo monkiſh, and it is interwoven with ſo many Characters of Falſhood, that the very reading of it is enough to perſwade a man, that the whole buſineſs was otherwiſe carry'd. For the Monk that made it repreſents thoſe poor Creatures invoking the Virgin *Mary*, before they had embrac'd the *Roman* Faith; and recounts a Miracle wrote in Favour of one of 'em, who ſeem'd inſenſible during a very painful Torture of the Rack, which he attributes to ſome motions of Devotion which the young man had for that Bleſſed Saint. But there is a contrary Relation which atteſts that thoſe poor Creatures were Innocent; that the Curate had forg'd the Crime by the foul motives of his impious Malice; that it was ſworn how they got into the Church through a hole, which it was impoſſible for a mans body to paſs through; that the Curate made the hole himſelf, that he might have ſome ground for his Accuſation; that he took away the *Pix* himſelf, and ſcatter'd the Wafers, whether conſecrated or not, about the Church-yard: Of all which things there would have bin ſufficient proofs, would the Provoſt have admitted 'em; that the Parties accus'd never confeſt any thing, or elſe what they did confeſs was extorted from 'em by the Violence of the Torment. That there was no Proof of the change of their Religion but the Teſtimony of the Monks, who beſet 'em till their Execution: Or if any of 'em were ſo weak as to promiſe it, 'twas only out of hope to ſave his Life; that they were not ſeen at their death to do any thing that ſavour'd of Catholick Devotion; nor to take any notice of their Croſſes and Beads which they continually held to their Lips. But the Monks are made up of ſuch Ca-

lumnies; and it was their uſual Courſe to brand the Reformed with ſuſpition of Sacriledge, on purpoſe to render 'em odious to the People, as will afterward appear by more then one Example.

The Lord of *Chaurai* and his Wife were accus'd of ſetting their Coach croſs the ſtreet where the proceſſion was to paſs upon *Corpus Chriſti* day. The Biſhop of *Poitiers* turn'd Informer; but the Crime which they had endeavour'd to aggravate by long Proceedings, and ſevere Informations, produc'd no more then a Decree of the 10*th.* of *May*, in the Chamber of the Edict, which condemn'd the Parties accus'd to pay the Biſhops charges, and ſummon'd 'em to the Chamber, there to receive an admonition to behave themſelves more modeſtly according to the Edicts. A Proctors Servant-Maid in *Poitiers* was accus'd of having utter'd ſeveral Blaſphemies in the Abby of *Montierneuf*, againſt the Images of the Virgin and the Saints: That is to ſay, that the ſilly Maid had inconſiderately aſſerted that they were Idols. She was convicted of Contumacy, becauſe ſhe had avoided Impriſonment by Flight: And upon that, ſentenc'd to undergo the *Amende Honourable*, to have her Tongue bor'd, and to perpetual Baniſhment out of the Province of *Poitou*; which Sentence was excuted upon her in *Effigie*.

The Biſhop of *Mompellier* and *Valence* were Conſervators of the Priviledges of the Univerſities of both thoſe Cites. The Biſhop of *Valence*, after ſeveral Decrees, and a long Suit between him and the Members of the Univerſity, came to an agreement with 'em, in purſuance of which he drew up Regulations, of which the chiefeſt was to exclude the Reformed from all Dignities. The Purport of thoſe Statutes was, that high Maſs ſhould be ſaid every *Sunday*, at which the Rectors, Doctors, Regents, Scholars, Undergraduates, and Strangers admitted into the Society ſhould be preſent; that the Biſhop, who is alſo Chancellor of the Univerſity, ſhould preſide at all the Acts: That the Vice-Chancellor and Rector ſhould be Prieſts, or at leaſt Clerks; and that they ſhould take their Oaths Bare headed and upon their Knees.

Books

Books also had their share of Catholick Severity. For *du Moulin* had publish'd a small Piece entituled, *The Capuchin*. Wherein he ridicul'd that Institution, which dazl'd the Catholicks with such an outside of Zeal. Thereupon with great Fervency they prosecuted the Condemnation of this Book: And the Chamber of *Castres* being divided upon this Occasion, that Division was determin'd upon the third of *April*, and the Book was condemn'd to be burnt. The Parlament of *Bourdeaux* also order'd the same Execution the 3*d*. of *May*. This very Book was also burnt at *Poitiers* the 12*th*. of *December*, by order of the Seneschal, together with another Book, entituled *The Capuchins Journal*.

Books prosecuted.

I have already told ye, that the Prince of *Conde* purchas'd *Sancerre*, and that he had suppress'd the Exercise in that Place: But his Zeal stop'd not at so small a thing. He caus'd a Decree of Council to be set forth, which forbid Burials in the Day time; all manner of Funeral Pomp; the Exposing of the Bodies before the Doors of their Houses; Nor to misuse the Catholicks in word or deed, nor any of the *New Converts*, nor those who had a desire to change their Profession, under the penalty of corporal Punishment. It was further ordain'd, that no Souldiers should be quarter'd in Catholick Houses, till the Reformed had had their full share, and that the charges of such Quarter, and all other Municipal Expences, should be levy'd upon the Reformed. That the Taxes should be rated by three Catholicks and one Reformed; but that they should be collected by three Reformed and one Catholick; that the Reformed Assessor and Collectors should be chosen by the Reformed; and the Catholick, by the Catholicks. So that every thing was so order'd, that the Catholicks, who were not the tenth part of the Inhabitants, were the Masters of the Rest, and might at their Discretion command the Estates and Liberties of others: And 'tis thought that some Personal Resentments transported the Duke to these unjust Revenges.

Death of the Cardinal.

But the Cardinal's Death, and the crazy Condition of the King caus'd a kind of Cessation of all manner of Business, the whole Government being intent upon the Change that

was like to happen so suddenly in the Kingdom. For which reason the Reformed had a little Breathing time: For I find but one Peremptory Decree of the Privy Council of the 3*d.* of *March*, in Confirmation of another obtain'd by the Bishop of *Luson* upon a Petition the 20*th* of the Preceding *May*, which sentenc'd *Gagemont*, according to his own voluntary Offers, to make his Excuses to the *Vicar* of St. *Hilaire de Melle*, to consign fifty Franks into the Bishops Hands, and pay him the Costs and Charges of the Suit for not alighting nor putting off his hat, upon his Meeting the Sacrament.

Fuzil, Curate of St. *Berthelemi* at *Paris*, being retir'd to *Geneva* in 1614, was there married. His Children after his death, went into *France*, to sue for the Payment of a Sum of Money due to their Father for the Sale of an Inheritance six years before his Retirement. But their Kindred by the Fathers side refusing to acknowledge 'em for lawful Heirs, tho' born in Wedlock, and in a Country where it was lawful for Priests to marry, the Advocate General undertook the cause of the Kindred, and in the Chamber of the Edict, upon the 25*th.* of *February*, obtain'd a Sentence, that the Children as Bastards in *France* could not have the Benefit of Succession.

The fifth of *March* a Decree was issu'd out at *Bourdeaux* against the Priviledges of the Party-Chamber. A certain Recollect of the Mission of *Bergerac*, went to Visit, at *Sigoules*, the Lady of *Moulard*, pretending he had bin sent for by her Order, being at that time sick. In the nick of time, in comes *Belloi*, the Minister of the Place, and opposes the Monks Design. Upon which the Monk complain'd, that Violence had bin offer'd him, and obtain'd a *Capias* against the Minister, who apply'd himself to the Party Chamber. Now this was a cause purely within the verge of that Chamber. But the Advocate General interpos'd and caus'd the Parlament to send for the Cause, who gave him leave to pursue the Execution of the Decree.

But the Kings death, which happen'd in *May*, prevented him from any farther improving his powerful Zeal against the

the Reformed. But to ſhew that he was ſtill the ſame to his laſt Gaſp, he could not dye till he had exhorted with his own trembling Lips, the Marſhals *La Force* and *Chaſtillon* to turn Catholicks. However, he had the not Pleaſure to ſee extinguiſh'd the Party which he had brought low: For Providence reſerv'd that ſatisfaction for *Lewis* XIV*th.* who ſucceeded him.

The End of the Second Volume.

A COLLECTION OF EDICTS, DECLARATIONS, AND Other PIECES:

Serving for Proofs of the Second Part of the History of the EDICT of *NANTES*.

A Declaration of the King upon the Edict of Pacification, given at Paris, May 22. 1610. *and verified the third of* June *the ſame Year.*

LEwis, by the Grace of God King of *France* and *Navarr*, to all to whom theſe Preſent Letters ſhall come, Greeting. Since the unfortunate and deteſtable Aſſaſſination of our thrice Honour'd Lord and Father laſt Deceaſed, whom God Abſolve, the Queen Regent, our thrice honour'd Lady and Mother, tho' continually with Tears in her Eyes, and Grief in her Heart, nevertheleſs has not forborn with inceſſant Labour, and with great Magnanimity and Prudence, to prevent that fatal Accident from doing any Prejudice to our Perſon and Dignity, or to our Kingdom or Subjects, holding her ſelf bound to this Duty, not only by the natural Affection which ſhe bears us, but alſo becauſe of her having been declar'd

declar'd Regent, and under that Character being entrusted with the Care and Administration of the Affairs of the Kingdom, by the Votes and Suffrages of the Princes of the Blood, and the rest of the Princes, Prelates, Peers, Principal Officers of the Crown, and Members of our Parlament Assembl'd therein, we keeping there our Throne of Justice, wherein her Pains prov'd so successful, and the Affection of our Subjects who were then about us, as also of the Inhabitants of our good City of *Paris*, was so great and sincere toward us, that we can desire nothing more from their Obedience and Fidelity, nor from the good and prudent Conduct of the Queen Regent, our aforesaid thrice honour'd Lady and Mother. Being also inform'd by Intelligence, that comes to us every day, that in all other Places and Parts of our Kingdom, all our Subjects as well Catholicks, as of the pretended Reformed Religion, of all Qualities, make it their Business out of a laudable Emulation, to outvye each other in readiness to Obedience, in Actions and Behaviour which give some Testimony of their Fidelity and Duty; for which we have great occasion to bless God, and to hope that as he has been pleas'd to preserve this Kingdom from imminent Dangers, so as to make it flourish for so many Ages, so he will take into his Protection our youthful Years, and grant us leisure to grow up in Piety and Vertue, to the end we may one day employ the Grandeur, to which he has rais'd us, to his Honour and Glory. Which with all our Hearts we implore him to vouchsafe us, and to inspire us always with Councils requisite and necessary for the well governing our Subjects in his Fear, and causing them to live in Peace, Union, and Amity one with another; as being the true Foundation, upon which next after God, depends the Safety and Preservation of the Kingdom. Experience having tanght the Kings our Predecessors, that the Fury and Violence of Arms had been always, not only of no effect to reduce their Subjects, who were gone astray, into the Bosom of the Catholick, Apostolick and *Roman* Church, but rather extreamly prejudicial; which was the Reason that being swaid by more happy Councils they had recourse to Mildness, in granting them the Exercise of the pretended Reformed Religion, of which they made Profession. By whose Example led, the Deceased King, our thrice Honour'd Lord and Father, made the Edict of *Nantes*, for the Reconciling of all his Subjects together. The Observation of which Edict, together with the Regulations made in consequence of it, settled such an assured repose among 'em as has lasted ever since without Interruption. By means of which, although that Edict be perpetual and irrevocable, and consequently has no need of being confirm'd by a New Declaration; nevertheless to the end our Subjects may be assur'd of our good Will, and that our Intention and pleasure is inviolably to observe that Edict, made for the good and repose of our Subjects,

jects, as well Catholicks, as of the pretended Reformed Religion.

Therefore we Declare, That this Affair having been debated in our Presence by the Queen Regent, our thrice Honour'd Lady and Mother, we have by the Advice of Her, the Princes of our Blood, other Princes, Dukes, Peers, Officers of our Crown, and several eminent Persons of our Council, said and ordain'd, say and ordain, and it is our Will and Pleasure, That the said Edict of *Nantes*, in all the Points and Articles of it, together with the rest of the Articles to them granted, and the Regulations made, and Decrees set forth upon the Interpretation, or Execution of the said Edict, and in consequence of it, shall be inviolably upheld and observ'd, and the infringers shall be severely punish'd as Disturbers of the Publick Tranquillity. To which Effect, we enjoyn all our Officers to be seduloully assisting, under the Penalty of being responsible, and being punish'd for their Negligence with the same Rigour, as the Disobedience of those that shall offer to Violate it.

In like manner, we command our Beloved and Trusty People holding our Court of Parlament in *Paris*, that these Presents may be Read, Publish'd and Register'd, and the Contents thereof to keep, maintain, and observe Point by Point, according to their Form and Tenour, without suffering or permitting any Breach thereof in any manner whatever: In Testimony whereof, we have caused our Seals to be affix'd to these Presents.

Given at *Paris*, *May* 22. in the Year of Grace, 1610. and of our Reign the First,

Louis.

And upon the Folding of the Paper.

By the King, the Queen Regent being Present,

De Lominie.

Seal'd with the great Seal of the said Lord, upon a double Label.

Also written upon the side of the said Folding.

Read, Publish'd and Register'd, heard by, and Consenting and Requesting the Kings Advocate General. And Order'd that compar'd Copies shall be sent to the Bayliwicks and Seneschalships, to be there also Read, Publish'd and Register'd, with all speed by the Advocate General's Substitutes, who are enjoyn'd to Certifie the Court of their doing it this Month. At *Paris* in Parliament, *June* 3. 1610.

Signed, *Tillet.*

A General Regulation, drawn up in the Aſſembly General of the Reformed Churches of France, *held at* Saumur, *by the King's Permiſſion in the Year*, 1611.

IN every Province there ſhall be a Council eſtabliſhed, to Conſult about the Affairs of the Church within the Province.

Which Councils ſhall be continu'd and chang'd every two Years, either all or in part, at the Diſcretion of the Provincial Aſſembly: Which Aſſembly ſhall chooſe out of the Gentlemen, Paſtors and third Eſtate, Perſons well known to all the Province for their Piety, Probity, Capacity and Experience; the number of thoſe that are to be employ'd, out of every one of the ſaid Ranks or Degrees, being to remain at the Diſcretion of the Provinces.

The Council ſhall Name the Place, and the Perſons to whom Advices ſhall be directed, whether General Deputies, or of the Province.

When a General Aſſembly is to be call'd, the Council ſhall give notice to all the Churches, either one by one, or by way of Colloquies, according to the Method obſerv'd in every one of the Provinces, to Aſſemble at a certain day, and ſend thither their Deputies, either by the Appointment of Churches or Colloquies.

To which purpoſe the Elders of each Conſiſtory, ſhall be careful to give notice to all the Principal Members of their Churches to meet upon a certain Sunday at Sermon; at the Concluſion of which the Miniſters ſhall give notice to the Houſe-keepers to ſtay in Order to Conſult about Affairs of the Church which concern 'em.

By the Advice of which Houſe-keepers, ſuch a number of Perſons ſhall be deputed from every Church to meet in the Aſſembly of the Colloquy, according to the Method obſerv'd as above mention'd, as ſhall be choſen by Plurality of Voices, provided there be a mixture of Gentlemen, Miniſters, and Men of the third Eſtate, as far as is poſſible to be done.

The ſaid Provincial Aſſemblies ſhall Debate and Argue by Heads, unleſs any Church requires that they ſhall argue by Churches; or that in Places, where the Aſſembly meets by Deputation of Colloquies, ſome Colloquy requires that Judgment ſhould be given by Colloquies.

No Man ſhall be admitted into the ſaid Provincial Aſſemblies, unleſs he have a Call, or be employ'd in Meſſages.

The Kings Officers and other Magiſtrates may be preſent in the ſaid Provincial Aſſemblies, when they ſhall be call'd by the Method above preſcrib'd, and ſhall ſit with the Nobility, or with the third Eſtate, according to their Quality,

ty, unleſs they ſhall be admitted to make an Order apart.

The Preſidents that are to preſide in the ſaid Provincial Aſſemblies, ſhall be choſen out of the Nobility by Plurality of Voices.

There ſhall not be above five Deputies at moſt, ſent by the Provincial to the General Aſſembly, and three ſhall be the leaſt; which ſhall be choſen, ſuch as are the moſt able Perſons in that Aſſembly, out of the Gentlemen, Miniſters and third Eſtate, as far as may be done.

The Councils compos'd as above, in every Province ſhall be entruſted with the following Functions, and over-ſight of Affairs.

To diſperſe the Intelligence which they receive from the General Deputies at Court, or from the Provinces adjoining, or other Places, to all the Churches and Places of the Province, or to ſuch a Governour, Captain, or other Perſon as need requires.

Alſo if the Intelligence reach farther then the Province, whether it be the general concern of all, or the particular Buſineſs of ſome other neighbouring Province, to give notice by an expreſs and without delay.

And to the end, this Communication of Intelligence may not prove ineffectual for want of Diligence, the Contiguous Provinces ſhall take care reſpectively for the diſtributing the Intelligence from one to another, to the end they may be ſent by the ſhorteſt way, from what part ſoever they come. To which purpoſe there ſhall be a Fund depoſited in the Hands of one of the Council of every Province, amounting to about a hunder'd and fifty Livres, to defray the Expences of the ſaid Diſpatches, and to reimburſe thoſe that ſhall have laid out any Money; and the Deputies of the ſaid Contiguous Provinces ſhall conter together, to reſolve what to do upon this Order before they depart.

If the Intelligence receiv'd by the Council be ſuch, that they can look after it alone, they ſhall do it ſpeedily and without delay: If not, 'tis left to their Prudence and their Judgment to Conſult the Advice of ſuch Perſons, as they ſhall think convenient, as the Caſe requires, to call to their Aſſiſtance.

For Example, in Caſe of any, notable Breach of the Edict, Sedition, Tumult, attempt upon any Place, or ſuch other Intelligence of Importance, the ſatisfaction for which was neglected, or requir'd a more vigorous Proſecution, they may require ſuch of the Neighbouring Counties, which they think moſt proper to aſſiſt 'em with three of their Counſellors at the leaſt, who upon the firſt Summons ſhall be bound to Meet, in ſuch a Place as the injur'd Province ſhall Aſſign, one or more of their Council to Conſult together and find out all the good and lawful means to get Reparation for the ſaid Breaches in the Province endammag'd; and to make it their own Cauſe and Buſineſs, as much as the injur'd Province did. Which if they ſhall not be ſufficient to go through withall, it ſhall be left to the Prudence

of thoſe Provinces, jointly with the Deputies of their Councils, to adviſe, whether it be needful to give notice to all the reſt of the Provinces, and to Aſſign a place where to Meet the Deputies, in Order to the unanimous Proſecution of that Affair.

All which is moſt conformable to the General Union of the Churches of the Kingdom, which obliges 'em to a mutual Reſentment of their Grievances: So that one Province grievouſly injur'd may not have recourſe of it ſelf to violent Remedies, as it were by way of Repriſal, or to ſome other ſort of Revenge, whereby they may be hurried, and conſequently all the reſt of the Churches, to extremities, but may partly be reſtrain'd by the Prudence of their Councils within the bounds of Moderation, and partly fortifi'd by their ſupport, for the obtaining of Juſtice, and Reparation of their wrongs.

The ſame Method ſhall be obſerv'd, in Caſe that any one profeſſing the Religion, ſhall attempt any thing raſhly, and with a Call, to the prejudice of the publick Tranquillity.

The ſaid Deputies of the Council of the Provinces ſhall have a regard to the Kings Service and the Preſervation of the Churches, that the Places committed to the Cuſtody of thoſe of the Religion may be kept in a good Condition, and that the Governours and Captains, with whom they are entruſted, do their Duty.

And to that purpoſe the ſaid Governours and Captains are admoniſh'd, not to take it ill, if the ſaid Councils from time to time depute Perſonages capacitated among 'em, or elſe out of the Province to viſit the ſaid Places and Garriſons, to the end they may give an accompt to the Province. In which Viſitation they ſhall take care that all their Souldiers, for Aſſurance of that Fidelity, which is principally required from 'em, ſhall be well known to be of the Religion, and that they may not be liſted out of the Original Inhabitants of thoſe Cities or Suburbs, till there be a Neceſſity of new Reinforcements. Which the aforeſaid Governours and Captains are requir'd to obſerve.

And becauſe great abuſes have formerly been committed, by Reaſon of the great number of Souldiers, which might or ought to have been entertain'd in the ſaid Places, which conſidering the incertainty of theſe times, might have brought upon us inconveniences paſt repair, the ſaid Governours and Captains are reqnir'd, for the Service of the King, the Peace of his Subjects of the Religion, the diſcharge of their Honour and Conſciences, and the freeing themſelves from that blame, which otherwiſe they may incurr, to conform to that which follows.

That is to ſay, that of the ſumm as well charg'd upon the Publick Accompt as payable in ready Money, they take a third part clear, and diſingag'd from all charges, and that for the two other third parts, they conſent to give the Acquittances

quittances into the hands of ſuch Perſon as ſhall be appointed by the Council of the Province, who ſhall receive the Money and pay the Souldiers by Bill of Exchange, and ſatisfie all other charges; as well of the Garriſon as of the Place.

By the way, 'tis to be underſtood that out of the two thirds, there are to be paid the Governors Lieutenant, if he have any, the Captains and Souldiers according to the Agreements order'd by the Governours and Captains, the Serjeant Major, the Drummers, the Canoneers, and other neceſſary Officers; alſo for, Wood and Candles for the Corps du Guard, where the Inhabitants of the Cities find none; Matts, Bedding, Riggs, new Arms, repair of the Watch-Towers, Bridges, Barriers, Palliſado's, and new Carriages for the great Guns, when the Council of the Province think it convenient, and are able to do it without too much prejudice to the ordinary Garriſon.

And becauſe it ſhall be the care of the ſaid Council, or of thoſe whom they ſhall appoint for that purpoſe, to make an eſtimate, as neer the Truth as may be, of what the Annual Charges may amount to, to the end there may be a Fund ſtill ready, and not to put upon the Governours and Captains more Men then they are able to bear: and of all that Adminiſtration there ſhall be an account given to the ſaid Council, as alſo of the Charge that ſhall be laid upon the ſaid two thirds in the preſence of the Governor; nor ſhall the ſaid extraordinary charges above mentioned exceed a third or fourth of the ſaid two third parts for every Year.

If any Fund be given by their Majeſties for the Reparations and Fortifications of the ſaid Places, the ſaid Governour ſhall Order, how the Money ſhall be laid out, as having more intereſt in what it ought to be moſt properly employ'd, and beſt Judges of what is moſt neceſſary. Nevertheleſs the Commiſſioners of the Council ſhall have an Inſpection into it, to the end the Diſpoſals, Proclamations, Adjudications, and Abatements may be duly made, and without Monopolizing, and that the Buſineſs may be done as they deſire. Or if the Fund be otherwiſe rais'd for the ſaid Reparations, it ſhall be manag'd by him whom the Council ſhall appoint, who in the Preſence of the Governour ſhall give an Accompt to the Council.

Where there ſhall be publick Magazines they ſhall take care, that the Corn, Wine and other Proviſions, without any prejudice to the Kings Officers, be ſupply'd in Time and Seaſon, to the end they may not be empty. Alſo that the Powder, Match, and other periſhable Ammunition may be dry'd, refreſh'd, and reground, with as much good Husbandry as may be. And in a Word, the Governours are exhorted not to take in ill part the care which the Deputies of the Council ſhall take, as to what concerns the Preſervation of the ſaid

Places,

Places, and to give all Aſſiſtance and Encouragement to thoſe that ſhall be ſent by 'em.

The ſaid Deputies of the Council ſhall labour, in purſuance of the ſtrict Union which ought to be between thoſe of the Religion, by all amicable means, as far as in 'em lies, either by their own Pains, or the Mediation of proper Perſons to prevent and reconcile all Suits, Quarrels, Animoſities, that may ariſe upon any occaſion whatever.

If any of the Captains, or Governors of Places happen to dye, they ſhall endeavour that the Regulation, which their Majeſties have been pleas'd to grant their Subjects, may be exactly obſerv'd in all the Circumſtances of it.

The Provinces and their Councils ſhall hold a ſtrict Correſpondence with their Neighbours, and to the end they may be the better able to keep it up, they ſhall be careful to cauſe their Deputies to Meet at the Provincial Aſſemblies.

And for the General Correſpondence between the whole Body, they ſhall take and receive it from the General Aſſembly, ſo long as it ſhall ſit by the Kings Permiſſion; but that, breaking up, they ſhall have recourſe to the General Deputies, reſiding near their Majeſties, in Order to the Church Affairs.

And for the upholding a Neceſſary Union between all the Churches, they ſhall meet every Year at a certain Time and Place, and appoint one of the Council of every Province to be there exactly. To which purpoſe the Aſſembly, at their breaking up, ſhall appoint the Council that ought to nominate the Day and Place for the firſt Year: which ſhall take care to appoint the moſt commodious Time for the Meeting, with the leaſt Noiſe and Buſtle, and to render it the moſt Beneficial that may be to the Conjuncture of Affairs. Thoſe few Days of Conference will ſoder their Union, revive the common Reſentment of their Intereſts, and inform one another of their preſent Condition.

Done, and Decreed at the General Aſſembly of the Reformed Churches of *France*, held at *Saumur* by the Kings Permiſſion, *Auguſt* 29. 1611.

Anſwer to the Writing of the Aſſembly of *Saumur*, upon the 52. and 53. Article.

Writing of the Aſſembly of Saumur. 1611.

THE *Deceaſed King* Henry *having formerly declared his Will and*

I. THE Deputies of the Reformed Churches of *France* Aſſem-

and Pleaſure upon a demand of the ſame Nature in his Anſwer to the Writing, March 23. 1602. *viz. That what had been alter'd in the ſaid Edict, and the Private Articles, which was but a very ſmall matter, had been done for the general good, and to facilitate the Execution of it, and alſo with the Conſent of the Principal of the ſaid pretended Reformed Religion, who were call'd to the Conſultations about it: which was likewiſe accepted and executed at their Inſtances and Sollicitation: Therefore the King at preſent Reigning, deſiring to inform himſelf to the good and Pious Reſolutions of the Deceaſed King his Father, is pleas'd, and his meaning is, that they ſhould be content with the Edict in the form, as it is verified in his Soveraign Courts, and as it was ſince been executed.*

Aſſembl'd at *Saumur* by the Kings Permiſſion, continuing their moſt humble Remonſtrances, Petitions and Supplications preſented from Time to Time upon ſeveral occaſions by the ſaid Churches, ſince the Year 98. moſt humbly ſupplicate his Majeſty, that they may fully enjoy the whole Contents of the Edict, which it pleas'd the Deceaſed King *Henry* the Great of bleſſed Memory, to Grant and Sign after a long and ſolemn Treaty, by the Advice of the Princes of the Blood, the reſt of the Princes, and Officers of the Crown, and other great and eminent Perſons in his Council of State; and in the ſame form as it was drawn up at *Nantes*, and accepted by their Deputies in the ſaid Year 98. and Preſented to the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, and not according to the Form, as it was verified by the ſaid Court, as having been alter'd and par'd in ſeveral Articles of great Importance, without the Conſent of the ſaid Churches; who ſeveral times ſince, but more eſpecially by their Deputies ſent to his Majeſty at the City of *Blois*, in the Year 99. and by the Writings drawn up by the Aſſembly at *Sainte Foi* in 1601. and anſwer'd in *March* and *Auguſt* 1602. have declar'd that they cannot reſt ſatisfi'd with the ſaid verified Edict, and humbly therefore ſupplicate his Majeſty to reſtore and eſtabliſh that which was granted 'em before.

II. They likewiſe ſupplicate his Majeſty, that they may enjoy the full Contents of the Particular Articles, granted together with their

As Edict

Edict of *Nantes*, as they were drawn up and diſpatched in the Year 98. reſtoring the Retrenchments that were made at the Verification.

III. To cauſe the ſaid Edict and Private Articles, to be veriſi'd and regiſter'd according to the Form above mention'd in all the Parliaments, Courts of Aid, Chambers of Accompts, and other Soveraign Courts of the Kingdom, to the end they may be afterwards regiſter'd in all Bailiwicks and Seneſchalſhips.

As to what ſhall be found not to have been executed, tho' ſet down in the Edict of Nantes, *verifi'd in the Soveraign Courts, Commiſſioners ſhall be Named by his Majeſty to ſee that the ſaid Execution be better perform'd: the one a Catholick, the other of the ſaid Religion; and in Caſe the ſaid Execution be left to the Bailiffs and Seneſchals, or their Lieutenants, they ſhall take an Aſſociate of the ſame Religion, according to the Anſwer given to the Writing anſwer'd in* Auguſt 1602.

IV. That for the Execution thereof, when it ſhall be neceſſary, and requir'd by the ſaid Religion, that two Commiſſioners be appointed by his Majeſty out of every Province, the one a Catholick, the other to be nominated by thoſe of the Province: if thoſe of the Religion think it not more Convenient to leave the Execution of it to the Bailiffs and Seneſchals or their Deputies. Who according to the Anſwer return'd to the ſecond Article of the Writing anſwer'd in *Auguſt* 1602. ſhall be bound to take an Aſſociate of the ſame Religion, who ſhall be nominated by thoſe of the ſaid Religion within the ſaid Bailiwicks and Seneſchalſhips.

Nothing may be alter'd in the VIIth. Article of the Edict of Nantes, *which it is his Majeſties Meaning and Pleaſure ſhall be obſerv'd.*

V. That according to the *VIIth.* Article of the Edict, which permits all Lords of High Juriſdiction to ſettle the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion, within the extent of their High Juriſdictions, it ſhall be lawful for the Communities of the ſaid Churches to eſtabliſh the ſaid exerciſe within the Fiefs and High

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Juriſdictions that belong to 'em, or which they may hereafter purchaſe.

The IX. and *X. Article of the Edict ſhall be upheld and obſerv'd.*

VI. That the ſaid Exerciſe may be continu'd according to the IX. and X. Articles of the Edict, in all Places where it was in the Years 77. and 97. in ſuch Manner as it was then obſerv'd, even by the Authority inherent in the Juriſdiction, tho' the Lord of the Manor may have afterwards chang'd his Religion; or that the Lordſhip may be fallen into the Poſſeſſion of a Catholick, thô an Eccleſiaſtick, and that it may be reſtor'd, where it has been taken away for thoſe Reaſons.

The Commiſſioners, who ſhall be ſent into the Provinces ſhall have Inſtructions to inform themſelves, whether the Exerciſes of the ſaid Religion had been ſettl'd in the ſaid Places for ſo many Years, and why they were not reſtor'd, that ſuch courſe may be taken as ſhall be according to Reaſon.

VII. And for as much as by Vertue of the X. Article the ſaid Service ought to be reſtor'd in *Reols*, *Port Sainte Marie Lauſerte*, *Sainte Baſville*, and others of the ſame Nature, where it was ſettl'd in *September* 1577. and for that becauſe of the long Diſcontinuance, and other Inconveniences, it would be a difficult thing to reſtore it without ſome danger of a Sedition, therefore that his Majeſty would be pleas'd inſtead of thoſe Places to grant 'em others, to be appointed by the Synods and Colloquies of the Province, for the removal of their exerciſe thither.

The King cannot allow the Petitioners to take any other Title upon 'em, then that which was giv'n 'em by the Edicts: Therefore his Majeſty Orders that in all Publick Acts, they ſhall uſe the Terms expreſt in the Edict of Nantes, *as is ſet down in the Anſwer given to the II. Article*

VIII. That they of the ſaid Religion may not be conſtrain'd in any Acts either Publick or Private, by Writing or otherwiſe, to ſtile themſelves of the pretended Reformed Religion.

ticle of the Writing anſwer'd April 8. 1609.

The Deceaſed King having declar'd by his Letters Patents, dated July 5. 1604. *that the ſaid Miniſters ſhould not be comprehended in Taxes or other Impoſitions upon their moveable Goods, their Penſions and Salaries, but only for their proper Eſtates: 'Tis his Majeſties Pleaſure, that they enjoy the Contents of the ſaid Letters, Patents: and ſtrictly forbids all Aſſeſſors of Pariſhes to rate 'em upon thoſe Accompts; and in reſpect of their proper Goods not to ſurcharge 'em, as they will anſwer for it in their own proper Perſons: of which the Elu's ſhall take Care under the ſame Penalties.*

IX. That the Miniſters of the ſaid Religion may enjoy, as to the Impoſition of Taxes, Loans, Aids, Duties upon Salt, and all other Subſidies, as well ordinary as extraordinary, the ſame Exemption which the Eccleſiaſticks of the Kingdom enjoy.

The XVI. Article ſhall be obſerv'd, and Orders are given to that Purpoſe to the Commiſſioners deputed to ſee that they of the ſaid Religion enjoy the Benefit of it, by certifying the Loſs of the Deeds and Poſſeſſions, which they held in thoſe Places.

X. That by the XV. Article of the Edict, all the Towns and Places, belonging to the Communities of thoſe of the ſaid Religion, as alſo thoſe for the Interment of their Dead, may be reſtor'd 'em. And where they cannot by Authentick Titles, juſtifie their Propriety to 'em, that the only Proof of having formerly enjoy'd 'em may ſuffice for their being reſtor'd to the Poſſeſſion of 'em, in regard the ſaid Deeds were loſt during and by Reaſon of the Troubles.

The XVII. Article of the ſaid Edict ſhall be exactly obſerv'd, and in purſuance of it, all Preachers, Readers, and others who ſpeak in publick, are injoyn'd not to uſe any Words or Diſcourſes tending to excite the People to Sedition and Animoſities one againſt the other, but to Curb and Behave themſelves modeſtly, and to ſay nothing but what tends

XI. That his Majeſty would be pleaſed according to the XVII. Article of the Edict to inflict exemplary Puniſhment upon Preachers, Confeſſors and other Eccleſiaſticks, who move the People to Sedition; Blaming and Forbidding all Society, Acquaintance and Communication with thoſe of the ſaid Religion, forbidding people

...nds to the Inſtruction and Edification of their Hearers, and to preſerve the publick Repoſe and Tranquility under the Penalties mentioned in the Edict.

people to employ, aſſiſt, ſerve 'em, or nurſe their little Children, by teaching that all who frequent their Company are damn'd: And where ſuch Preachers and Confeſſors ſhall abſent themſelves before they can be impleaded, that the Biſhops, Curates and others their Superiours, by whom they were introduc'd may be reſponſable for 'em: Enjoyning the Advocates General and their Subſtitutes to be aſſiſting, upon pain of being anſwerable for it in their own Names and Perſons, and upon Penalty of being depriv'd of their Offices.

The XX. Article of the Edict ſhall be obſerv'd: And Enquiry ſhall be made after thoſe that ſhall diſobey, not by the Officers of Juſtice, wherein the Curates ſhall not preſume to be Parties.

XII. And for as much as the Multiplicity of Holy days, and the Obſervation of New ones occaſion ſeveral diſorders, therefore that in ſuch places where thoſe of the Religion ſhall require it, that there may be a certain Regulation made as to the Number of the ſaid Holy-days, by the Commiſſioners executing the ſaid Edict, and that the Curates may not be permitted to be accuſers for the non-obſervance of 'em, nor the Provoſt Marſhals, their Lieutenants, Archers or other Officers of the Watch, nor the Serjeants without expreſs warrant and command of the Judges of the Place.

The XVII Article of the Edict ſhall be obſerved.

XIII. That according to the XVII. Article of the Edict, none of thoſe of the ſaid Religion may be depriv'd of the Dignities and Employment of which they are in poſſeſſion, whether they made profeſſion of it before or after they were preferr'd: and where any of 'em

The Church-Yards order'd 'em by the Commissioners, who have formerly executed the Edict shall remain in the Petitioners Possession; and if upon any Occasion they be taken from 'em, they shall be allow'd others by the Commissioners ordain'd by his Majesty.

The Answer given to the XXII. Article of the Writing answer'd the last of August, 1602. *shall be observ'd: And to that purpose his Majesty ordains, that convenient Burying-Places shall be allow'd those of the Religion, by the Commissioners and Officers of those Quarters, in publick Places belonging to his Majesty, or else to the Bodies of Cities, Burroughs and Villages or Communities; or for defect of such Places, the said Bodies and Communities shall be bound to purchase other, toward which those of the Religion shall contribute their Proportion like the Rest.*

Those Burials were order'd in the Night time to avoid Commotions and Tumults, and for the greater Security of those of the Religion who attended the Corps. But if there be any Places where they can bury by Day light, without disturbing the Peace of the Inhabitants, Orders shall be given to the Commissioners about it.

The King cannot allow that the Gentlemen of the said Religion, and others were depriv'd without observing the Usual Forms, that they may be restor'd; more especially such as were provided of Governments, and Captains Places.

XIV. That all Church-Yards, that have been enjoy'd since the Verification of the last Edict, and the Execution of it, may remain in their Possession, and that they may not be taken from 'em upon any Occasion whatever.

XV. That in pursuance of the Regulations formerly made; more especially by the Answer to the XXII. Article of the Writing answered in *August*, 1602. all the Royal and Inferiour Judges may be enjoyn'd to allow a Convenient Place, for the Burial of their dead, to those of the Religion, in some publick Place belonging to the King, or to the Communities of the said Cities, Burroughs and Villages: and where there are no such places, that they may be purchas'd at the Common Expences of all the Inhabitants of the Parish, those of the Religion contributing proportionably to the Rest.

XVI. That such Places where by particular Regulation they have been constrain'd to bury their dead at an inconvenient Hour, they may be Permitted to bury by day-light, if they think it fitting.

XVII. And for as much as in some Places the said Funerals cannot

...sons who have Right of burying in ...Churches, shall be there interr'd; be...cause the Canonical Conſtitutions for...bid it, and for that it would be a ...thing contrary and prejudicial to ...the Catholick Apoſtolick Roman Re...ligion, which his Majeſty profeſſes; ...nor can it be done without giving ...an occaſion of Scandal and Diſ...content to the Catholicks. But his ...Majeſty grants, that the Commiſſi...oners going upon the Place may ad...viſe with them, about the means of ...preſerving the Temporal Right and ...Authority which they have as Lords ...and Patrons of the ſaid Churches, ...ſo that no prejudice may be done ei...ther to them or their Succeſſors.

not be ſolemniz'd without dan...ger of Commotion and Sedition, and other Incocveniencies, eſpe...cially in Places where the Lords, Gentlemen and others of the ſaid Religion, have right of Burying in the Churches and Chappels of their Predeceſſors, and that Orders may be given to the Commiſſio...ners proceeding to the Execuri...on of the Edict, to make ſo good a Regulation in reference to the ſaid Enterments, ſo that no In...convenience may happen: And in ſo doing to have a regard to the Satisfaction of the ſaid Lords, Gen...tlemen and others, who have a Right and Property in the ſaid Burying Places.

The King grants the ſaid petty Schools in Cities, within the Sub...urbs of which the Service of their Religion is permitted, and that, for one Maſter in each; and onely for teaching to Write and Read: With Prohibitions to the ſaid Maſters to dogmatize, or to admitt above ten or twelve Scholars in each School, of the Neighbourhood only, and no For...reigners.

XVIII. That in purſuance of the Supplication addreſs'd to his Ma...jeſty by the Writing anſwer'd in *Auguſt*, 1602. and according to the Hopes given by the An...ſwer made to the ſixth Article of the ſaid Writing, it would pleaſe him by an Interpretation of the XXXVIII. of the particular Arti...cles, to permit 'em petty Schools in all the Villages and Burroughs of the Kingdom, to teach the Children to read and write, and to inſtruct 'em in the firſt Rudi...ments of Grammar.

The Edict permits 'em to erect Colledges in ſuch Cities and Places where they have the Exerciſe of their Religion; to which his Majeſty allows the ſame Priviledges as to other Col...leages, receiv'd and approv'd in this Kingdom.

XIX. That in Conformity to the Anſwer return'd to the Writ...ting anſwer'd in *March* 1602. it would pleaſe him to vouchſafe the Academies of *Saumur* and *Montauban*, the ſame Immunities Priviledges and Prerogatives, which other Academies of the Kingdom enjoy.

The Choice of the ſaid Preſidents de-

XX. That the Preſidents and ten Ca-

depends upon the King onely; and such Care and Discretion has been used, and shall be for the Future, that those of the said Religion shall have no cause to Complain.

The Number of the said Officers is already so great over all the Kingdom that there is no need of increasing it. But to the end there may be no want of Judges in the said Chamber because of the said Refusals, 'tis granted that they may judge to the Number of eight as in other Parlaments, whereas formerly they were restrain'd to ten. To which end all Patents requisite shall be dispatch'd.

The XXXI. Article of the Edict shall be observ'd: But nothing can be changed in the last Establishment of the said Chambers: And as to the Election and Nomination of those that are to serve, his Majesty will provide with such Consideration that they shall have no occasion to complain.

Catholick Counsellors who are to serve in the Chamber of the Edict of the Parlament of *Paris*, with the ten Counsellors of the said Religion, be chosen out of the most equitable, peaceable and moderate Men, according to the XLVII. of the particular Articles; and to that purpose that it may be agreed upon with the Deputies of the said Churches; as also for that by the XLVII. Article of the said Edict, it is expresly said, that the said Presidents and Counsellors shall be continued as long as possible may be.

XXI. That at the request of the Chamber of *Castres*, which is compos'd of a President and Eight Catholick Counsellors, and as many of the Religion, it would please his Majesty to create *de novo* two Offices of Counsellors, to serve in the Chamber of *Nerac*, where there are but six Counsellors of the same Religion. Which is the Cause that by reason of present Refusals, there is not a sufficient Number of Judges in the said Chamber: And for the said two Offices to provide two Persons gratis, at the Nomination of the Churches.

XXII. And considering the great Animosities of the Parlament of *Tholouse* and *Bourdeaux*, which have chiefly appear'd since the fatal Accident of the Death of the King deceas'd, by the great Number of Divisions of Voices that happen in the Chambers of *Castres* and *Nerac*, which proceeds from hence, that the said Courts send to his Majesty the Nomination of the Catholick Counsellors

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which are to ſerve in the ſaid Chambers, and Employ the moſt paſſionate in the ſaid Courts, 'tis deſired that each of the ſaid Chambers may ſupply the Number of the Counſellors of the Grand Council, and the Surpluſage of the ſaid Courts of Parlaments of *Tholouſe* and *Bourdeaux*, who may be choſen by your Majeſty, upon the Regiſter of the ſaid Courts, as was practis'd upon the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Chamber of Juſtice in *Languedoc* in 1579. and not upon the Nomination which is made by the ſaid Parlaments.

Satisfaction has been given to the Contents of this Article by the Anſwer to the IV. of the Articles preſented by thoſe of the Religion in the Dauphiné, *in* Auguſt *laſt: and becauſe the Parlament of* Grenoble *has refuſed to obey it, Letters of command ſhall be ſent to cauſe 'em to verifie it.*

XXIII. That in Conformity to what has been granted to the Chambers of the Edict in the Parlaments of *Paris*, *Tholouſe* and *Bourdeaux*, it would pleaſe his Majeſty to create *de novo* an Office of Subſtitute to the Advocate General of the Parliament of *Grenoble*, to ſerve in the Chamber, and take his Concluſions as well at the Hearing as in Proceſs by writing; and to provide one of the Religion *Gratis* at the Nomination of the Churches under the Juriſdiction of the ſaid Chamber.

The Deceas'd King being engag'd by Promiſe, not to make any new Creation, even in the ſaid Province there is no Reaſon for granting the preſent Article.

XXIV. And that all the Officers of the ſaid Mi-party Chamber, may be according to the Intention of the Edict, and practice of the other Chambers, may it pleaſe his Majeſty to create *de novo* two Offices of Secretaries, and an Uſher in the ſaid Parliament of *Grenoble*, to ſerve in the ſaid Chamber, and to provide Perſons of the ſaid Religion *Gratis*, at the Nomination of the ſaid Churches.

Such courſe ſhall be taken that there

XXV. For the ſame Reaſon in re-

there ſhall be no occaſion for Complaint.

The XLVI. Article of the Edict ſhall be obſerv'd, and the Uſhers and Serjeants ſhall be enjoin'd to execute all Decrees, Commiſſions and Orders iſſu'd out of the ſaid Chambers of the Edict, and of Grenoble, *in all places where need ſhall require, upon Pain of being ſuſpended from their Employments, and forc'd to pay the Expences, Dammages and Intereſt of the Plaintiffs in the Suits.*

The Catholicks, and thoſe of the Religion ſhall be indifferently receiv'd into the ſaid Offices; and as to thoſe places where there are none at preſent, command ſhall be ſent to thoſe that Officiate, to receive all Contracts, Wills and other Acts, which they ſhall be requir'd to do, by thoſe of the ſaid Religion.

The Regulation made at Blois *in* 1599. *ſhall be obſerv'd.*

'Tis

regard the two Commiſſioners of the Regiſtry of the Chamber of Caſtres are Catholicks, that upon the Death or Reſignation of one of the ſaid Officers, one of the ſaid Religion may ſupply his Room.

XXVI. And for as much as to the prejudice of the LXVII. Article of Particulars, and the Proviſion made in conſequence of it, by Anſwers to ſeveral Writings, the Courts of Parlament in *Provence*, *Burgundy* and *Britany*, make daily Decrees againſt the Uſhers, who within their Juriſdictions execute the Decrees of the Chambers of the Edict of *Paris* and *Grenoble*; ſo that for that Reaſon the Royal Serjeants ſettled in the ſaid Provinces, refuſe to put the ſaid Decrees in Execution, therefore may his Majeſty be pleas'd to create *de novo* two Offices of Serjeants Royal in every Bailiwick and Seneſchalſhip within the Juriſdiction of the ſaid Provinces, to be ſuppli'd by Perſons of the ſaid Religion.

XXVII. And for Remedy of the Inconvenience, which they of the Religion daily ſuffer both at *Paris* and other Places, where there are no Royal Notaries to receive Contracts, Wills, and other Voluntary Acts, may it pleaſe his Majeſty to create *de novo* in every City two Offices of Royal Notaries, and to ſupply the Places with thoſe of the ſaid Religion.

XXVIII. That Atteſtations ſent by the Miniſters and Elders, to juſtifie themſelves in the Chambers of the Edict, ſhall not be oppos'd nor rejected, unleſs it be upon a challenge or exception againſt the ſign-

Signing, tho' the ſaid Atteſtations are not made before a Publick Notary and Judges Royal.

'Tis for the King in his Council to appoint Judges. Nevertheleſs his Majeſty Grants that in Caſe of Diviſion of Voices, the Chamber where the Proceſs was divided ſhall Order the Parties to repair to the next Chamber, without Addreſſing to his Majeſty. But his Pleaſure is, that in other Things the Orders be obſerv'd.

XXIX. And to obviate long and troubleſom Suits, which the Parties are conſtrain'd to undergo through the Regulations of the Judges of his Majeſties Council in the Buſineſs of Parentage, Recuſations, and things of the like Nature; that the Chambers of the Edict might ſend to the next Court, or where both Parties ſhall agree, the Proceſſes, wherein the Preſidents or Counſellours in the Cauſes, or their Kindred, within the Degree and Number of the Ordinance, are either Principal Parties or Garanties; as alſo the Diviſion of Voices, happening in the ſaid Chambers, which ought to be referr'd to the next Chamber, according to the XLVII. of the Particular Articles.

Granted for the time to come, and neceſſary Declarations ſhall be expedited for that Purpoſe.

XXX. That in the Explanation of the LIX. Article of the Edict, the Chamber of the Edict of *Normandy* be enjoyn'd to ſet forth by way of long Preſcription, the Time elaps'd from *July* 1585. till the Month of *February* 1599. as is practis'd in other Chambers of the Kingdom.

The Regulation as to Six Months cannot be alter'd, nevertheleſs the Eccleſiaſticks, who have chang'd their Religion, preſenting their Petition to his Majeſty, care ſhall be taken as Reaſon requires.

XXXI. And becauſe that inſtead of making a New Regulation between the Courts of Parliament and the Chambers, according to the LXIII. Article of the Edict, the ſaid Chambers for the moſt part have obſerv'd ſeveral Regulations made in the Years 78. and 79. which allow not the Priviledge of Appealing to the Chambers, but to thoſe who ſix Months before made Pro-

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'Tis a Favour to grant it to the Heirs, after the Cauſe has been conteſted with the Deceaſed, to whom they have ſucceeded. But 'tis his Majeſty's Pleaſure and Command, that ſuch an Alteration of the Judges may not be made fraudulently: and in reſpect of ſuch as make over their Eſtates in Truſt, who have no Right but by a particular Title, their Renouncers having voluntarily Conteſted the Point otherwhere, they ſhall not be admitted any more, to avoid Abuſes and Frauds which may be committed by thoſe who have a Mind to trouble and vex their Plaintiffs unjuſtly.

Forreigners, who deſire to enjoy this Priviledge, ſhall be bound to Addreſs themſelves to the King, who will take Care as well of the Intereſt of his Subjects, as for the Gratification of Forreigners.

This Article is granted as to the Inſtruction, but not to allow a Definitive Voice to the Aſſociates, what they are to Judge.

feſſion of the Religion, that the ſaid Limitation may be taken off from thoſe Chambers where it is obſerv'd: and in cauſing all the Suits of thoſe of the ſaid Religion to be indifferently heard in the ſaid Chambers, when they ſhall require it, more eſpecially which ſhall embrace the ſaid Religion *de novo*.

XXXII. In like manner, that they of the ſaid Religion who are Heirs, or having a right or cauſe of Suit with others, who would willingly have had it Conteſted in Parliament, may if they think it convenient, referr their Controverted Points and differences to the ſaid Chambers of the Edict, notwithſtanding the ſaid Conteſt made by their Authors; as has been adjudg'd in ſeveral particular Caſes by his Majeſties Council.

XXXIII. That Forreigners Trading and Trafficking within the Kingdom, and Profeſſing the ſaid Religion, may enjoy the ſame Priviledges, and cauſe their differences to be remov'd to the ſaid Chambers, every one within their proper Juriſdiction.

XXXIV. That in all Informations and Inſtructions for criminal Proceſſes and Inditements brought againſt thoſe of the Religion, the Judge as well Royal as Inferiour, if he be a Catholick, may be bound to take an Aſſociate of the ſaid Religion who has taken his Degrees, or at leaſt a Pleader, to be preſent at all the Proceedings, and who ſhall have a Definitive Voice in the

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Judgment of the Proceſs upon Pain of Nullity: and this throughout all Bailiwicks and Seneſchalſhips in the Kingdom; and not particularly in thoſe that are ſpecifi'd in the 66. Article of the Edict.

XXXV. That what is granted by the LXVII. Article of the Edict to the Provinces of *Guienne*, *Languedoc*, *Provence*, and *Dauphinate*, upon the Judgment of Competitions in the Chambers of the Edict, may for the ſame Reaſon be extended to all thoſe of the other Provinces of the Kingdom.

Nothing can be alter'd from the Method eſtabliſh'd by the Edict of Nantes, to avoid great delays, trouble and expences, to which the Parties would be conſtrain'd were they to have recourſe to the Chambers, which are often very remote one from another: Beſides that the ſame Equality ought to be ſhow'd to the Catholicks, as to thoſe of the Religion in that particular: Unleſs in reſpect of thoſe Provinces where the contrary has been allow'd by ſpecial Priviledge.

When Fathers and Mothers have ordain'd, their Will and Judgment muſt be obſerv'd: Otherwiſe the Law and general Cuſtom of the Kingdom: Nevertheleſs without acting any thing prejudicial or contrary to the Edict made in Favour of thoſe of the Religion.

XXXVI. That Children, whoſe Fathers and Mothers dy'd in the ſaid Religion, without having provided Tutors and Guardians, according to the LVIII. Article of Particulars, may be put into the Hands of Tutors to be bred up and inſtructed in the ſaid Religion.

His Majeſty will not refuſe this Favour to thoſe of the ſaid Religion for Offices, in Caſes wherein he permits the ſame to his Catholick Officers, reſerving always to himſelf only, the Collation and Nomination of the Perſon.

XXXVII. That it may pleaſe his Majeſty not to admit the Reſignations of Preſidents and Counſellours, upon whom Employments have been conferr'd *Gratis* at the Nomination of the Churches, to ſerve in the ſaid Chambers, but in Favour of thoſe who ſhall be nam'd to 'em by the ſaid Churches.

'Tis for the King alone to grant Letters of Repriſal, nor is it lawful for any of his Officers to give 'em. The Judges and Officers may draw up Verbal Reports to ſhow the Juſtice of the Cauſe, for his Majeſty afterwards to do as he ſhall think reaſonable.

XXXVIII. That the Agreements made between thoſe of the Religion, and the Catholicks of the County of *Veniſſe*, may be fulfill'd according to their Form and Tenour; and that according to thoſe, after the requiſite Solemnities,

the Officers of the Places may be permitted to give Right of Repriſal to thoſe of the Religion, to whom Juſtice has been denyd; more eſpecially to the Lady of *Drelandre*, notwithſtanding the Derogatorie affix'd to the LI. Article of Particulars, which they beſeech his Majeſty may be taken away and Cancell'd.

The Brevets of which the Confirmation is requir'd ſhall be preſented, and being ſeen his Majeſty will do what is reaſonable.

XXXIX. And for as much as there are ſeveral Brevets granted to the Churches, as well in the Year 98. as afterwards, which his Majeſty confirm'd at his coming to the Crown, they humbly beſeech him, that they may enjoy the Contents of the ſaid Brevets by putting in Execution, what has not yet been done, and cauſing amends to be made for what has been done prejudicial to the ſaid Brevets.

Vacancy happening by Death ſhall be provided for according, and in Conformity to the ſaid Brevet.

XL. To theſe ends may it pleaſe his Majeſty, according to the Brevet of the laſt of *April* 1598. to conferr *Gratis* upon two Perſons of the ſaid Religion, two Offices of Maſters of Requeſts of his Houſhold, upon the Nomination of the Churches; and to this purpoſe to erect two Offices of a new Creation, upon the two firſt Vacancies happening by Death.

His Majeſty is not bound to encreaſe the ſaid Summ. Nevertheleſs he will conſider, which way to gratifie 'em, as far as the conveniency of his Affairs will permit.

XLI. And for as much as the Summ of ſevenſcore and five thouſand Livres, which the Deceaſed King granted for the payment of the Miniſters, is nothing near ſufficient for the payment of all the Miniſters that are ſettl'd in the Churches of this Kingdom, may it pleaſe his Majeſty to provide for the eaſing of the Churches, by Ordering a ſufficient Fund

But for

But as to the Arrears for defect of Caution, there is no Reason for demanding 'em, seeing that all the Assigns, in those Years, for what cause soever they were, have suffer'd the same Inconvenience, without having since received any Reimbursement upon that occasion.

The Places, which have been put into their Hands for their Security are Nam'd and Comprehended in a Catalogue, dated May 14. 1598. *Sign'd by the Deceased King, and undersign'd* Neufville, *with which his Majesty is Contented. And as a Testimony of his good Will toward 'em, has granted 'em the keeping of 'em for five Years longer to Commence from the day of the Date of the Brevet, which shall be given 'em. And as for those that are comprehended under the Name of Marriage, the Deceased King having never left 'em to be held under the Title and Quality of places of Security, His Majesty will not, neither is it his meaning, that they should be comprehended among the Places of Security; but grants, after the Example of his Deceased Majesty, that the same Grace and Favour shall be shew'd 'em, as formerly has been, without any Innovation: and all those other Places, which they demand, the King cannot grant 'em.*

What was promis'd by the Deceased King shall be effectually made good, nor shall for the Salaries of the said Ministers.

XLII. And for as much as the said sevenscore and five thousand Livres were promis'd without any defect of value, which has been so ill observ'd, that there have been great abatements in the Assignations of every Year, may it please his Majesty that the said Churches may be reassign'd the summs which those defects amount to, according to the allowances of the accompts receiv'd by the Receivers, and before the Commissioners deputed by his Majesty.

XLIII. They also beseech his Majesty to leave all those Places which they hold at present in the custody of those of the Religion; and this, for the time and space of ten Years, to commence from the day that the five Years formerly granted shall expire, and to cause a new Brief to be given 'em, ordaining that all the said Places may remain in their hands, as well those that are specifi'd in the Roll of the Year 98. and those that were comprehended in others by form of Marriage, as those which belong to the Particulars, wherein Garrisons were kept, by the Particular Rolls drawn up by his Majesty.

XLIV. That it may be express'd in the said Writ, that in all other Places

ſhall any thing be innovated or alter'd: Or if it were d ne, Order ſhall be taken by the Commiſſioners upon the Places, according to the Inſtructions which ſhall be given 'em for that purpoſe.

The Deceaſed King declar'd his Will ſeveral times to thoſe of the ſaid Religion, in reference to Caumont *and* Montandrè, *from which his Majeſty cannot depart: and as for* Tartas, *and* Mont de Marſan, *they ſhall be provided with Perſons of the ſaid Religion, according to the Deceaſed Kings Brevet.*

The Summ contain'd in the Roll of the Deceaſed King, for the payment of the ſaid Garriſons, with which thoſe of the Religion have been hitherto contented, ſhall be pai'd for the Future, and aſſign'd upon the cleareſt Mony in the Receipts, to the end they may receive it without Abatement: But his Majeſty cannot augment it: the Summ of 54000. *Livers having been abated, ever ſince the Deceaſed King leſſen'd the Garriſons, which were in the Places held by the Catholicks. His Majeſty thinking it neceſſary ſo to do, to ſtop the juſt complaints that might have been made, when all the Garriſons in the Catholicks Cities were leſſen'd, by Reaſon of the Peace which the Kingdom happily enjoy'd, there ſhou.d have been left in the Cities held by thoſe of the Religion, as numerous as they were in the time of War, and that the Subjects liv'd in diſtruſt one of another: nor there being no Reaſon to demand the Arrears for what was paſt, ſee-*

Places which they hold, and where there have been no Garriſons ſettl'd by the ſaid Rolls, there ſhall be nothing innovated or alter'd, to the Prejudice of thoſe of the ſaid Religion; and that where any Innovation or Alteration has been made ſince the Year 1568. that there may be full ſatisfaction given for it.

XLV. That the Towns of *Caumont*, *Tartas*, *Mont de Marſan*, *Montandré*, and others, which have been taken from 'em ſince 98. and which they ſhall ſpecifie more particularly, may be reſtor'd to 'em.

XLVI. That from hence forward, they may have their Aſſignations every Year, upon the firſt and leaſt incumber'd Money of the Receipts of every Province, where the ſaid Garriſons are ſettl'd, or from neighbouring Town to neighbouring Town, according to the Brevet of the laſt of *April* 98. for the entire ſumm of 540. thouſand Livers, which was promis'd 'em by the ſaid Brevet; and to this purpoſe, that the Money ſubſtracted from the ſaid ſumm, to be laid out in Penſions, may be remitted in the entire ſumm, and diſtribution made of it, according to the Rolls Decreed by his Majeſty, as they ſhall be preſented to him by the Churches; and this without any abatement, or being employ'd to any other uſe.

XLVII.

ſeeing that the Cities and Places for the Preſervation of which that Money was given have been ſo well guarded, that nothing has fallen out amiſs: add withal, that the Deceaſed King, for the ſame Reaſon had always rejected that Demand. And as to the Penſions, his Majeſty will Order it, as already has been done, to gratifie thoſe of the ſaid Religion, who ſhall deſerve it by their Services and Fidelity; intending alſo to augment 'em, to ſhew his Affection and good Will, as he ſhall give em to underſtand.

The Anſwer to the two preceding Articles may ſuffice for this.

The City and Caſtle of Orange *have been reſtor'd to the Prince of* Orange, *to whom they belong, by Vertue of the Peace of* Vervins. *True it is, that his Majeſty obliged him, upon the ſurrendring back of thoſe Places, to decree the Exerciſe of thoſe of the ſaid Religion, as he has done, with which thoſe of the ſaid Religion in the ſaid Cities are well content.*

Proviſion was made for this by the Brevet of April *1598. and what is ſpecify'd in the Edict and Secret Articles, has been always obſerv'd, and ſhall be.*

XLVII. And for as much as there have not been any entire Aſſignments of the ſaid ſumm of 540. thouſand Livres a Year, and for that at the ſame time that they were aſſign'd, they ſtill fell very ſhort to the prejudice of the ſaid Brevet, may it pleaſe his Majeſty to cauſe the abatements, and what fell ſhort of the entire ſumm, from the Year 98. till this day be aſſign'd in full.

XLVIII. In like manner, to cauſe an Aſſignation for the Garriſons of the *Dauphinate*, of the entire ſumm, which was aſſign'd by the Roll drawn up in the ſaid Year, 1589. in purſuance of the ſaid Brevet; and to cauſe a Reaſſignation of the Retrenchments and of what fell ſhort ſince the Year 1589.

XLIX. That according to the Aſſurances, which were given by his Majeſty at the Aſſembly of *Charelleraud* in the Year 1605. that the Caſtle of *Orange* ſhould remain in the hands of a Governour of the ſaid Religion, his Majeſty would be pleas'd to interpoſe his Authority with the Prince of *Orange*, that the ſaid Caſtle may be put in the hands of a Governour of the ſaid Religion.

L. That it may pleaſe his Majeſty to grant that the Governours of the Cities left in their Cuſtody, may not ſurrender 'em up, but by the Conſent of the Churches of the Province. And that when there is a Vacancy by Death, it may be ſuppli'd by his Majeſty at the Nomination of the General

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Deputies reſiding with his Majeſty.

The King will take care as he ſhall find moſt convenient for the good of his Service.

LI. That he would be pleas'd not to diſpoſe of the Commands of Lieutenants to Governours, or Captains, of Companies without the Conſent of the Governour of the Place.

'Tis the Kings Pleaſure, that the Edict of Nantes, *and what has been done and ordain'd in purſuance of it, may be obſerv'd and executed, throughout the Kingdom; and if any breach happen, the Commiſſioners ſhall take care to ſee it amended.*

LII. That in all the ſaid Places the exerciſe of the ſaid Religion may be permitted with all Freedom, without any Interruption; and that it may be reſtor'd in ſuch Places, where it has been moleſted or expell'd.

No Colledge of Jeſuites can be erected within this Kingdom, but by his Majeſties Permiſſion, who will take ſuch care in that Matter, that there ſhall be no cauſe of complaint.

LIII. That the Jeſuites may not be permitted to erect any Colledge, Seminary, or Houſe of Habitation; nor to Preach, Teach, or Confeſs, in any of the ſaid Places held by thoſe of the ſaid Religion; and that his Majeſty would pleaſe to confine the ſaid Jeſuites to thoſe Places to which they were confin'd by their re-eſtabliſhment in 1603.

Care ſhall be taken about this by the Commiſſioners, after they have adviſ'd with the Governours, and Lieutenant Generals of the Provinces.

LIV. That there may be Proviſion made againſt the Inconveniences that may happen by Proceſſions, which are accompanied with great Trains of People to the Churches and Chappels enclos'd within the Caſtles, left in the hands of the Religion, and Guarded with very ſlender Garriſons: And that the Governours of the ſaid Caſtles may not be oblig'd to let thoſe Proceſſions enter, unleſs they will reſtrain themſelves to ſuch a number as may be no prejudice to the Security of thoſe Caſtles: or elſe that the exerciſe of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, which is perform'd in ſome of the ſaid Caſtles

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The Gates and Walls of the Cities and Places left in their Hands for Security shall be repair'd at the charges of their respective Inhabitants, as is usually done in other Cities of the Kingdom; and for the Levies and Impositions necessary for that purpose, they shall Address themselves to the Council for the obtaining Letters of Permission. And if there be urgent Necessity for any of the said Places, upon a Petition to his Majesty, care shall be taken to do what is fitting.

stles may be remov'd into the Cities.

LV. That his Majesty would be pleas'd according to the XLIX. Article of the Writing of *Gergeau* to allow necessary Provisions, for the repair and keeping in repair and securing the Gates, Walls, Fortifications and other out-works of the said Places left in their hands, which by time and other Accidents are fallen to decay.

The Inventories of the Guns and Ammunition, &c. which were in the said Places, in 1598. and which are there at present, shall be view'd and reported, for Orders to be made upon 'em; it being his Majesties Intention, nevertheless to leave 'em as many as they stand in need of, for the Defence and Preservation of the said Places.

LVI. That the Artillery, Arms and other Warlike Ammunition, which are in the said Places held by those of the said Religion, either garrison'd or otherwise, shall not be drawn out and remov'd to another place; that what has been taken away may be restor'd, and when the Yearly Distribution of the said Arms and Ammunition is made, they may have their Proportion as well as other Cities of the Kingdom.

His Will is to allow those of the said Religion to hold the said Assemblies, when he shall think it proper for his Service; or that they stand in need of 'em; and they shall be bound to appoint for Deputies, as was ordain'd by the Deceas'd King.

LVII. And for as much as the Necessity of having General Deputies near his Majesty is notoriously known, as well to acquaint the Churches with his Majesties command, as to present him their Petitions, and prosecute their necessary Affairs, and for that the said Deputies cannot be made, but by a General Assembly of the said Churches; may it please his Majesty to permit 'em to hold the said General Assembly every two Years, in such Cities which are in their hands, as they shall think most Commodious; to the end that the Assembly

As to the LVIII. and the following Articles concerning the Churches of Bearn:

His

His Majesty not having allow'd, or approv'd the Union of the pretended Reformed Churches of Bearn *with those of* France, *neither can the King allow it now: but upon presenting their Petitions by their General Deputies separately to the King, he will take care as Reason shall require.*

Done and Decreed by the King, being in Council, the Queen Regent being present, and assisted by the Princes of the Blood, other Princes, Dukes, Peers and Officers of the Crown, and Principal Members, of his said Council, at Paris, *July* 23. 1611.

Sign'd Phelipeaux.

being by that means become common, may be the less liable to give occasion of Jealousie and Suspition: That the Employment and Commission of the said General Deputies may hold for two years and no longer; and that the two which shall be appointed by the said Assemblies for general Deputies, may be accepted and admitted by his Majesty, to reside near his Person, as formerly has been practis'd, upon their first Institution in the Assembly of Ste. *Foi*, and after that, in the Synod of *Gap*, without being constrain'd to nominate six, as since has been done.

A Declaration of the King touching the Assemblies of any of his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, confirming the Edict of Nantes, *and Particular Articles. At* Paris, *April* 24. 1612. *Register'd in Parlament,* May 25. *of the same Year.*

LEwis by the Grace of God King of *France* and *Navarr*, to our Beloved and Faithful Counsellours holding our Court of Parlament at *Paris*, Greeting. So soon as it pleas'd God to call us to this Crown, we resolv'd to follow the Method and Form of Government, as we found it settl'd by the Deceased King our thrice Honour'd Lord and Father, whom God Absolve; judging well, that we could not more safely preserve the Kingdom, which he had left us, then by imitating his Example, who had rais'd it from extream Desolation to the Highest Pitch of Splendour. Wherein we have so happily succeeded, that no occasion of complaint has presented it self to us, for which we have not provided, as well to the Content of our Subjects, as it was possible for us to do, and particularly those of the pretended Reformed Religion, as well by the Answers which we have order'd to be given to their Remonstrances which they have presented to us, as by sending Persons of Quality into all the Provinces of this Kingdom, with Commission and Power to see executed the

Edict

Edict of *Nantes*, the Private Arti-
cles, Regulations, and other Con-
cessions granted during the Reign
of our Deceased Lord and Father,
as to whatever yet remain'd for-
ther to be executed. And by this
means to remove all Apprehensi-
ons, under pretence of which any
of our said Subjects of the pretend-
ed Reformed Religion, were Li-
cens'd to hold extraordinary As-
semblies without our Permission,
which would have rais'd Fears and
Jealousies in others: against which
we are willing to provide, for the
maintaining of Peace, Union, and
a right Understanding, happily
settl'd among 'em, and preserv'd
by the said Edict and the exact Ob-
servation thereof, with the Ad-
vice, and in the Presence of the
Queen Regent, our thrice honour-
ed Lady and Mother, the Princes
of the Blood, other Princes and
Officers of the Crown, being fully
inform'd and assur'd of the good in
general of our said Subjects, their
Zeal and Fidelity in their Obedi-
ence towards us; and desiring
also that they should be favourably
us'd, have of our special Grace and
Favour, full Power and Royal Au-
thority remitted and abolish'd, and
by these Presents do remit and abo-
lish the Offence by them commit-
ted, who call'd and were present
at the same Assemblies, held with-
out our Permission in any of the
Provinces of this our Kingom; as
also whatever past before and since:
We will that they be wholly and
fully discharg'd of the same, and
we expressly forbid our Advocate
General or his Substitutes, to make
any Inquisition or Prosecution af-
ter the same. Nevertheless, to
the end we may take care that no
Assemblies for the Future be so li-
centiously call'd, as being expres-
ly prohibited by our Edicts, and
the Regulations upon these Mat-
ters by the Deceased King our
thrice Honoured Lord and Father,
to which it is our Pleasure, that
all our said Subjects should conform
themselves, according to the 82*d.*
Article of the Edict of *Nantes*, and
the ordinary Article of the 16. of
March 1606. together with the
Answer made the 19 of *August*
ensuing, to the Paper presented
by the General Deputies of those
of the said Religion, the extracts
of which are hereunto annex'd un-
der the Seal of our Chancery,
have made and do make Inhibi-
ons and Prohibitions to all our Sub-
jects of the said Religion for the
Future, to summon any Congre-
gations or Assemblies, to Consult
or Treat therein of any Politick
Affairs without express leave first
from us obtain'd, upon Pain of be-
ing punish'd as breakers of the E-
dicts, and disturbers of the Publick
Peace: Granting 'em nevertheless
full Liberty to call and hold Pro-
vincial and National Colloquies
and Synods, according to what has
been formerly granted 'em: yet so
as not to admit into 'em any other
Persons then the Ministers and El-
ders, there to Treat of their Do-
ctrine and Ecclesiastical Discipline
only, upon Pain of Forfeiting the
Priviledges of holding those Assem-
blies, and answering for it by their
Moderators in their proper Per-

ſons and Names. So we ſend to you that you cauſe theſe Preſents to be Read and Regiſter'd, and that all our ſaid Subjects may enjoy the Benefit of what is contain'd therein; and farther that you cauſe theſe our ſaid Preſent Letters, to be exactly perform'd and obſerv'd through the full extent of your Juriſdictions; without permitting or ſuffering any Breach or Infringement thereof. Farther we command and enjoyn the Governours, and our Lieutenant Generals, particular Governours and Lieutenants in the Government of the Provinces and Cities within the extent of your Juriſdiction, their Mayors, Jurats, Sheriffs and Conſuls, to take ſpecial care of the ſame. And to the firſt of our faithful and beloved Counſellours, the Maſter of the ordinary Requeſts of our Houſhold, Counſellours of our ſaid Court of Parliament, reſiding upon the Places, and others our Juſtices and Officers with the ſooneſt to inform and give us notice of all the ſaid Breaches, and in the mean time to proceed againſt the Offenders, by the uſual Ways, and according to the Tenour of the Edicts and Ordinances. For ſuch is our Will and Pleaſure. Given at *Paris*, *April* 24. 1612. and in the ſecond Year of our Reigns.

LOUIS.

And lower, by the King being in Council.

De Lomenie.

Seal'd with the Great Seal of Yellow Wax, upon a ſingle Label.

Regiſter'd, Heard, and the Kings Advocate moving for it: without the Approbation of the Cogniſance attributed to the Maſters of the Requeſts of the Houſhold, that are not within the Terms of the Ordinances. At *Paris* in Parlament, *May* 25. 1612.

Sign'd *Voiſin.*

A Declaration of the King in Favour of thoſe of the Pretended Reformed Religion, confirming the Preceding Declaration of April 24. *Given at* Paris, *July* 11. 1612. *and verify'd* Auguſt 8.

LEWIS by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarr*, to all our Beloved and Faithful Counſellours, holding our Court of Parlament at *Paris*, Greeting.

Thoô we have ſufficiently made known by our Letters Patents of the 13*th*. of *April* laſt paſt, what our Intention was toward the generality of our Subjects of the pretended Reformed Religion, of whoſe Affection and Fidelity we have always had an entire Aſſurance: And thô the Pardon and Amne-

Amneſty contain'd in our ſaid Letters, Patents, were not ſent, but at the Inſtance and Supplication of ſome particular Perſons of the ſaid Religion, who fear'd to be proſecuted, for that contrary to the Edicts and Ordinances, they met in Aſſemblies held contrary to our Permiſſion, and other Acts ſince committed, and among others, the Liſting of Souldiers without our Authority; to free 'em from Sollicitation and the Trouble they were in upon that occaſion, there being ſome amongſt 'em againſt whom Informations have been exhibited in ſome Chambers of the Edict; nevertheleſs we are given to underſtand, that this Favour has been taken by ſome of the Religion, for a deſire to lay ſome Blemiſh upon the Generality of 'em, and not for a Gracious Remedy ordain'd for particular Perſons, who prudently Judg'd how much they ſtood in need of it.

For theſe Reaſons, with the Advice of the Queen Regent, our moſt Honoured Lady and Mother, the Princes of our Blood, other Peers and Officers of the Crown, and Principal Members of our Council, being deſirous to take away all pretence from all Perſons whatever, who may have any evil Intention, and to ſatisfie our good Subjects of the Reformed Religion, who adding to their Zeal for their Religion, that Obedience which is due to us, have no other Aim or deſign then to enjoy in Peace and Quiet, the Benefit of the Edicts made in their behalf. In which number, far the greater, are comprehended thoſe who have more Power and Authority to be aſſiſting in upholding the Publick Tranquillity.

We have ſaid and declar'd, and once more do ſay and declare by theſe Preſents, by way of Explanation of what is contain'd in our ſaid Letters Patents of *April* laſt, that we are very well ſatisfi'd and contented with our Subjects of the pretended Reformed Religion in General: And upon that Conſideration, we have altogether buried in Oblivion the Offences which the ſaid particular Perſons might have committed contrary and to the prejudice of our Edicts: Nor will we that any thing be imputed to 'em, nor that upon this occaſion any Blame or Blemiſh be faſten'd upon 'em for the Future, provided they continue hence forward within the Bounds of their Duty, Obedience and Fidelity toward us; and prove as exact obſervers of the Laws, Edicts and Ordinances made to the end that all our Subjects may live in Peace, Repoſe and Amity one with another. So we Will and Command, that you cauſe theſe Preſents to be Read, Publiſh'd and Regiſter'd in your Regiſters, that our ſaid Subjects of the ſaid Religion may fully, peaceably and without any Moleſtation or Impeachment enjoy the Benefit of the Contents. For ſuch is our Will and Pleaſure.

Given at *Paris*, *July* 11. 1612. and the third of our Reign.

Sign'd *Lewis*.

By

By the King, the Queen Regent his Mother being preſent.

De Lomenie.

And Seal'd with Yellow Wax upon a ſingle Label.

Regiſter'd, after being heard, and upon the Motion of the Kings Advocate General. At *Paris* in Parlament, *Auguſt* 8. 1612.

A Declaration of the King, and Confirmation of the Edict of Nantes, *given at* Paris, *December* 15. 1612. *and verified* January 2. 1613.

LEWIS by the Grace of God King of *France* and *Navarr*. To all, &c. The extream deſire we have had ever ſince our coming to the Crown, for which we continually implore the Bleſſing of God, and for which the Queen Regent our thrice Honour'd Lady and Mother, has always moſt ſeduloufly labour'd, has been to take care to maintain and preſerve all our Subjects in Peace, Tranquillity and Repoſe, and in good Friendſhip, Union and Concord one with another, as being the Principal Foundation of the welfare of this Kingdom. To this purpoſe from the Time that it pleas'd God to viſit us with the fatal Accident that befel us, through the Death of the Deceaſed King, our thrice Honour'd Lord and Father, of glorious Memory, we reſolv'd to imitate and follow the ſame Methods which he took, to attain the ſame ends: and having obſerv'd, that after he had by his Valour reſtor'd this Kingdom to its Ancient Splendour, he with a great deal of care, Labour and Prudence, and for a Foundation of an aſſur'd Repoſe, and an entire Reconciliation between all his Subjects; as alſo to remove from thoſe who profeſs'd the pretended Reformed Religion, all occaſion of Fear and Diſtruſt for the Liberty of their Perſons, Conſciences, Honour and Families, made and ordain'd what is compriz'd in his Edict giv'n at *Nantes* in *April* 1598. by the Obſervation of which, and of the Secret Articles he had happily rul'd and govern'd his People in Peace till his Decaſe, therefore one of our firſt Actions, which we were willing to do in this Kingdom, has been to ſet forth our Letters or Declaration of the 22. of *May*, 1610. containing a Confirmation of the ſaid Edict, and of the Secret Articles, Regulations and Decrees ſet forth by way of Explanation, and for the putting the ſame in Execution, which we ſent at the ſame inſtant to all our Parlaments to be there verifi'd: and ſometime after we reſolv'd to ſend into all the Provinces of our Kingdom, ſome of the Principal Members of our Council, and other Perſons well qualifi'd, choſen by our ſelves as well

well Catholicks as of the pretended Reformed Religion, to cement and corroborate the Eſtabliſhment and Execution of the ſaid Edict, and favours granted in purſuance of it, having ever ſince continu'd to give that Aſſiſtance toward it that could be expected from our Care and Authority. But it has ſo fallen out, that our good Intentions have not had that ſucceſsful Effect, that we could have deſir'd among all our Subjects: Some of whom, and of thoſe of the pretended Reformed Religion, through Suſpitions too lightly conceiv'd of adverſe Occurrences, are enter'd into Jealouſies and Miſtruſts one of another. Whence it has follow'd, that they have begun to double their Guards, make Proviſion of Arms, Levy Souldiers, hold Aſſemblies and Councils, and to do other things quite contrary to the Tenour and Obſervation of the ſaid Edict. To which, however we are willing to believe 'em to have been induc'd by ſome fears, which they have conceiv'd of themſelves, and upon falſe ſuſpitions and Pretences, tho' not out of any ill Will or bad Intentions: Having always found the generality of thoſe of the Reformed Religion, extreamly well affected to the good of our Service, and firm and conſtant in that reverence, Fidelity and Reſpect which they owe to us. But in regard this Miſchief may draw after it dangerous Conſequences, we thought it neceſſary to provide againſt it, to re-eſtabliſh the good Friendſhip, Correſpondence and Society, which ought to be alike among all our ſaid Subjects; for the maintaining of their common Repoſe, which cannot be done more aſſuredly then by an exact Obſervation of the ſaid Edict, Secret Articles, Briefs, and other Acts made in purſuance of it: As alſo by giving new Aſſurances to all our ſaid Subjects of the ſaid pretended Reformed Religion, of our good Intentions in their behalf, and of our Intentions to preſerve, maintain, protect 'em, and cauſe 'em to enjoy all the Favours and Conceſſions, which have been decreed 'em, as well by the Edict, as ſince that time, as they did in the Life-time of the Deceaſed King till his Death.

For theſe Reaſons, and others Us moving, after we had caus'd this Matter to be debated in Council, where was the Queen Regent, with the Princes of our Blood, and other Princes, ſeveral Officers of the Crown, and Principal Counſellours of our Council, with the Advice of them, we have ſaid and declar'd, and we ſay and declare, and it is our Will and Pleaſure, that the aboveſaid Edict of *Nantes*, together with our Declaration of the 22. of *May* 1610. with the Private Articles, Regulations, Decrees, and other Letters ſet forth in purſuance of them, either by way of Explanation, or for the better Execution of the ſame, may be read *de novo*, and publiſh'd in all our Courts of Parlament, and Seats of Judicature under their Juriſdiction, having to that end, and as much as need requires confirm'd 'em, as we do again Confirm 'em by theſe preſents Sign'd with our hand. We Will and Ordain,

Ordain, that the whole may be fulfill'd, and inviolably obſerv'd, without any Breach or Infringement whatſoever, in any manner whatever. And for as much as the Breaches which have been made by ſome of our Subjects, have proceeded rather from Suſpitions and Diſtruſts too ſlightly liſten'd to, then from any want of Affection, Fidelity or Allegiance, which they have all along made apparent upon all occaſions that have offer'd themſelves. Hoping alſo that for the Time to come, they will keep themſelves within the bounds of Duty, under the Obſervation of the Edicts and Ordinances, therefore we Will, and it is our Meaning, and our Pleaſure, that all Decrees, Procedures, Acts, and other Letters that have been granted and ſet forth againſt 'em, as well in general as particular, upon any occaſion whatever, ſhall be null and void, as if they had never been extant; ſo that upon occaſion, and in purſuance thereof they ſhall not either in general or particular, incur any Blame, danger or dammage, nor be diſturb'd or proſecuted for the Future. And to this purpoſe, we impoſe Silence upon all our Advocates General, their Subſtitutes and all others; as we alſo expreſly forbid all our ſaid Subjects, in Conformity to the 77. and 82. Articles of the Edict, to hold any Communications of Aſſemblies, to ſettle or hold Provicinal Councils, or to make any Levies, Proviſions of Arms, or Muſters of Souldiers, or to commit any other Acts directly or indirectly contrary to our Edicts and Declarations, upon pain of Diſobedience, and of being puniſh'd as diſturbers of the Publick Peace.

To this purpoſe, we command our Beloved and Faithful Counſellours, holding our Court of Parliament and Chambers of the Edict, eſtabliſh'd within the Kingdom, that the abovementioned Edict, the Edict of Pacification, Secret Articles, Brevets, Declarations, and other Letters Patents to them ſent in purſuance of the ſame, be forthwith read and publiſh'd in their reſpective Places, and that the Contents thereof be inviolably fulfill'd and obſerv'd; ceaſing and cauſing to be ceaſe all Troubles and Impeachments to the contrary.

We further enjoyn our ſaid Attorney Generals to be acting and aſſiſting thereto; and if any Infringements happen after this, to proſecute the Authors with Severity; to the end, that Examples of Puniſhment may deterr others. For ſuch is our Will and Pleaſure. In Witneſs whereof we have caus'd our Seal to be affixed to theſe Preſents.

Given at *Paris*, *December* 15 1612. and the thirteenth of our Reign.

Sign'd *Lewis.*

And upon the Folding of the Paper, By the King, being in Council, the Queen Regent his Mother preſent.

De Lomenie.

Extract out of the Regiſters of Parlament.

This

This day, the Court, the Grand-Chambers, the Parlamental Court of Criminal Cauſes, having ſeen the Letters Patents in form of Charters of the 15*th.* of *December* laſt, concerning the Obſervation of the Edict of *Nantes*, and other Letters and Articles in purſuance of it, the Concluſions of the Advocate General, and the Matter brought into debate, have Decreed that the ſaid Letters be Read, and Publiſh'd, upon the Hearing and Motion of the Kings Advocate General, and Copies ſent to the Bailiwicks and Seneſchalſhips to be there Read and Publiſh'd. Done in Parlament *January* 2. 1613.

Sign'd *Guyet.*

A Declaration of the Kings Majority, containing a Confirmation of the Edicts of Pacification, and Prohibitions of Duels. Dated at Paris, October 1. 1614. *Verifi'd the ſecond of the ſaid Month and Year.*

LEWIS, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarr.* To all, &c. It having pleas'd God to bleſs our Reign with ſo many Favours and Succeſſes, and to bring the courſe of our Years to the Age of Majority, to which we have now attain'd, as we have at all times all the Reaſon in the World to commend and be thankful for the happy Adminſtration of our Kingdom, during our Minority under the Regency and Prudent Conduct of the Queen our thrice Honour'd Lady and Mother, we are willing to ſeek all ways, poſſible and agreeable to the Duty of a moſt Chriſtian Prince, jealous of Gods Glory, and who deſires to maintain the Publick Peace and Tranquility, for the welfare, repoſe and eaſe of his Subjects, whether in cauſing an exact Obſervation of the Good and Holy Laws made by the Kings our Predeceſſors of moſt praiſe worthy Memory, or by new Laws, which we ſhall deem proper to make as occaſion offers, and upon ſuch Advice as may be given in the next Aſſembly of the States General of our Kingdom, which we ſhall cauſe to be ſummon'd; for the attaining of which, and to the end that all our Subjects may live in Peace, Union, and Right Underſtanding in the fear of God, Obedience of his Commands, and Obſervation of our Ordinances; ſo that the publick repoſe and tranquility, which we deſire to preſerve among 'em, may not be interrupted or violated,

We have with the Advice and Counſel of our thrice Honour'd Lady and Mother, the Princes of our Blood, other Princes and Lords, principal Officers of our Crown, and moſt remarkable Perſons of our Council, ſaid, declar'd and ordain'd, and we ſay, declare and

ordain, and it is our Will and Pleaſure, in Conformity to what we have already formerly ordain'd, That the Edict of the Deceaſed King our thrice Honoured Lord and Father, given at *Nantes* in *April* 1598. in favour of thoſe of the pretended Reformed Religion, in all the Heads and Articles of it, together with all the other Articles to them granted, and Regulations made, Decrees given either by way of Explanation, or for the Execution of the ſaid Edict, or in purſuance of it, may be fulfill'd and inviolably kept and obſerv'd, as has been ordain'd and perform'd by our ſaid Deceaſed Lord and Father, and that the Intringers may be ſeverely puniſh'd as diſturbers of the Publick Repoſe.

And the more to ſecure the Publick Peace and Tranquility under our Authority and Obedience, we prohibit all our ſaid Subjects from holding any particular and private Intelligences, Leagues or Aſſociations, as well within as without our Kingdom; nor without our Permiſſion to ſend to any Forreign Princes, whether Friends or Enemies upon any occaſion whatever: And we enjoin all our Officers to look carefully after it, and to be aſſiſting as need ſhall require, upon pain of being reſponſible, and of being puniſh'd for their Negligence, with the ſame Severity as the Diſobedience of the Offenders.

We alſo forbid all our ſaid Subjects, of what Eſtate, Condition or Quality ſoever, who receive Eſtates, Pay or Penſions from us, not to take, accept or receive any Eſtate, Pay or Penſion from any Prince or Lord whatever; nor to follow, be preſent with or accompany any other then our ſelves, upon pain of being depriv'd of the ſaid Salaries, Eſtates and Penſions.

And for as much as for want of due Execution of the Edict made by the Deceaſed King our Lord and Father, concerning Duels, Combats and Encounters, and afterwards by our ſelves, and for that they have not been obey'd by ſeveral of our Subjects, in Contempt of our Authority, great Diſorders and Confuſions have from thence aroſe, which greatly offend God, and may provoke him to ſend the Scourges of his Wrath among us, and upon our Kingdom, if we ſhould not provide againſt ſo great a Miſchief; it is our Pleaſure, and we ordain, that all the ſaid Edicts, Ordinances and Declarations made by the Deceaſed King, and by our ſelves, upon occaſion of the ſaid Duels, Combats and Encounters, ſhall be inviolably obſerv'd for the Future, and fulfill'd and obſerv'd according to their Form and Tenour, nor ſhall they who ſhall preſume to infringe our Commands hereafter, ſo much as hope or expect from us any Favour or Pardon, upon any excuſe, pretence, occaſion or conſideration whatever. And we enjoin all our Officers to proceed againſt the Offenders with the utmoſt Rigour of our Laws, without any Exception of Perſons: And our Advocate Generals, and their Subſtitutes,

stitutes, to make all necessary Prosecutions against such Malefactors.

Considering also, that the Divine Majesty is greatly offended with Oaths and execrable Blasphemies, which are utter'd daily by several Persons, against the Edicts and Ordinances made by the Kings our Predecessours, We have ordain'd and do ordain, that the said Edicts and Ordinances shall be Publish'd *de novo*, that no Body may pretend Ignorance. And we enjoin all our Judges and Officers, within their several Jurisdictions, upon pain of losing their Offices, to proceed against the Offenders with the utmost Rigour contain'd in the same; with which thy shall not dispense upon any Cause whatever, upon Pain of being responsible to us in their own Names and Persons. Farther we Command our Advocates General, and their Substitutes, to use all requisite Diligence in the Execution of these Presents.

Given at *Paris*, *October* 1. 1614. and the Fifth of our Reign.

Sign'd *Lewis*.

By the King in Council.

De Lomenie.

The King with all his Court, repairing to his Palace, sitting in his Throne of Justice, all the Court of Parlament assembl'd in their Scarlet Robes, the Speeches made, the Chancellor pronounc'd the Decree of Verification, which was transcrib'd afterwards upon the folding of the Letters.

Read, Publish'd and Register'd, upon the Hearing and Motion of the Kings Advocate General. At *Paris* in Parlament, the King there sitting, *October* 2. 1614.

A Declaration of the King, purporting the renewing all the Edicts of Pacification, Articles granted, Regulations and Decrees depending upon 'em. Publish'd in Parlament, the last of April 1615.

LEWIS, by the Grace of God King of *France* and *Navarr*, To all, &c. Immediately after our coming to the Crown, the Queen, our Thrice Honour'd Lady and Mother, then Regent of the Kingdom during our Minority, prudently judg'd that there was nothing which ought to be more dear to her, then the Preservation of the Publick Peace, and that for the Enjoyment of this Happiness, and to cause our Subjects to live in Amity one with another, it was necessary to confirm the Edicts, Declarations, and all other Writings and Dispatches granted by the King Deceas'd, our thrice Honour'd Lord and Father, whom God Absolve, to our Subjects of the Pre-

tended Reformed Religion, on purpoſe to let 'em know, that ſhe was deſirous to follow the Example and Conduct of a Prince, who had ſo happily rul'd and govern'd his Kingdom, and advanc'd ſo high the Grandeur and Reputation of it, by his Wiſdom and Matchleſs Valour, that ſhe knew not how to take a better courſe or more wholſome Counſel, then that which he made uſe of. Which ſhe did by a Declaration Publiſh'd in all the Parlaments, and in other Places where it was neceſſary, taking the ſame care alſo to ſee it Publiſh'd. And when ſhe receiv'd any complaint of Breaches, that were pretended to be made to the Prejudice of the ſame, did all that lay within the Verge of her Power and Authority to cauſe amends to be made. This Conduct which ſhe us'd in all her Actions, and Deportment in the Government of the Kingdom, having been the true Cauſe, next to Gods Aſſiſtance, to keep all our Subjects united in Affection, Fidelity and Obedience toward us and in Friendſhip one among another. Which has alſo mov'd us, after the Declaration of our Majority, to beſeech her, that ſhe would be pleas'd to continue with the ſame Affection and Vigilance, to aſſiſt us with Her good Counſels, in the ſame manner and with the ſame Authority, as if the Adminiſtration of the Government were ſtill in Her hands. In purſuance whereof, by Her Advice, as ſoon as we enter'd into our Majority, we ſet forth a Declaration, in favour of our Subjects of the Religion, the ſame in Subſtance with the former, to let 'em always ſee, that our Intention and Deſire, was to promote Friendſhip and Peace among our Subjects, and inviolably to obſerve our Edicts. And being very ſorry for the Contention and Diſpute that happen'd between the Catholick Deputies of the Chamber of the Nobility, and ſome others of the ſaid Religion, aſſembl'd in the General States held in our good City of *Paris*, upon this occaſion, that the ſaid Catholick Deputies had put the Queſtion, and came to a Reſolution, that we ſhould be Petition'd to preſerve the Catholick, Apoſtolick, Roman Religion, according to the Oath, which we took at our Coronation; a needleſs Propoſal, or rather altogether unprofitable, conſidering that we our ſelves profeſs it with an unſhaken Conſtancy and Reſolution to live and dye in it. So that we muſt believe, that the Propoſal was not made by them, but only to teſtifie their Zeal and Affection for the Catholick Religion, and not to give offence to any Body, as firſt they ſeparately declar'd to us, and afterwards all together, proteſting that they deſir'd the Obſervation of the Peace, as Eſtabliſh'd by the Edicts: And that we would be pleas'd to await, and expect from Divine Goodneſs, the Reunion of all our Subjects to the Catholick, Apoſtolick and Roman Religion, by the means moſt uſual and cuſtomary in the Church. Being fully perſwaded by experience of what is paſt, that violent Remedies

have

have only serv'd to encrease the number of those that are departed from the Church, instead of teaching 'em the way to return to it: Therefore to take away all evil Impressions out of the Minds of our good Subjects, of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, who profess it with a Zeal no less Pure and Innocent, then remote from all Faction and Evil Design: As also all Pretences from whosoever seeks 'em to disturb the Repose of the Kingdom, we thought it our Duty upon this, to declare what is our Will and Pleasure. For these Reasons, we make known, that having consider'd of this matter in our Council, where were present the Queen, our thrice Honour'd Lady and Mother, the Princes of our Blood, *&c.* We have with their Advice said, declar'd and ordain'd, say, declare and ordain, and it is our Will and Pleasure, by these Presents, that all the Edicts, Declarations, and Private Articles, ordain'd in Favour of those of the Pretended Reformed Religion, as well by our Deceased Lord and Father, as by our selves, together with the Regulations and other Letters or Decrees, given in their Favour by way of Explanation, and for the Execution of the Edict of *Nantes*, and in pursuance of it, shall be inviolably kept and observ'd, and the Offenders punish'd with the utmost Rigour of the Laws, as Disturbers of the Publick Peace. To this purpose, we enjoin all our Officers to be carefully assisting, upon Pain of being answerable, and punish'd for their Negligence or Connivance, with the same Severity as the Offenders. The same Injunctions and Commands we lay upon our Beloved and Faithful Counsellors, *&c.* to see that these presents be Read, and Publish'd, *&c.* For such is our Will and Pleasure. In Testimony whereof, we have caus'd our Seal to be affix'd. Given at *Paris*, March 5. 1615. and fifth of our Reign.

Sign'd, *Lewis.*

By the King.

De Lomenie.

Seal'd with the Great Seal of Yellow Wax upon a double Label.

Read, Publish'd, and Register'd, upon the Motion of the Kings Advocate General, and Order'd to be sent to the Bayliwicks and Seneschal ships, to be there Publish'd and Register'd, and carefully observ'd by the Advocate Generals Substitutes, who shall certifie the Court of their Sedulity within a Month, upon Pain of answering in their own Names. At *Paris* in the Parlament, *April* the last, 1615.

Sign'd *Voisin.*

A Declaration of the King, upon Arms being taken by ſome of his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, containing a new Confirmation of the Edicts and Declarations formerly made in Favour of thoſe of the Religion. Given at Bourdeaux, November 10. 1615. *and Publiſh'd at* Paris *in Parlament*, December 7. *the ſame Year.*

LEWIS, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarr.* To all, *&c.* The Declarations ſet forth and reiterated by us ſince our coming to the Crown, in Confirmation of the Edicts, Declarations, Brevets, Decrees and Regulations made in favour of our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, during the Reign of the Deceaſed King *Henry* the Great, our thrice Honour'd Lord and Father, whom God Abſolve, have been ſufficient to make it known, that it has been always our Intention and Deſire to cauſe them to be inviolably obſerv'd, as being Laws requiſite to preſerve our Subjects in Peace and Friendſhip one with another, and in their Obedience and Duty toward ourſelves. Which being well and prudently conſider'd by the Queen, our thrice Honour'd Lady and Mother, ſhe, during her Regency, took great care to ſee 'em obſerv'd, and that the Breaches and Infringements thereof ſhould be repair'd ſo ſoon as ſhe receiv'd the Complaints. We have alſo ſince our Majority follow'd the ſame Counſels, and in Imitation of Her have accumulated New Gratifications and Favours; many times alſo conniv'd at Extravagancies and Violences committed by ſome of 'em, thô they deſerv'd very great and ſevere Puniſhment, out of an Intention always to aſſure 'em of our good Will and favour, and by that means, to render 'em more inclinable, and more ſtudious to keep themſelves within the bounds of their Duty. To which, would they but have added the remembrance of the kind and favourable Uſage, which they receiv'd at the hands of the Deceaſed King, our thrice Honour'd Lord and Father, to whoſe Memory they owe the Confirmation of their Liberty and the Exerciſe of their Religion, which they enjoy with all Security, they would out of a praiſe-worthy Gratitude, and the Duty of an entire Obedience and Fidelity, have acknowledg'd to our ſelves all thoſe Obligations, at a time eſpecially when the Innocence and weakneſs of our Infant Years ought to have excited the Vertue, Courage and Fidelity of all our good Subjects to defend and preſerve the Authority which God has put into our Hands, upon which alone depends the Publick Security, and the particular Safety of every Private Perſon. Nevertheleſs, this Conduct, thô full of Goodneſs and Mildneſs, has prov'd no way beneficial to

us,

us, ſeveral having betaken themſelves to Arms againſt us, to favour the Commotion began by our Couſin the Prince of *Condè*. Among whom there are ſome who make uſe of Religion, as a ſpecious Pretence to cover and Cloak their Ambition, and furious deſire of advancing themſelves upon the Diſorders and Ruins of the Kingdom; others have been miſled and deceiv'd by falſe Impreſſions and vain Fears, which the former have infus'd into 'em, that they were in danger of Perſecution, if they did not ſpeedily join Arms with 'em for their own Preſervation; making them believe, the better to ſurprize their ſimplicity, that upon the Marriages with *Spain*, ſecret Articles were made, and a Conſpiracy enter'd into, to expell 'em out of the Kingdom. To which they too eaſily giving Credit, have precipitated themſelves into this enterprize, believing themſelves to be conſtrain'd thereto for their juſt and neceſſary defence; which renders their fault the more excuſable, and rather meriting Compaſſion then Puniſhment. But they had not run themſelves into this inconvenience, had they better conſider'd, that this ſame Impudent and Malicious Lye, was without any appearance of Truth; there being no Body ſo void of Sence and Judgment, that believe, ſince the Alliances were fought by honourable ways on both ſides, as has been accuſtom'd among great Princes, that Conditions ſhould have been requeſted or deſir'd by us, which could not be fulfill'd without plunging the Kingdom into Fire and Sword, and laying it waſte with Depopulation: As queſtionleſs it would have fallen out by breaking the Edicts of Pacification, and ſo ſevere and unjuſt a uſage of our Subjects of the Religion, as they give out by a lye Artificially invented, and with a very wicked deſign: For nothing has been done privately in the purſuit, and reſolving upon thoſe Alliances, but every thing has been Publick, ſeen, imparted, concluded and decreed with our Deceaſed Couſin, the Count of *Soiſſons*, a wiſe Prince and of ſolid Years, and great Experience, with our Couſin the Prince of *Condè*, and other Princes, Lords, Officers of the Crown, and moſt eminent Perſons of our Council then about us. Among whom our Couſin the Marſhal *de Bouillon* was always preſent, having altogether unanimouſly approv'd theſe Alliances, without the leaſt Oppoſition of any one, every one being free to think and ſpeak what he thought in his Conſcience moſt profitable for the good of the Kingdom, without fear of offending us, or incurring our diſpleaſure; foraſmuch as neither the Queen, then Regent, nor we our ſelves had the leaſt prejudice in our Minds, but only a deſire to be ſatisfi'd, what was moſt expedient to be done in a debate of that Importance. All Soveraigns, who think it their Intereſt to preſerve the Ancient Reputation and Grandeur of this Kingdom, having likewiſe acknowledg'd theſe Alliances never

to

to have been made with any evil design, have had no suspition or distrust of 'em, after they were inform'd that our Intention was, to make 'em serviceable as much as in us lay, toward the securing of the peace of Christendom, not for any enterprise or Invasion of the Countreys or Kingdoms of any Princes or Soveraigns whatever, much less to interrupt the Peace and Repose which all our Subjects happily enjoy'd before this Commotion began. Nevertheless they of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who have taken Arms, forbear not to report and publish, that there is a private Correspondence between *France* and *Spain*, to attempt their Ruin; being desirous to make all our Subjects believe, that we have so little Consideration in us, as to approve and consent that *France* should be the Theater wherein to play this Bloody Tragedy, in which the differences in Religion are to be decided by Arms; tho' we are far remote from any such Counsel, and rather to believe that the Decision of that Contest ought to be left to God alone, who knows in his own time, for his own Glory and our Security, to make use of the most proper, and convenient means to be ador'd and worshipt by all Christians, according to the Purity of his Doctrine, and by the True Church, which we believe to be the Catholick, Apostolick, and *Roman*, of which we make Profession, and in which by his Grace we intend to Live and Dye. But these Artifices invented, to disguise and cover their Rebellion, have no way deceiv'd or milled the wiser sort, who being People of worth, profess the same Religion, only by the Dictates of Conscience, as believing to find their Salvation therein, and not out of any proneness to Faction; who being very numerous, as well Lords, Gentlemen, Cities, Communities, and other Private Persons of all Qualities, both blame and detest the Malice and Rashness of their Attempt, and have publickly declar'd as well by word of Mouth as by writing, that it ought to be lookt upon as real and flat Rebellion, and not for any Quarrel about Religion: They having also upon this occasion offer'd us, like good, true and loyal Subjects, all Assistance of their Lives and Fortunes, if they refuse to return to their Duty. To which purpose they admonish 'em every day, and threaten 'em to joyn with us, in the Prosecution of their Ruin, provided we would be pleas'd to let 'em enjoy the Benefit of the Edicts, and only deprive them of that Favour who have render'd themselves incapable of it. But these Remonstrances and Menaces have wrought no more upon 'em, then those of the Inhabitants of the greatest part of the Cities and Places, which have been left in their hands, who have done as much, and publickly protested also, that they would not adhere to 'em in their Rebellion. For instead of quitting their wicked Design, they have insolently given out, that those of their Religion, who have not hitherto follow'd 'em,

'em, ſhall at length be conſtrain'd to do it; for fear that in ſuffering them to be ruin'd and deſtroy'd, they do not weaken and endanger themſelves. A Condition and Servitude too hard for Men of worth, to be conſtrain'd to do evil againſt their Wills, their Conſcience and their Duty, in compliance with thoſe who are only govern'd by their Ambition, and Private Intereſt. However we hope better things from their Vertue and Fidelity, and that they will remain ſo firm and conſtant in their Affection to our Service, that their Reſiſtance, and the continuance of their Loyalty will have force ſufficient to conſtrain others to deſiſt from their attempt, thô to juſtifie and corroborate it, they ſuppoſe Reſolutions and Decrees of General Aſſemblies that never were; but only certain Conventicles, and unlawful Meetings of particular Perſons choſen and ſuborn'd by 'em, who without any Employment or Authority, and many times againſt the expreſs Will and Declarations, contain'd in the Procurations and Injunctions of thoſe by whom they were deputed, adhere to the Propoſals of the Factious, who deſire to make uſe of 'em to the great damage and prejudice of honeſt Men of their Religion. Therefore, it not being any Intention of ours to impute to all the faults of ſome particular Perſons, We, with the Advice of the Queen our thrice Honour'd Lady and Mother, the Princes, *&c.* and of our full Power and Royal Authority, have ſaid, declar'd and ordain'd, and do ſay, declare and ordain, and it is our Will and Pleaſure, in Conformity to what we have already formerly and ſeveral times ordain'd, that the Edict of *Nantes*, verifi'd in all our Parlaments, made in favour of our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion by the Deceaſed King, our thrice Honour'd Lord and Father, together with the reſt of the Articles, Declarations and Regulations made, and Decrees ſet forth either by way of Explanation, or for the better Execution, and in purſuance of the ſaid Edict, by him, and during his Reign, or by Us ſince his Deceaſe, be inviolably fulfill'd, kept and obſerv'd, as has been done and ordain'd to this preſent Time. And that if in any parts of the Kingdom, there have been Infringements, they may be abſolutely repair'd, and ſatisfaction given for 'em; ſo that nothing more may be deſir'd on our Part. Moreover it is our Pleaſure, in Conſideration of the Fidelity, which an infinite number of our good Subjects of the ſame Religion have made known and obſerv'd toward us, among whom are the moſt Principal, and Men of greateſt Quality, who Merit a ſingular Teſtimony of our good Will, that in deſpite of the wrongs, which have been done us by thoſe of the ſaid Religion, who have taken Arms againſt us, or have aſſiſted and favour'd 'em in any manner whatever, they may in like manner enjoy the Benefit of our Edicts, and be partakers of that Favour, as well as thoſe who have perſiſted in

their Duty, provided that within one Month after Publication of theſe Preſents in every one of our Parlaments, they declare to the Regiſter of the Bailiwick or Seneſchalſhip, under whoſe Juriſdiction they live, that they have deſiſted and quitted the ſaid enterprize to do us Service, according to their Duty, without any longer adhering to, aſſiſting or favouring in any manner of way, thoſe who perſiſt in their Rebellion; and that they ſurrender back thoſe places which they poſſeſs, in the ſame Condition as they were before the Inſurrection. Which being done, without any new breach of their Duty, we have taken and put 'em, and do take and put 'em under our Protection. And we prohibit and forbid all our Subjects of what quality ſoever to revile and offend 'em, either in Word or Deed for any thing Paſt, as alſo our Advocates General, to iſſue forth any Proſecutions againſt 'em; deſiring that what is paſt may be buried in Oblivion and Cancell'd, and we forget and cancel the ſame by theſe Preſents. But if after the ſpace of the ſaid Month elaps'd, they continue in their Rebellion, either by bearing Arms, or aſſiſting in any manner thoſe that are in Arms, it is our Pleaſure that they be proſecuted and puniſh'd as Criminals and Guilty of High Treaſon, and Diſturbers of the Publick Peace; and that the Cities and Communities which adhere to 'em, be declar'd to have forfeited all Favours, Priviledges and Immunities which they enjoy'd, by vertue of any Charters granted 'em by the Kings our Predeceſſours, or by our ſelves, as having render'd themſelves unworthy of 'em. And we command our Advocate Generals to proſecute 'em with all Diligence, and our Parlaments to proceed againſt 'em with their utmoſt Care and Affection; and our Governours and Lieutenant Generals to be ſtrenuouſly aſſiſting in the Execution of ſuch Decrees and Judgments, as ſhall be pronounc'd againſt 'em: not ſuffering 'em to enjoy any Favour or Priviledge, granted 'em by the Edicts, made in Favour of our Subjects of the ſaid Religion; of which they have render'd themſelves unworthy by this Pernicious Rebellion.

So we command our well Beloved and Faithful Counſellours, holding Courts of Parlament, Chambers of the Edict, Bailiffs, Seneſchals, *&c.* that theſe our preſent Letters of Declaration, be Publiſht and Regiſter'd, and the Contents of 'em punctually obſerv'd, according to their Form and Tenour, *&c.* Commanding alſo our Advocates General, and their ſubſtitutes to be aſſiſting, *&c.* For ſuch is our Will and Pleaſure. In Witneſs whereof, *&c.*

Given at *Bourdeaux*, *November* 10. 1615. and ſixth of our Reign.

Sign'd *Lewis.*

And below, by the King.

De Lomenie.

Seal'd

Seal'd with the great Seal in Yellow Wax upon a double Label.

Read, Publiſh'd, and Regiſter'd, upon the Motion of the Atturney General; and order'd that Copies be ſent to the Bailiwicks and Seneſchalſhips, *&c.* to be there Publiſh'd and Regiſter'd with all ſpeed by the Subſtitutes, *&c.* At *Paris* in Parlament, *December* 7. 1615.

Sign'd *De Tillet.*

Extract of the Kings Edict, for the Pacifying of the Troubles of his Kingdom; given at Blois, May 1616. *and veriſi'd,* June 13. *the ſame Year.*

Article XLV.

OUr Pleaſure and Meaning is, that the Edicts of Pacification, Declarations, and ſecret Articles, veriſi'd in our Courts of Parlament, as alſo the Brevets, and Anſwers to the Papers, made by the Deceaſed King, our thrice Honour'd Lord and Father, in Favour of the Pretended Reformed Religion be obſerv'd and executed, and that they may enjoy 'em according to their Form and Tenour.

XV. And whereas M. *Peter Berger*, Counſellour in our Court of Parlament in *Paris*, who had one of the ſix Offices, which by XXX. Article of the ſaid Edict were appointed for thoſe of the Pretended Reformed Religion, has made Profeſſion ſince of the Catholick, we have created and erected, and do create and erect, *de novo*, an Office and Counſellour in our ſaid Court of Parlament at *Paris*, with the ſame Salary, Rights, Priviledges, Authority and Functions equal to any of the Reſt. Which Office now by Us created, we appropriate to thoſe of the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion, inſtead of that which *Berger* held, and for which we will provide a Perſon of the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion, of ability and ſufficiency, according to the Form expreſs'd in the L. of the Private Articles granted at *Nantes* to thoſe of the ſaid Religion.

XVI. It is our Pleaſure and Meaning, that the Exerciſe of the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion, ſhall be reſtor'd and ſettl'd in Places, where it has been diſcontinu'd or interrupted, ſince the ſaid firſt of *July*, by Reaſon of the Preſent Commotions, in the ſame Manner and Form as before.

XVII. And to the end there may be no Queſtion of the ſincere Intention of our Dear Couſin the Prince of *Condè*, and thoſe who are joyn'd with him, we declare that we repute and hold our ſaid Couſin the Prince of *Condè*, for our good Kinſman, and faithful Subject and Servant, as alſo the reſt of the Princes, Dukes, Peers, Officers of the Crown, Lords, Gentlemen, Cities, Communities and others,

as well Catholicks as of the Pretended Reformed Religion, of what Quality or Condition ſoever they be, who aſſiſted him, or joyn'd or united with him, as well before as after the ſuſpenſion of Arms, comprehending alſo the Deputies of the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion; tho' aſſembl'd at *Nimes*, and preſent at *Rochel*, for our good Subjects and Servants. And after we read the Declaration ſet forth to us, by our ſaid Couſin the Prince of *Condè*, we believe and deem, that what was done by him and the abovenamed, was done out of a good end and Intention, and for our Service.

LIII. The Secret Articles which have been granted by us, and which will be found inſerted in the preſent Edict ſhall be punctually and inviolably fulfill'd and obſerv'd, and upon an Extract of the ſaid Articles, Sign'd by one of our Secretaries of State, all neceſſary Letters ſhall be forthwith given out.

Private Articles granted in the Kings Name by his Deputies, ſent to the Conference at Loudun *to the Prince of* Condè, *and others joyn'd with him, to obtain the Pacification of the Troubles; after that, ſeen, approv'd and ratify'd by his Majeſty.*

I. 'TIs the Kings Pleaſure and meaning after the Example of the Kings his Predeceſſors, that the *Gallican* Church be preſerv'd in her Rights, Franchiſes, Liberties, and Prerogatives.

II. What has been done by the Clergy upon the Publication of the Council *Trent*, has not been approv'd by his Majeſtie; and conſequently nothing has come of it: Nor will he permit that any thing be done hereafter without or contrary to his Authority.

III. Altho that in the Edict it be expreſs'd, that all places which have been taken on either ſide during theſe Troubles, ſhall be reſtor'd, to the ſame Hands, and reſettl'd in the ſame Condition as they were before; Nevertheleſs, it is agreed, that the Caſtle of *Leitoure*, ſhall be put into the Hands of an Exempt of the Guards of the Kings Body, or ſome other of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who ſhall be made Choice of by his Majeſty to keep it till the Conteſt between the Sieurs *de Fontrailles* and *Angelin*, about the Captainſhip of the ſaid Caſtle, be adjuſted by his Majeſty.

IV. That the XXVII. Article of the Edict of *Nantes* about the Pacification of the Troubles, concerning the admitting promiſcuouſly thoſe who do or ſhall profeſs the Pre-

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tended Reformed Religion, to all Eſtates, Dignities, Publick Offices or Employments, Royal, Signiorial, or City Magiſtrates, ſhall be follow'd and obſerv'd; and by vertue of this the *Sieurs Villemereau*, Counſellour in the Court of Parliament, and *Le Maiſtre*, Maſter in the Chamber of Accompts, ſhall be admitted to the Exerciſe of their Employments as they were before they profeſs'd the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion.

V. The Miniſters of the Pretended Reformed Religion, ſhall enjoy the favour and Exemptions to them Vouſaf'd by the Kings Letters Patents of *December* 15. 1612.

VI. The Sieurs *Durant*, *Louis* and *Gauſin*, ſhall be reſettled in the City of *Metz*, as formerly they were.

VII. The Inhabitants of the City of *Millau*, and of the Cities, Boroughs and Communities of the County of *Foix*, who were at the Taking of the Caſtle of *Cameſade*, as alſo ſome particular Perſons of the City of *Nimes*, ſhall enjoy the Benefit of the *Amneſties*, which were formerly granted 'em, for ſome Crimes and Extravagancies therein mention'd, without needing any other Verification then the Regiſtring of theſe preſent Articles, nor ſhall the ſaid Regiſtring be any Prejudice to the Civil Intereſts of the Parties, for which there ſhall be proviſion made according to reaſon. And as for the City of *Millau*, the Catholicks, as well Eccleſiaſticks as others, may make their abodes there, and ſecurely continue Divine Worſhip, the King protecting 'em from thoſe of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who ſhall be reſponſible.

VIII. The Lady *Dandoux*, and the Sieur *de St. Foy*, together with thoſe who aſſiſted 'em, ſhall be wholly diſcharg'd from all that may be lay'd to their charge by reaſon of what was done at *Beleſtat*, in 1615. Which ſhall be extinguiſh'd, cancell'd and aboliſh'd; nor ſhall they be bound to put themſelves into a Condition, for the allowance of the Favour or diſcharge which has been or ſhall be expedited for 'em; from which they ſhall be totally acquitted and Exonerated at the Charge alſo of the civil Intereſt, if it ſo fall out: And that the Inhabitants who profeſs the Pretended Reformed Religion, may abide there with all ſafety and freedom, and enjoy the Exerciſe of their Religion as is permitted 'em by the Edicts, which ſhall remain in the Cuſtody of the Catholicks.

IX. The Sieur *d' Ardon*, ſhall be reſtor'd to the Government of the City of *Vennes*, which Reeſtabliſhment ſhall be made good by the Governour and Lieutenant General of the Province.

X. The Declaration which has been ſet forth in favour of the Sieur *de Borne*, to the prejudice of the Employment of the Grand Maſter of the Artillery, ſhall be revok'd, and the ſaid Employment reſtor'd

reſtor'd back, with the ſame Authority and Functions as the Grand Maſters enjoy'd who Exercis'd it formerly.

XI. The Sieurs Marquiſs of *Bonuiver* and *Friaiſe*, ſhall be releas'd and ſet at Liberty, and all Informations and Proceedings againſt 'em, by reaſon of the preſent Troubles, ſhall be made Null and of no Effect.

XII. M. *Nicolas Cugnois*, Provincial Receiver of the Tithes of *Burgundy*, in *Burguudy*, ſhall be diſcharg'd, together with his Bail, and his Enſurers, of the Summ of 21000 Livers, which he was conſtrain'd to pay to the Duke of *Mayenne*, being as well the Mony of the ſaid Receipt of Tithes, as of the Conſignation which he was forc'd to pay to the *Chatelet* of *Paris*, for the purchaſe of the ſaid Office, or the Remainder of the Years during which it was to be enjoy'd. Nor ſhall the ſaid *Cugnois* be bound to report any Verbal Proceſs of the ſaid Conſtraint with which he is diſpens'd, according to the Declaration which the Duke of *Maine* ſet forth, acknowledging the Receipt of the ſaid 21000 Livers from the ſaid *Cugnois*, and its being laid out in the Affairs of the War; and of which the ſaid *Cugnois* ſhall be abſolutely acquitted and clear'd as to the Receiver General of the Clergy of *France*; as alſo of the Conſignations of the ſaid *Chatelet*, and all other Summs, by vertue of the ſaid Duke of *Mayennes* Acquittance for the Summ of 21000 Livers, which ſhall ſerve for a Diſcharge to the ſaid Receivers.

XIII. The Commiſſion for the razing the Caſtle of *Tigny*, in *Anjou*, ſhall be revok'd, if it be not done already.

XIV. The Duke of *Vendoſme*, with all his Domeſtick Servants, thoſe of his Troop of Genſdarms, and of the Troop of light Horſe, call'd the Duke of *Mercoeur* his Sons Troop, commanded by the Sieur *de la Vacre Chivray*; together with the Sieurs *Duiſſon*, *d'Arabon*, Baron *de Quernevan*, Baron *de Vieux Chaſteau*, and the Widows and Children of the Sieurs *d'Oervaux*, and the Sieur *de Cammores*, ſhall have an Appeal for all Proceſſes and ſuits as well Criminal as Civil, which they may have as defendants in the Court of Parlament of *Rennes*, and the ſaid Proceſſes ſhall be remov'd to the Grand Council, and that for a Year; to which purpoſe requiſite Letters of Appeal ſhall be expedited: Under the Counter Seal of which ſhall be affix'd the Caſes both of the ſaid Domeſticks and Companies.

XV. The King grants to M. the Prince of *Conde*, as well for himſelf, as for all other Princes and Lords, as well Catholick as of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who joyn'd and united with him, the ſumm of 1500 Thouſand Livers as well for the Payment of the Levies, keeping afoot and diſbanding the Souldiers, as for the Charges and Expences of the ſaid War.

Done and Decreed by the King in

in his Council, the Queen Mother Present, *May* 16. 1616.

And lower under the Counter-Seal of the Edict,

Sign'd *LEWIS.*

Pothier.

A Declaration of the King upon the Edicts of Pacification; given at Paris, July 20. 1616. *and verify'd* August 4. *the ſame Year*

Lewis, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarr*, To all, *&c.* Tho' that ſince our coming to this Crown we have clearly enough made known our continual care to preſerve all our Subjects in Amity, Union and Concord one with another, as alſo thoſe who profeſs the Pretended Reformed Religion, with all the ſafety and freedom that they can deſire, as well for their Conſciences as for their Perſons, Eſtates, Offices and Dignities, under the Obſervance of the Edicts of Pacification, ſecret Articles, Declarations, Brevets, and other Favours and Conceſſions granted 'em by the Deceas'd King, our thrice Honour'd Lord and Father, whom God abſolve, and ſince by our ſelves confirm'd: To which purpoſe we caus'd to be expedited in their favour ſeveral Declarations in expreſs terms, as well at our coming to the Crown, and our entrance into our Majority, as upon ſeveral other Occaſions; upon which we judg'd that they might deſire to be ſatisfi'd of our good and ſincere Intentions in that particular: Nevertheleſs, conſidering what has been repreſented to us, that ſome among 'em remain under ſome ſuſpition and jealouſie, for that ſince the General Eſtates of our Kingdom were laſt convok'd, and aſſembl'd in our good City of *Paris*, it was ſet afoot and reſolv'd, that we ſhould be petition'd to, that we would be pleas'd to preſerve the Catholick, Apoſtolick and *Roman* Religion, according to the Oath which we took at our Coronation, tho' they that were there as Deputies, have ſince ſufficiently given us to underſtand, that what was done proceded rather out of the abundance of their Affection for the ſaid Catholick Religions, then out of any ill Will which they bear to thoſe of the Pretended Reformed Religion, We acknowledge at the ſame time, how neceſſary a thing it is to obſerve the Edicts of Pacification made in their Favour, and how requiſite it is for the Welfare and Tranquillity of the Kingdom; deſiring therefore a freſh, to ſatisfie our ſaid Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, of our good will in that Particular, and to the end we may not leave any Scruple unremov'd upon the ſaid

Propoſals

propoſals in the Aſſembly of States General; For theſe Reaſons, and other Conſiderations, us thereunto moving, with the advice of the Queen Mother, our thrice honour'd Lady and Mother, the Princes, Officers of the Crown, and principal Members of our Council, about our perſon, we have ſaid and declar'd, ſay and declare, That we never had any thoughts, by the Oath which we took at our Coronation, to comprehend therein our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, living in our Kingdom under the benefits of our ſaid Edicts, Articles and Delarations made in their favour, which it is our pleaſure ſhall be always inviolably follow'd and obſerv'd, without the leaſt infringment, and which as occaſion requires we have all along confirm'd and by theſe Preſents confirm. Enjoyning all our Officers to proſecute and puniſh the Infringers thereof, as refractory Perſons, and Diſturbers of the publick Peace. Thus we command all our beloved and faithful Counſellors, holding our Courts of Parlament, Bailiffs, Seneſchals, *&c.* that they cauſe theſe our preſent Letters Declaratory to be read, publiſh'd and regiſter'd, *&c.* and that the Contents thereof be inviolably kept and preſerv'd. In Teſtimony whereof we have caus'd our Seal to be affix'd. Given at *Paris*, *July* 20. 1616. in the 7*th.* Year of our Reign.

Sign'd *LEWIS.*

By the King in Council.

De Lomenie.

Seal'd with the Great Seal, in Yellow wax, upon a double Label.

Read, publiſh'd and regiſter'd upon the Motion of the Kings Advocate General, and Copies order'd to be ſent to all the Bayliwicks, and Seneſchalſhips, to be there publiſh'd and regiſter'd, *&c.* At *Paris* in Parlament, *Auguſt* 4. 1616.

Sign'd *Voiſin.*

A Declaration of the King, containing a Confirmation of the Edict of Loudun, *and the Private Articles of it. Given at* Paris *the laſt of* September, 1616. *and verify'd* October 25. *the ſame Year.*

LEWIS, by the Grace of God King of *France* and *Navarr*, to all *&c.* As it has been an extraordinary Grief to us, when we were conſtrain'd upon juſt cauſe and conſideration, concerning our own and the ſecurity of our Kingdom, to order our Couſin the Prince of *Conde* to be ſeiz'd, and on the other ſide were extreamly

overjoy'd

overjoy'd and contented when we underſtood that the Princes, Dukes, Peers, Officers of the Crown and others who withdrew from our Court upon that Accident, all deſir'd the Peace and Tranquillity of our Kingdom, and to ſatisfie us with their Actions; of which having duly inform'd us, and of the Occaſion of their abſence, and being convinc'd of the reaſons that might leſſen the confidence which we had in 'em, We remain'd ſo well ſatisfi'd, that there was not the leaſt ill Opinion left in our minds of their deportment: Nevertheleſs' foraſmuch as by our Letters Patents Declaratory upon the Decree for the ſeizing our ſaid Couſin, by reaſon of the General and particular Expreſſions, and Circumſtances therin mention'd, it might be otherwiſe judg'd of their Intentions, as alſo that their Abſence and withdrawing from our Perſon, might have render'd 'em ſuſpected of things not conſiſting with their Duty and the Quality of that allegiance which they owe us; for theſe Reaſons, being deſirous to preſerve their Honour and their Reputation entire, we make known of our own proper motion, full Power and Royal Authority, and with the Advice of the Queen, our thrice honour'd Lady and Mother, Princes of our blood, other Princes, *&c.* and We have declared, and do declare, that neither by our ſaid Declaration, nor by any terms, or general or ſpecial Word therein contain'd, we either meant or do mean to comprehend the ſaid Princes, Dukes, Peers, Officers of the Crown, Lords, Officers of our Sovereign Courts, or others of what Quality or Condition ſoever they be, ſuſpected, and departing from *Paris*, upon the day of the Seizure and Detention of our ſaid Couſin, and ſince the abovemention'd Accident, who have made us ſenſible of the ſincerity of their Intentions, and their Reſolutions ſtill to continue in their Obedience to us, whom we hold and look upon as our Good, Faithfull, and Affectionate Subjects and Servants, no way conſenting nor partakers of the Facts contain'd in the ſaid Declaration; and it is our Pleaſure that they enjoy our Graces, Favours, Benefits, Honours and Governments, and that they exerciſe their Employments and Offices as they did before, and as belongs to their abovemention'd Preferments, notwithſtanding all the Interdictions and Letters which might have been ſet forth to the contrary. Moreover, it is our Pleaſure, that the Edict not long ſince made at *Loudun*, be maintain'd, with all the Articles as well General, as particular and private, granted in purſuance of the ſaid Edict, and that our Subjects may enjoy the benefit of 'em. To that end we command our faithful and beloved Councellours, *&c.* That they cauſe theſe preſents to be verify'd and regiſter'd, fulfill'd and obſerv'd according to their form and Tenour, for ſuch is our Plea-

ſure. Given at *Paris*, *September*, the laſt, 1616. and 7*th*. of our Reign

Sign'd *LEWIS*.

And below, by the King.

Mangot.

Seal'd with the Great Seal of Yellow wax upon a double Label.

Read, Publiſh'd and Regiſter'd, upon the Motion of the Kings Advocate General; and Copies order'd to be ſent to the Bailywicks and Seneſchalſhips &c. To be there alſo publiſh'd and regiſter'd &c. At *Paris* in Parlament, *October* 25. 1616.

Sign'd *Du Tiller*.

A Declaration of the King againſt the Unlawful Aſſemblies of any of the Pretended Reformed Religion at Caſtle Jaloux *and* Bearn. *Given at* Paris, May 21. 1618. *Verify'd* May 25.

LEwis, by the grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarr*, To all, &c. Upon Information given us the laſt Month of *April*, that ſome of our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion took upon 'em contrary and in contempt of the Edicts of Pacification, and ſeveral Declarations by us ſet forth, to ſummon and hold unlawful Aſſemblies, and ſuch as were by us prohibited, and alſo that they had appointed one of ſeveral Provinces to be held in the City of *Chatel-Jaloux* in our Country of *Guyenne*, we took an Occaſion to expedite our Letters Patents dated *April* 20*th*. by which we declar'd all Aſſemblies that ſhould be ſummon'd by our ſaid Subjects of the ſaid pretended Reformed Religion, other then ſuch as were permitted by our Edicts, and for which they had expreſs leave from us, to be unlawful, and contrary to our Authority and Service, and as ſuch we forbid 'em, upon pain of Diſobedience; ordering Proſecution againſt the Authors of the ſame, and all thoſe that ſhould go thither and be preſent there, as Infringers of our Edicts, and diſturbers of the publick Peace. Which our ſaid Letters having bin publiſh'd and regiſter'd in our Court of Parlament at *Bourdeaux*, and Chamber of Edict at *Nerac*, our Officers of the ſaid Societies had taken ſuch care for the obſervance of 'em, that the Governour and Conſuls of the ſaid City of *Chatel-Jaloux* and they who were entruſted with the command of ſeveral other Cities of the ſaid Province held by thoſe of the pretended Reformed Religion, had obſtructed and refus'd the holding of the ſaid Aſſembly, and for that reaſon would have enforced thoſe that were deputed thither to have departed. But we have bin inform'd within theſe few

few days, that the more factious among 'em, finding that by reason of our said Declaration, they could not with freedom and safety hold the said Assembly, which they had contriv'd to be such as they desir'd to have it, resolv'd to call it without the Jurisdiction of the Parlament, in our Country of *Bearn*, or some other Part, whither they had invited several of our Subjects from divers Provinces to meet. Which being directly prejudicial to our authority, and the good of our Service, the Peace and Tranquility of our Subjects, and contrary to our Edicts of Pacification, and several Declarations set forth upon that Subject, desirous of an Occasion to provide against it, and to punish those who carry themselves with so much disobedience and unbridl'd License, we have said and declar'd, and do say and declare, that it is our Pleasure and Intention, that at the Prosecution and Solicitation of our Advocates General and their Substitutes, our Judges and Officers of the Places, shall proceed against all those who have bin the Authors, and shall be found present at the said Assembly by them newly summon'd in our said Province of *Bearn*, or in any other unlawful Assemblies, and such as are forbid by our Edicts and Declarations, as Violators of our Edicts, and disturbers of the publick Peace: And to this Effect we will and require that they be apprehended and taken into Custody where e're they shall be found hereafter, to the end their Prosecutions may be brought to a Conclusion. And where they cannot be taken, that they may be proceeded against for Contumacy, Seizure and Inventories made of their Goods, according to the Forms in such Cases customary. So we command our beloved and faithful Counsellors, holding our Court of Parlament at *Paris*, that they give Order that these presents be read, publish'd and regist'red, *&c.* For such is our pleasure. In Testimony, *&c.*

Given at *Paris May* 21*st.* 1618.
And Ninth of our Reign.

Sign'd *LEWIS.*

By the King,

De Lomenie.

Seal'd, *&c.*

Read, Publish'd and Regist'red, at the Motion of the Kings Advocate General, and authentick Copies order'd to be sent, *&c.* To the end they may be read, publish'd, Regist'red and Executed within their several Jurisdictions, *&c.* At *Paris* in Parlament *May* 25*th.* 1618.

Sign'd *Du Tillet.*

A Declaration of the King, confirming the Edicts of Pacification, and the Aſſemblies of Caſtle-Jaloux, *and others approv'd. Given at* Amboiſe, May 24. *and verify'd* July 5.

LEwis, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarr*, to all, *&c.* It has bin always our Intention carefully to maintain and cauſe to be obſerv'd toward our Subjects profeſſing the pretended Reformed Religion, the Favours, Conceſſions and Advantages which the Deceaſed King our thrice honour'd Lord and Father granted 'em by the Edict of *Nantes*, and by the Brevets and Declarations which enſu'd upon it, and which have ſince by us bin confirm'd. On the other ſide, we have deſir'd that on their part they would confine themſelves to the Obſervance of the ſame Edict, and live under the Protection of it, with the ſame Fidelity as the Reſt of our Subjects. And when they have given themſelves the Liberty to do any thing contrary to their duty, we have been oblig'd to let 'em underſtand our Reſentment, and for that reaſon to ſet forth Declarations and other Letters Patents, ſuch as we our ſelves thought neceſſary, upon the Occaſion which preſented themſelves. As we did in *April* the laſt year, being inform'd that ſome among 'em took upon 'em, contrary and in contempt of our ſaid Edicts and Declarations, to ſummon and hold unlawful Aſſemblies, and ſuch as were by us prohibited, as alſo that they had appointed one at *Caſtle-Jaloux* in *Guyenne*. We therefore expedited our Letters Patents of the 20*th*. of the ſaid Month, by which we declar'd the ſaid Aſſembly and all others that were held by 'em, other then thoſe that were permitted by us, to be unlawful, and contrary to our Authority and Service, and as ſuch we forbid 'em under the Penalty of diſobedience. Since that, we have bin inform'd, that they themſelves who had contriv'd to hold the ſaid Aſſembly at *Caſtel-jaloux*, finding that they were obſtructed by reaſon of our ſaid Declaration, were reſolv'd to call another without the Juriſdiction of our Parlament of *Bourdeaux*, and to appoint it at *Orthes* in *Bearn*, to the end they might hold it there with more freedom. Upon that we ſet forth a Declaration dated the 21*ſt*. of *May* enſuing: By which we declar'd it to be our pleaſure, that upon the Proſecution and Solicitation of our Advocate Generals and their Subſtitutes, the Judges and other Officers of the places ſhould rigorouſly proceed againſt ſuch as ſhould be the Authors, or ſhould be found preſent in the ſaid Aſſembly which was ſaid to be call'd in *Bearn*, or in any other unlawful Aſſemblies forbid by our Edicts, as Violators of our Edicts, and Diſturbers of the publick Peace. Which nevertheleſs did not prevent the holding of the ſaid

ſaid Aſſembly, nor the Removal of it afterwards to our City of *Rody*: at which we have juſt Reaſon to be offended, were it not but that upon this laſt Motion, they who met at the ſaid Aſſembly, acknowledging that ſome of our Subjects, deſirous to make uſe of the Name of the Queen, our thrice honour'd Lady and Mother, to trouble the Peace of our Kingdom, ſought their Advantages, to the Prejudice of our Authority and the good of our Service, and that if they had done amiſs in meeting to the prejudice of our Prohibitions, they had no Intention however to diſſerve us; having ſent their Deputies to us upon this Occaſion, to proteſt and aſſure us of their Fidelity, Obedience and Duty to our Service, and to beſeech us to honour 'em with our commands. Which being well underſtood and conſider'd, we reſolv'd to hear their Deputies mildly and favourably, and to forget the Offence which they had committed by reaſon of that Aſſembly. Which being deſirous effectually to do, for theſe cauſes, after the Affair was ſet afoot and debated in our Council, where were preſent ſeveral Princes, *&c.* With their Advice, and of our own certain knowledge, full Power and Royal Authority, we ſay and declare, and it is our Will and Pleaſure, that our ſaid Subjects who met in the ſaid Aſſemblies, held in the ſaid Cities of *Orthes* and *Rody*, together with thoſe that were deputed thither, ſhall not be diſturb'd, moleſted or proſecuted upon that Occaſion; but that they be abſolutely diſcharg'd, and that they may return home with freedom and ſafety to their own Houſes and Places of abode; notwithſtanding the Declarations above mention'd, and all Decrees and Judgments that might be iſſu'd forth againſt 'em. It is our pleaſure alſo that if any of 'em have bin taken and impriſon'd, or have had their Goods ſeiz'd upon the ſaid Occaſion, their Perſons ſhall be acquitted, and their Goods reſtor'd; as having upon the ſaid Conſiderations, extinguiſh'd and buried in Oblivion the Miſcarriage which was committed upon that Occaſion. And we impoſe perpetual ſilence upon our Advocates General, their Subſtitutes and others, whom we charge and command however to be aſſiſting in the Execution and Obſervance of our Edicts and Declarations aforeſaid. So we command our faithful and beloved Counſellors, *&c.* That theſe preſents may be read publiſh'd and regiſter'd, *&c.* And that our Subjects of the pretended Reformed Religion, may enjoy the Benefit of the Contents fully and peaceably, without ſuffering the leaſt Injury, Trouble or Impeachment to be offer'd 'em. For ſuch is our Pleaſure. In Witneſs, *&c.* Given at *Amboiſe*, *May* 24*th.* 1619. and 10*th.* of our Reign.

Sign'd *LEWIS.*

And below, By the King,

De Lomenie,

Seal'd

Seal'd &c. *Paris* in Parliament, *July* 15*th*. 1619.

Regiſter'd upon the Motion of the Kings Attorney General. At Sign'd, *Gallar*

A Declaration of the King againſt thoſe of the Aſſembly at Loudun, *together with a Confirmation of the Preceding Edicts of Pacification. Given at* Paris, February 26. 1620. *and Publiſh'd in Parlament*, February 27. *the ſaid Year.*

LEWIS, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarr*, To all, &c. As we have always held it for an aſſured Foundation of the publick Tranquility of this Kingdom, to maintain and preſerve our Subjects, as well the Catholicks as thoſe of the pretended Reformed Religion, in good Peace, Union and Concord one with another, under the Benefit of the Edicts and Declarations made and ſet forth to that purpoſe by the Deceaſed King our thrice honour'd Lord and Father, whom God abſolve: So we have had a particular care, in cauſing 'em to be exactly obſerv'd; and that they of the ſaid Religion may enjoy the Favours and Conceſſions which were granted 'em by the ſame. Which alſo we have not only maintain'd and preſerv'd, but alſo out of our ſpecial Grace and Favour have much augmented and enlarg'd. And to be the more particularly ſatisfi'd of any Faileurs in the Obſervance of the ſaid Edicts and Declarations, which might be commitred, and to give our ſaid Subjects of the pretended Reformed Religion the means to inform us of 'em, in imitation of the Deceaſed King our thrice honoured Lord and Father, we have agreed that they ſhall have near our Perſon, and in our Train, certain Deputies who may inform us of 'em, and exhibit their Remonſtrances to us and our Council, as they ſhall judge requiſite to be provided againſt and remedi'd at their Inſtance and Solicitation, and to the end thoſe Deputies may be made choice of and appointed, when they have a deſign to change 'em, we have for that reaſon given 'em leave to hold Provincial and General Aſſemblies, when they ſhall give us to underſtand that they have occaſion for 'em. And altho' the Principal cauſe for which we have given 'em leave to hold thoſe Aſſemblies, has bin for the Choice and Nomination of the ſaid Deputies; we have nevertheleſs thought good, that the Complaints which our Subjects of the ſaid Religion of every Province may make of the ſaid Breaches and Violations, ſhall be exhibited to the ſaid Aſſemblies, for them to ſend their Deputies to preſent their Papers and Remonſtrances to us. For this reaſon it is, and upon this only

by Conſideration, that we permitted our Subjects of the ſaid pretended Reformed Religion, by our Brevet, *May* 23*th*. to hold a General Aſſembly the 26*th*. of *September* enſuing, in our City of *Loudun*, in which we were in hopes that according to what is expreſs'd by the ſaid Brevet, they would have begun to have proceeded to the Choice and Nomination of Deputies, which they would have had to ſucceed to thoſe that reſided in our Train, in whoſe hands they would have entruſted the Papers of Complaints and Remonſtrances which they had to preſent to us, to the end they might ſolicit our Anſwer, and take care of putting in Execution what ſhould be by us ordain'd. But inſtead of ſo doing, they would needs ſend to us, certain of their Number with a firſt Paper, containing ſome principal Heads, to which they beſought our anſwer, and to cauſe to be executed what we thought convenient, till they had compil'd their other Papers, which as they ſaid they were preparing to exhibit to us. Upon which we gave 'em to underſtand, that when all their demands ſhould be reduc'd into one Paper, and that they ſhould preſent 'em to us all at once, and according to the uſual Method and Forms, we would receive 'em, and give a favourable Anſwer, and in ſuch ſort, that they ſhould find by the Effects, our good will towards 'em, And tho' they were alſo oblig'd to cauſe the ſaid Paper to be preſented to us by ſuch as ſhould be made choice of among them to reſide near our Perſon, and then to break up, as it was the Practice, while the deceaſed King liv'd, of the Aſſemblies of *Chatellerant* and *Gergeau*, and that it is ſtill obſerv'd by all the Aſſemblies of what Quality ſoever they be, that are held in this Kingdom: Nevertheleſs, we were willing to doe 'em that favour for once, not to draw it into Preſident, as to receive the ſaid Papers from the hands of thoſe who did preſent 'em to us on their behalf. Which being reported to the ſaid Aſſembly, after ſeveral Conteſts and Delays, at length they ſent us other Deputies, with the General Papers of their Complaints and Remonſtrances, whom we kindly receiv'd, giving 'em aſſurance that we wou'd labour to return 'em a ſpeedy anſwer, and by which they ſhould not only receive the Juſtice which they demanded, but alſo as much as they could expect from our Grace and Favour. Which we gave 'em in charge to report back to their ſaid Aſſembly, being alſo farther commanded to tell them in our Name, that ſince they had preſented all their Papers, and that their longer ſitting together was to no purpoſe, but was prejudicial to our authority, and gave ſcandal to our Subjects, our Pleaſure was, that they ſhould proceed with the ſooneſt, to the Nomination of their Deputies, that were to reſide near our Perſon, and then break up. Which done, we promiſ'd to deliver into the hands of the ſaid Deputies, the Anſwers which we ſhould make to the ſaid Papers, and within a Month after to proceed to the Execu-

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on of thoſe things that ſhould be agreed upon. But inſtead of receiving this with that reſpect and reverence which is due to us, they reply'd that the ſaid Aſſembly was reſolv'd to ſit ſtill, and not to ſtir, till they had the Anſwer that was to be made to their Papers, and that they ſaw the performance of it. For which tho' we had juſt occaſion to be offended, as being an Anſwer far remote from the Duty which Subjects owe their King: Nevertheleſs we contented our ſelves with laying before 'em the Fault which they committed, and exhorting them to demean themſelves with that Obedience which became 'em. And however, to the end the ſaid Aſſembly might be expreſly inform'd of our Intentions, we reſolv'd to ſend to 'em, the Sieurs *Le Maine*, Counſellour in our Council of State, and Gentleman of our Chamber, and *Mareſcot*, one of our Secretaries, to the end that after they had confirm'd to 'em the Aſſurances of our good will toward 'em in that particular, they might lay upon 'em the ſame Command which we had enjoyn'd their ſaid Envoys to carry to 'em in our Names; which was, to proceed forthwith to the Nomination of the Deputies that were to reſide near our Perſon, and then to break up in fifteen Days after, and return home into their Provinces: Which was pronounc'd the 10th. of *January* laſt. To which they made no other Anſwer, only that they would depute Commiſſioners to us, to reiterate their humble Supplications to us, as they did, in ſending to us afterwards ſome others of their Society, who repeated the ſame Inſtances which others before had done. That is to ſay, that we would be pleas'd to agree to the Sitting of the Aſſembly, till their Papers were anſwer'd, and that they ſaw the performance of thoſe things that ſhould be promis'd 'em; upon which not having any thing elſe to Anſwer, but what already we had given 'em to underſtand; and conſidering of what Importance it was, that they ſhould rely upon the Aſſurances which we had given 'em of our good Intentions to do what ſhould be to their Content, and that the uſual methods in ſuch Caſes ſhould be follow'd and obſerv'd: Conſidering alſo that they had ſat near five Months, which might breed both Suſpition and Jealouſie in our other Subjects, We order'd 'em once more to obey what we had given 'em to underſtand to be our Will and Pleaſure. To which we order'd 'em, after that, to be particularly exhorted, by ſeveral Perſons well qualifi'd, and well inform'd of our Sentiments of theſe Affairs, who aſſur'd 'em of our good Intentions, to give 'em content. Having alſo ſent 'em word in our Name, that tho' they had exceeded above a Month of the Time wherein we prefix'd 'em to ſeparate, yet we granted 'em eight Days more for their Return to *Loudun*, and eight Days after to Name their Deputies, and then retire:

retire: In which if they fail'd to give us Satisfaction, we ſhould take care ſo to provide as ſhould be moſt for the good of our Service. But finding that inſtead of obeying our commands, they ſtill contin-ni'd together, covering their Diſobedience with the Pretences of new Envoys which they ſent to us, to reiterate their Importunities and Supplications: Yet being well inform'd that there are ſeveral perſons in the ſaid Aſſembly ill affected to the Good of our Service, and the Peace of this Kingdom, who labour to inveagle others into their wicked Deſigns, Therefore being no longer able to ſuffer this contempt of our Authority, without teſtifying our Reſentment toward thoſe that are Guilty, and letting every one know what our Will and Pleaſure is upon this Subject: We declare, that we have had this Matter debated in Council, where were preſent ſome Princes of the Blood, other Princes, *&c.* With whoſe advice, and of our certain knowledge, full Power, and Royal Authority, we have ſaid, declar'd and ordain'd as follows, that is to ſay, That to teſtify our good Inclinations in their behalf to our ſaid Subjects of the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion, we have again order'd our ſaid Deputies aſſembl'd at *Loudun*, a Reſpit of three weeks after notice ſhall be given 'em by theſe preſents, to break up the ſaid Aſſembly, and to go home to their Houſes, During which time they may alſo Nominate their Deputies, according to the Number and Method accuſtom'd, for two to be made Choice of by us, to reſide near our Perſon, and upon their neglect to break up and Retire after that time expir'd, We have from hence forward, as then, declar'd the ſaid Aſſembly unlawful and oppoſite to our Service and Authority: And all thoſe who ſhall ſtay to continue it, either in the City of *Loudun*, or in any other Place, guilty of High Treaſon, and as ſuch excluded from the Benefit of our Edicts, and other Favours by us granted to thoſe of the Pretended Reformed Religion, as alſo of the Appeals which they may pretend to, to our Chambers of the Edict. We likewiſe will, and it is our Pleaſure, that they be proceeded againſt with the utmoſt Rigor of our Laws and Ordinances, as well by our Ordinary Judges, as our Parliaments, as diſobedient Subjects, Rebels and diſturbers of the Publick Peace; as alſo all ſuch as ſhall ſide with 'em in their Practices, Negotiations and Correſpodencies. And as for thoſe among 'em who ſhall obey our preſent command, and withdraw from the ſaid Aſſembly within the time above mention'd, as alſo all others of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who ſhall continue in their Obedience and Duty toward us, our Will and Pleaſure is, that they live with all freedom under our Protection, and enjoy the Benefit of our Edicts, Declarations and other Favours by us granted in their behalf. And if they of the Aſſembly who

ſhall obey our preſent Commands, whatever their Nunber be, before they quit it, nominate the Deputies that are to reſide in our Train, our Intention is to admit their ſaid Nomination, and to permit thoſe whom we ſhall make choice of, to do the Duty of their Functions near our perſons as is uſual. So we command our beloved and Faithful Counſellours, holding our Courts of Parlament and Chambers of the Edict, our Bayliffs, *&c.* We alſo enjoyn all our Advocate Generals and their Subſtitutes, *&c.* And to the end the ſaid Aſſembly may have ſufficient Notice of our preſent Command, and may have no cauſe to pretend Ignorance, our Pleaſure is, that our Advocate General, or his Subſtitutes, give ſpeedy notice thereof to the ſaid City of *Loudun*, or other Places where ſuch Aſſemblies ſhall be held by the chief of our Uſhers, or Serjeants. We alſo command our Governours and Lieutenant Generals in our Provinces, to be aiding and aſſiſting in the Execution of ſuch Decrees and Judgments as ſhall be given againſt the Violators of theſe Preſents. For this is our Will and Pleaſure. In Teſtimony whereof, *&c.* Given at *Paris*, *Feb.* 26. 1620. in the Tenth of our Reign.

Sign'd *Lewis*,

And below, By the King,

Phelippeaux.

Regiſter'd upon the Motion of the Kings Attorney General; and ſent to all Bayliwicks and Seneſchalſhips to be there Regiſter'd, *&c.* At *Paris* in Parlament, *February* 27. 1620.

Sign'd *De Tillet.*

A Declaration of the King in Favour of his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who ſhall remain in their Duty and Obedience. Dated at Fontain-bleau, *April* 24. 1621. *Regiſter'd the* 27th.

LEWIS by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarr*, To all, *&c.* Since we took in hand to govern the Affairs of our Kingdom, We have found that one of the moſt neceſſary Things to keep our Subjects in Peace and Tranquility, is carefully to obſerve the Edicts of Pacification, and Declarations made in favour of our Subjects, who profeſs the Pretended Reformed Religion, for which Reaſon we have all along labour'd it as much as it was poſſible; and alſo, to the end they might have ſo much the more Reaſon to contain themſelves in their Duty, and to rejoice in our goodneſs, We have often diſſembl'd, and laid aſleep their Diſobedience

and

and Oppoſitions that many among 'em have been guilty of. Or elſe we have endeavour'd to turn 'em aſide from the Miſcarriages to which they were inclinable, by Admonitions and Declarations, which we have ſet forth and ſent, where they were convenient, to let 'em underſtand their Duty. Which was that which more particularly we were deſirous to put in Practice in *October* laſt, upon Advice that was given us, that our ſaid Subjects were preparing to call and hold an Aſſembly, without our Permiſſion, in the City of *Rochel*. Upon which we put forth a Declaration to forbid the ſaid Aſſembly, and to prohibit all that ſhould be deputed to travel thither, and thoſe of the ſaid City of *Rochel* to admit 'em, upon Penalties therein contain'd. But as it frequently happens, that they who have the beſt Intentions, have not always the greateſt Faith among 'em, our Declaration was ſo far from working any good effect, that in contempt of it, ſeveral among 'em forbore not to hold the ſaid Aſſembly, and after that to call and hold others in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, under various Names and Pretences; ſome of which made Decrees and Orders, as if they had had Soveraign Authority, publiſh'd Ordinances for keeping the Field in Arms, committing Acts of Hoſtility, and taking our Subjects by way of Repriſals, elected and appointed Chieftains, as well for the Field as for the Cities, and took other Reſolutions ſo pernicious, that very great Licentiouſneſs, Exceſſes and Diſorders enſu'd in a good number of the Places which they held; having caus'd extraordinary Fortifications to be rais'd about 'em, rais'd Money and Men, Liſted Souldiers, caſt great Guns, purchas'd Arms, held unlawful Aſſemblies, and committed other Acts altogether Oppoſite and Prejudicial to our Authority, and the Obedience which is due to us. For which we had all juſt Reaſon to be offended, nevertheleſs we were willing to be patient for ſeveral Months, and to conſider whether of themſelves they would return to the acknowledgment of their faults, and ſeek to us for that Favour which they ſtood in need of: Nor were we weary all the while of providing Remedies upon ſeveral Articles, for which the Deputies that reſide near our Perſon, on the behalf of our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion made Supplication to us. But conſidering now that the farther things go, the more Licentiouſneſs and Diſobedience augment among the greateſt part of 'em, and that their Audaciouſneſs may encreaſe by our being at a diſtance, We have taken a Reſolution to make a Progreſs into *Tourain* and *Poictou*, and farther onward, to viſit the other Provinces of our Kingdom, to the end that being ſo much nearer the Miſchief, we may be the better able to provide againſt it, with that Intention which we always preſerve, to maintain the Publick Peace, and carefully to obſerve, in reſpect of thoſe of the ſaid Religion, who

ſhall keep themſelves within the Bounds of their Obedience, the Edicts and Declarations that have been made in their Favour, and to promote their Enjoyment of thoſe Favours and Conceſſions which have been granted in their behalf: As alſo to puniſh the Refractory and Diſobedient. And to the end that our Intentions may be known to every one, and that our ſaid Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who abide in the obſervance of the Edicts, may have no other cauſe then to rely upon 'em, We with the Advice of ſome Princes of the Blood, *&c.* Have ſaid and declar'd, and do ſay and declare by theſe Preſents, and it is our Will, Meaning and Pleaſure, that the Edicts and Declarations made by the Deceaſed King, our thrice Honour'd Lord and Father, whom God Abſolve, and by our ſelves, as well for Security and Liberty of Conſcience, and exerciſe of thoſe of the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion, as for the Enjoyment of the Favours and Conceſſions, which have been allow'd 'em by Vertue of the ſame, may be inviolably and punctually obſerv'd and kept, according to their Form and Tenour, toward thoſe of our ſaid Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who remain and ſhall abide in their Duty and Obedience; whom together with their Families and Eſtates, we have taken and put, and do take and put under our Protection and ſpecial ſafeguard. Therefore we command our Governours and Lieutenant Generals of our Provinces, and expreſly command all Captains and Governours in our Cities, and ſtrong Holds, Judges, Bailiffs, *&c.* to ſee that our ſaid Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, may enjoy the Benefit of our ſaid Edicts, and of our Preſent Declaration, and to take care of their Safety and Preſervation. As we alſo give command to thoſe who have Authority and command in the Cities, which are in the Cuſtody of thoſe of the ſaid Religion, to take the ſame Care of our Catholick Subjects, who are ſettl'd therein, under Pain, both the one and the other, of being anſwerable for their neglect in their proper Names and Perſons. It being our Will and Pleaſure, that all Tranſgreſſours ſhall be proſecuted, and puniſh'd, as Diſturbers of the Publick Peace, according to the utmoſt Severity of our Ordinances; enjoining all our Advocates General and their Subſtitutes, to iſſue forth all Requiſite Writs to the ſame purpoſe. So we command our Beloved and Faithful Counſellours, holding our Courts of Parlament and Chambers of the Edict, *&c.* Given at *Fountain-Bleau*, April 24. 1621. and of our Reign the eleventh.

Sign'd *Lewis.*

And below, by the King.

De Lomenie.

Seal'd, *&c.*

Read,

Read, Publiſh'd, and Regiſter'd upon the Motion of the Kings Advocate General, &c. At *Paris* in Parlament, *April* 27. 1621.

Sign'd *Du Tillet.*

A Declaration of the King, by which all the Inhabitants at preſent in the Cities of Rochel *and St.* John d' Angeli, *and all their Adherents, are declar'd Guilty of High Treaſon. With an Injunction to all his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, to enter into a Proteſtation not to adhere to any Aſſembly at* Rochel, *nor any others that are held without his Majeſties expreſs leave. Publiſh'd in Parlament,* June 7. 1621.

LEwis, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarr.* To all, &c. Our continual Deſire to preſerve the Publick Peace and Tranquility among our Subjects, ſo to prevent the Miſchiefs and Deſolations that uſually attend the raiſing of Armies, and the Oppreſſions and Calamities which the People thereby groan under, has caus'd us to ſuffer and endure for ſeveral Months laſt paſt, the Miſcarriages, Diſobedience and Rebellious Acts committed in ſeveral Cities of our Kingdom, by ſome of our Subjects profeſſing the Pretended Reformed Religion; even in thoſe of *Rochel*, *Montauban*, and others, where unlawful Aſſemblies are ſtill held, who rather make it their Buſineſs to form Popular States and Republicks, then to Confine themſelves to that Obedience which they mutually owe to us: Having alſo engrav'd a Seal, under which and the Signatures of the Principal Heads of the ſaid Aſſemblies, they have ſet forth ſeveral Ordinances, Decrees, Commands and Commiſſions, giving Power to particular Perſons to command in Provinces and Cities, ſeize upon the Money of our Chequer and Receipts, Levy Men, raiſe Money, buy Arms, caſt great Guns, ſend to Forreign Provinces and Kingdoms, with other high Miſdemeanours of the ſame Nature, the evident Marks of an abſolute Rebellion, and open Inſurrection againſt our Authority; of which having had ſome Knowledge in *April* laſt, and knowing that they took for the Pretence that hurri'd 'em to theſe diſorders, the little Security they had for their Perſons, and the Liberty of their Conſciences, We were willing by our Declaration of the twenty fourth of the ſaid Month of *April*, to give them all Aſſurance of our good Intentions in reſpect of thoſe that continu'd in their Duty, and by taking them into our particu-

lar

lar Safeguard and Protection, to let 'em know, that our March into those Parts for which we were preparing, was rather by our approach near those Places, where those Disorders were committed, to shew and strengthen our Authority, to the Confusion of those that were guilty, then to make use of any other more violent Rigour, or of the Power which God has put into our Hands for the Punishment of such Insolencies. But so far was this from opening their Eyes, in Order to the bringing of 'em back to their Duty, that the greatest part of 'em continuing in their Duty, are openly broke out into Rebellion, and commit all manner of Hostilities against those that will not take their part; giving out that they acknowledge no other Chieftain, then the Assembly at *Rochel*, which has now sent for several Souldiers, to St. *John de Angeli*, rais'd under their Commissions, who make as if they intended to oppose our Passage into the said City, and hinder our Entrance by force of Arms; which obliges us, seeing the same Disorders are crept into several other Cities of our Kingdom, to put our selves into a Condition, to chastize the Authors according to their Demerits; and to make use of for that purpose, together with the Ordinary ways of Justice, the means which God has put into our Hands for the Maintenance of our Authority. And to the end that all our Subjects, especially those of the Pretended Reformed Religion, may not be deceiv'd by the false pretences of that Assembly, to draw off from their Duty, and that both the One and the Other may be inform'd of our Pleasure and Intentions upon this occasion, We with the Advice, *&c.* have said and declar'd, and do say and declare, That in Confirmation of our said Letters Patents of the 24*th.* of *April* last, we have taken and put, and do take and put under our special Protection and Safeguard, all our Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, of what Quality or Condition soever, that shall abide and contain themselves in our Obedience, and under the observance of our Edicts. But seeing the Manifest Acts of Rebellion, committed in our said City of *Rochel*, as well by the Assembly, which is still sitting contrary to our expres Prohibitions, as by the Body of the City, both Burgesses and Inhabitants; as also what is done in our City of St. *John d' Angeli*, and the Acts of Hostility which they daily commit against our proper Person, We have declar'd, and declare all the Inhabitants and other Persons of what Quality soever, who are now Residing within it, Refugees, or withdrawn into *Rochel* and St. *John d' Angeli*, and all others who directly or indirectly adhere to 'em, or hold Intelligence, Association, or Correspondence with 'em, or who in any manner whatever, own the said Assembly of *Rochel*, or any other Assemblies, Circles or Councils of Provinces, or other Congregations, which hold Correspondence with that of *Rochel*, and which are held with-

out our Permiſſion, Relaps'd, Refractory, and guilty of High Treaſon in the higheſt Degree, and as ſuch, their Eſtates to be Forfeit and Confiſcate to us. It is our Pleaſure alſo, that they be proceeded againſt with the utmoſt Rigour of the Law, by ſeizure of their Perſons, taking Inventories of their Goods, and by other accuſtom'd and uſual ways in ſuch Caſes. Declaring alſo our ſaid Cities of St. *John d' Angeli*, *Rochel*, and all others that adhere to 'em, depriv'd of, and to have forfeited their Rights, Priviledges, Franchiſes, and other Favours, granted 'em by the Kings our Predeceſſours, or by our ſelves. And to the end we may diſcern and diſtinguiſh the Good from the Bad, It is our Pleaſure, that our ſaid Subjects profeſſing the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion, as well Gentlemen as others, as alſo the Cities and Corporations of the ſaid Religion, ſhall openly make a Declaration in the Preſidial Courts, Bailiwicks and Seneſchalſhips within their Juriſdiction, of their good Intentions to our Service; and renounce, diſavow and proteſt againſt any Adherence to the ſaid Aſſembly of *Rochel*, or any other Councils of Provinces, Circles or other Places, which are held and ſit without our Permiſſion; and that they will oppoſe themſelves in our behalf and jointly with Us againſt all the Reſolutions that ſhall be there taken, for which they ſhall have Acts neceſſary for their Diſcharge. We alſo expreſly forbid all Gentlemen and others to permit their Children, Servants, or any others depending upon 'em, to go to the ſaid Cities, or to give 'em any Aid or Aſſiſtance whatever, nor to afford Lodging or ſhelter in their Houſes to thoſe that ſhall go and converſe there in any manner whatever, under pain of being held guilty of the ſame Crime. Expreſly commanding all Bailiffs, *&c.* to proceed exactly and carefully againſt the Perſons and Eſtates of thoſe who ſhall have incurr'd the ſaid Penalties: As alſo all our Advocate Generals, *&c.* to do their Duties without any regard to Paſſports, which might be obtain'd from Us, by falſe Miſinformation, unleſs under the Great Seal.

So we give Command to our well Beloved and faithful Counſellours, *&c.* Given at *Noyon*, *May* 27. 1621. and of our Reign the twelfth.

Sign'd, *Lewis.*

By the King,

De Lomenie.

Seal'd, *&c.*

Read, Publiſh'd, and Regiſter'd, upon the Motion of the Kings Advocate General; and compar'd Copies, *&c.* At *Paris* in Parlament, *June* 7. 1621.

A Declaration of the King, containing Prohibitions to all his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, remaining in Obedience, to ſtir from their Houſes, either in City or Countrey, under the Penalties expreſs'd. Given at Beziers, *July* 25. 1622.

LEwis, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarr*, To all, *&c.* Upon Advice that thoſe of our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who perſiſt in their Rebellion againſt the Commands of God, and their natural Duty toward Us, have ſo far forgot themſelves, as to ſolicit and treat with Forreigners to invade our Kingdom. With whom they are not only deſirous to join themſelves, but alſo by threats and menaces, to force other our good Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religon, who have all along preſerved themſelves in their Duty under our Obedience, and the Benefit of our Edicts and Declarations, to take up Arms, and join with them and the ſaid Forreigners, the more to ſtrengthen themſelves in their Deſigns and Enterprizes, and to ſubdue and diſpoſe of our Kingdom in purſuance of their Reſolutions taken in their Aſſembly of *Rochel*, We deem'd it moſt neceſſary to apply a Remedy to it, and to make uſe of all means that God has pleas'd to put into our Hand. For theſe Reaſons, with the Advice of our Council, and of our full Power and Royal Authority, We have prohibited and forbid, and do prohibit and forbid expreſly by theſe Preſents, ſign'd with our own Hand, all our ſaid Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, of what Quality or Condition ſoever they be, who remain in their Duty under our Obedience and the Benefit of our Edicts and Declarations, to depart from, quit, forſake or abandon their Houſes, whether in our Cities or in the Countrey where their Habitations are, to join with thoſe who are in Arms, or with the ſaid Forreigners, or to afford any Shelter, Favour, Succour, or Aſſiſtance whatever, upon Pain of Forfeiting our Favours, of being declar'd Guilty of High Treaſon, Deſerters of the Kingdom, and Diſturbers of the Publick Peace; and as ſuch to be Proceeded againſt with the utmoſt Rigour of the Laws and Ordinances of our Kingdom. Promiſing alſo, that while they continue in their Duty under our Obedience, and the Benefit of our Edicts and Declarations, we will maintain and preſerve 'em as our Good and Faithful Subjects, and preſerve 'em from all Violence and Oppreſſion. So we Command and Ordain, *&c.*

Given at *Beziers*, *July* 25. 1622. and thirteenth of our Reign.

Sign'd *Lewis.*

By

By the King, Seal'd, &c. *De Lomenie.* Read, Publish'd and regiſter'd, &c. At the Parlament in *Paris*, Auguſt 5. 1622.

A Declaration of the King upon the Peace which he gave his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, confirming the Preceding Edicts of Pacification. Given at the Camp before Mompellier *October* 19. 1622. *and Publiſh'd in Parlament* November 21.

LEWIS King of *France* and *Navarr*, To all, &c. As every Chriſtian Prince that fears God, ought to have in abhorrence the Effuſion of the bood of Mankind, created after the Image of the Almighty, ſo alſo is he bound and oblig'd not only to avoyd the Occaſions of Civil and Domeſtick Warrs, but alſo to ſeek and embrace all honourable and lawful means to reunite and cauſe his Subjects to live under the Laws of the Kingdom in good Concord and Obedience. And the ſame Divine Goodneſs that has known our heart ever ſince it has pleas'd him to call us to the Government of the *French* Monarchy, is the Judge of our inward Thoughts, and every body knows that our Arms have bin no leſs Juſt then conſtrain'd and neceſſary for the ſupport and defence of our Authority: Whether againſt thoſe, who from the Beginning, under divers borrow'd Pretences, have rais'd up Troubles during our Minority; or after that, againſt our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, abus'd and ſurpriz'd by the Artifices of ſome among 'em, who thought to make their advantages as well of their Simplicity, as of the publick Diviſion of our Kingdom; whereas our Intentions never have bin other, after the laudable Example of our Predeceſſors of happy Memory, then to keep 'em all in good Peace and Union, in that Duty and Obedience which is due to us, under the beneſit of our Edicts; and to uſe 'em as our good and faithful Subjects, when they contain themſelves within the Bounds of Reſpect and Submiſſion which are due to a Soveraign: Not having ſpar'd any duty of Remonſtrance and Diligence to prevent the Miſchief which it was eaſie to foreſee, before we came to force and violence, to our great Sorrow, for the preſervation of our Royal Dignity, and the Power which God has put into our hands; to remove all Jealouſies and miſtruſts of our Sincerity which have been infus'd into 'em with artifice and deſign, tho' we were never worſe then our words to any perſon, to prevent the Misfortunes and Accidents that have enſu'd; and to let 'em underſtand together

with the Principal Authors and Fomenters of this publick Disorder, the real ground of our upright and Sincere Intentions to Cherish and preserve all in peace, and in the free and quiet Enjoyment of what is granted and ordain'd by our said Edicts. And seeing it is so, that our said Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, have been since inspir'd with better thoughts, and acknowledging their Errors and this Truth, have had recourse to our Clemency and Goodness by most humble Supplications, which they have sent us by their Deputies on purpose, beseeching us that we would vouchsafe 'em our Pardon, and abolish the Memory of what is past; we always inclining rather to mildness and mercy, then to push forward the Rigor and Justice of our Arms, tho' they have gain'd us signal advantages, sufficient for us to ground the hopes of a prosperous Conclusion, and being desirous out of respect to their Submissions and duties, to restore Peace to the Kingdom, and to reunite our Subjects in amity and concord one among another, and in a general and Unanimous Obedience toward our selves; and for other important Reasons and Considerations, us thereunto moving, with the Advice of the Princes, Dukes, *&c.* We have said, ordain'd and declar'd, and do say, ordain and declare, by these Presents, Sign'd with our Hand, and it is our Will and Pleasure, that the Edict of *Nantes*, the Declarations and secret Articles register'd in our Courts of Parlament, shall be faithfully fulfill'd to our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, in all their Parts and Clauses, and as they were well and duly enjoy'd in the Reign of the Deceased King our thrice Honour'd Lord and Father, and since our coming to the Crown, before the last Commotions: That the Exercise of the Religion, Catholick, Apostolick and Roman, shall be restor'd and resetti'd in all parts of the Kingdom and Countries under our Obedience where it has bin interrupted, to be there freely and Peaceably continu'd without any Molestation; forbidding expresly all Persons of what Quality or Condition soever, upon pain of being punish'd as disturbers of the Publick Peace, to molest or disturb the Eccleasticks in the Celebration of Divine Service, enjoyment or collecting the Tithes, Fruits and Revenues of their Benefices, and all other Rights and Duties to them appertaining. In like manner the Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion, shall be establish'd in such Places, as we shall think good and proper, after we have heard the Remonstrances of the Deputies of our Province of *Guienne*. It is our Pleasure also, that all the new Fortifications of the Cities, Towns, Castles, Forts and Fortresses, held by our said Subjects of the Reformed Religion, more especially those rais'd in the Islands of *Re* and *Oleron*, shall be demolish'd and level'd with the Ground, the ancient

cient Walls, Towers, Gates, Motes and Counterſcarps ſtill ſtanding in the ſame Condition, with Proviſions to the ſaid Cities to Fortifie 'em anew, and for the more faithful Execution of the ſaid Demolishments, hoſtages of the Principal Inhabitants ſhall be put into the hands of thoſe whom we ſhall pleaſe to Nominate, to the end the Officers of our Crown, or other deputed Commiſſioners, may execute the Contents abovemention'd according to the Inſtructions that ſhall be given 'em. And our meaning is, that all the Cities of the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion, which in 15. days after Publication of theſe Preſents, ſhall ſubmit to our Obedience, and willingly open their Gates to us, ſhall enjoy the Contents of this Declaration. And we expreſly forbid all our ſaid Subjects of the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion, to hold any General or Provincial Aſſemblies, Circles, abridg'd Synods, or any others of what quality or Title they be, under pain of High Treaſon, unleſs they have permiſſion from us: Onely Aſſemblies of Conſiſtories, Colloquies and Synods, meerely about Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, are permitted 'em. Alſo our ſaid Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, ſhall ſtand diſcharg'd from all Acts of Hoſtility, and from all Aſſemblies General and Provincial Circles, abridg'd and others, and from all other things whatever, generally contain'd in the 76*th.* and 77*th.* Articles of our Edict of *Nantes*, from the firſt of *January*, 1621. 'till this preſent Time; comprehending under this Title, the execrable Caſes, ſuch as are ſpecify'd and declar'd by the fourſcore and ſixteenth Article of the ſaid Edict, into which ſearch may be made before the Judges who have Cognizance of it. And as for what happen'd at *Privas*, we will have a particular Amneſty of it expedited for the Inhabitants of that Place, as alſo for the Sieur *de Briſſon*. And for the Accomptables and other Officers, as to what concerns the Truſts of their Management, the 78*th.* and 79*th.* of the ſaid Edict of *Nantes* ſhall be faithfully kept and obſerv'd. In like manner, for the Judgements, Decrees and Sentences given againſt thoſe of the Religion who have born Arms, our Pleaſure is that they ſhall be diſcharg'd of 'em, according to the 58*th.* 59*th.* and 60*th.* Articles of the ſaid Edict. Alſo we have Corroborated and confirm'd, and by theſe Preſents do Corroborate and confirm the Judgments given by the Eſtabliſh'd Judges and Counſellours, by the Chief Commanders in the Provinces, whether in Civil or Criminal matters and Executions happen'd between thoſe of their Party; and the ſaid Judges and Counſellours are diſcharg'd from all purſuits in that regard, impoſing perpetual Silence upon our Advocate Generals, their Subſtitutes and all others pretending claim or Intereſt therein. In like manner our Pleaſure is, that all Priſoners on both ſides that have not pay'd their Ranſoms,

ſhall be releas'd and ſet at Liberty without paying any thing, and all Promiſes made in reference to Ranſoms not fulfill'd upon the Day or Date of theſe Preſents, are declar'd Null and of no Effect. In like manner all Perſons of what Quality and Condition ſoever they be, ſhall be reſtor'd to their Eſtates, Debts, Titles, Accompts and Actions, Employments, Honours and Dignities, which they were depriv'd of during the preſent Troubles, notwithſtanding any Donations or Confiſcations; excepting Military Employments, the care of which we will reſerve to our ſelves. We alſo order that this Declaration be obſerv'd and kept by all our Subjects, according to the Form preſcrib'd by the 82*d*. Article of our Edict of *Nantes*; and that Catholick and Pretended Reformed Commiſſioners, ſhall be ſent into all the Provinces to look after the Execution of it according to our ſaid Edict. So we Command our faithful and well beloved, *&c.* In Teſtimony, *&c.* Given in the Camp before *Mompellier*, October 19. 1622. of our Reign the 13*th*.

Sign'd *LEWIS*.

By the King.

De Lomenie.

Read, publiſh'd and regiſter'd *&c.* At *Paris* in Parlament *November* 21. 1622.

Sign'd *Du Tillet*

A Paper preſented to the King by the General Deputies with the Anſwers.

TO THE KING.

SIR, your moſt Humble and Obedient Servants of the Religion, being fully inform'd of your Majeſties Royal inclinations, for reſtoring the Ruins of his poor People, have laden the Deputies which your Majeſty has been pleas'd to appoiut 'em, with infinite Acclamations, Vows and good Wiſhes, for the Eſtabliſhment and ſacred Benedictions of this Peace that is ſo much deſir'd, to the end, that foraſmuch as they find themſelves pierc'd with this Cœleſtial Beneſit, they may ſeek the Continuance of it, by the conſtancy of their ſubmiſſion, and render thoſe Eminent Teſtimonies by their only Recourſe to your Clemency and Juſtice, that they aſpire to no Security or Refuge which they value more highly, againſt the Violence of thoſe that trouble 'em, and withſtand the Power of your Laws, then that of challenging by their humble Petitions and Supplications the ſteadfaſtneſs of your Inviolable word, and the Obſervance of your ſo authentick Briefs. For ſeeing that the wrongs which are done 'em, directly daſh againſt the Reverence of your Protection

rection, and divide that which the Peace and their Obedience ought to rejoin under the Felicity of your Commands, they moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to weigh their moſt humble Remonſtrances in that Ballance of Equity, which renders your Scepter Juſt and Formidable, and that it would pleaſe you to cut off the Violent Breaches of your favourable Conceſſions with the Sword that God has put into your Hands; to the end that in true Confidence and Aſſurance of Preſervation, repoſing upon the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of your Sacred Adminiſtration, they may be always retain'd in their Fidelity and real Obligations to your pure and entire Service.

THE King has deputed and ſent away Commiſſioners, as well Catholicks as of the Pretended Reformed Religion, to go from Province to Province, where it ſhall be judg'd convenient for the Execution of his Majeſties Declaration of the twentieth of October *laſt.*

I. FOr this Reaſon it is, that for the enjoyment of an abſolute Effect of your Juſtice, they humbly beſeech your Majeſty to ſend with the ſooneſt into your Provinces, Perſons both of the one and the other Religion, endu'd with that Affection for Peace which is requiſite, to the end they may be the better enabl'd to put in Execution your Edicts, Briefs and Declarations.

After Satisfaction ſhall be given, to what is ordain'd by the Declaration of the twentieth of October, *His Majeſty will take Care as to the Contents of this preſent Article.*

II. And in imparting your Compaſſion and Clemency to that of your Cities, which has paid you ſuch Obedience, that you have therefore vouchſaf'd it Peace: Your Majeſty is moſt humbly ſupplicated to Order, that the Garriſon, which for ſo many Months, has been ſo numerous at *Mompelier*, may be withdrawn according to your Royal Promiſes, conſidering the Miſery and Mortality which is in the City.

The Election of the Marine Conſulſhip, having been made by a Decree peremptorily ſet forth in the Chamber of the Edict at Caſtres, *there can be nothing chang'd or alter'd. As to the Election of the other Conſuls of the ſaid City, His Majeſty means that it ſhall be made according to the uſual*

III. That in Conformity to the Private Brief, which it pleas'd your Majeſty to grant that City, that there may be no Innovation introduc'd into your ſaid City of *Mompelier*, more eſpecially in that which concerns the Conſulſhips: Conſequently that Reparation may

uſual Forms, and as the Franchiſes and Liberties of the City require.

After his Majeſty has heard the Report of the Commiſſioners ſent to the ſaid City of Rochel, *he will conſider of the Contents of this Preſent Article.*

The King will order the Priſoners of War, at preſent detain'd in his Gallies, to be releas'd: And for thoſe that are accus'd of particular Crimes, let 'em provide for themſelves by the Methods of Juſtice.

To the ſixth and ſeventh Articles, the King's Affairs not permitting him to provide for the Petitioners for what is paſt, His Majeſty for the Future will deli-

may be made for the Innovation in the Marine Conſulſhip, conſidering the Obedience that has been pay'd your Majeſty in demoliſhing the Fortifications, for the Effect of which the Inhabitants are continually at Work with great Coſt, Care and Diligence.

IV. Alſo, Sir, for the removing all cauſe of Diſtruſt and Fear, your Subjects of the Religion, having fulfill'd your Majeſties Pleaſure touching the Levelling of the Forts of *Oleron* and *Ré*, may it pleaſe your Majeſty to Order, that the Fort built before your City of *Rochel* may be demoliſh'd, as your Majeſty was pleas'd to Promiſe.

V. And as Mercy is all from God, whoſe Image, Sir, you are, may it pleaſe your Majeſty, in you are plentifully endu'd with that Vertue, to grant your Compaſſion to a great number of Perſons of all Ages, detain'd either by the late Wars, or for the ſake of Religion, in your Gallies, Naked, and under inſupportable Severity and hard Uſage, to that purpoſe ordering 'em their Pardon and their Liberty; as alſo to thoſe other Priſoners for Accuſations and Proſecutions, occaſion'd by the late Times and Commotions, whether Condemn'd or not. Which Favour, Pardon and Liberty is granted 'em by the —— and ſeventy third Article of the Edict, which you were pleas'd to confirm to us.

VI. Your Majeſty, by your Letters Declaratory, *April* 24. 1621. were willing that your Subjects, who continu'd in their Obedience

ſhould

deliver to the ſaid Candal *good and valuable Aſſignations for the Relief and Payment of the ſaid Miniſters: As alſo for payment of the Penſions contain'd in a ſmall Roll, which he will cauſe to be drawn up.*

ſhould enjoy the Favours and Conceſſions to them granted, as well by your Majeſty, as by the Deceaſed K. *Henry* the Great of Glorious Memory, nevertheleſs in the laſt year, 1622. they were utterly depriv'd of the Money, which you were accuſtom'd every year to diſtribute among 'em by the Sieur *du Candal*, Commiſſionated for that purpoſe. By which means particularly their Poor Churches are ſo neceſſitated, that they are conſtrain'd to have recourſe to your Majeſty, and to ſupplicate, as they do moſt humbly, that you will be pleas'd to order Funds to the ſaid *Candal* for the ſaid Year; at leaſt for the Payment of the Miniſters of the Province who remain'd in their Obedience, and who are forc'd to borrow Money to buy Victuals, and ſupply their other Neceſſities.

VII. In like manner we moſt humbly implore your Majeſty, that as you have been pleas'd to grant to all your ſaid Subjects, it may pleaſe you to ordain that the ſaid *Candal* may be ſuppli'd with good and valuable Aſſignations for the Payment and Relief of their Miniſters, during the preſent Year, as likewiſe for the Parties of the Petty Rolls, which he ſhall be pleas'd to draw up; and for Payment of the Places, which you were pleas'd to leave in their Cuſtody, which Aſſignations may be pay'd without Deductions, as it has pleas'd his ſaid Majeſty and the Deceaſed King to grant 'em, by the Briefs which formerly were diſpatch'd in their behalf.

The ſaid Candal *preſenting a Petition*

VIII. And for as much as out of the

tition to the Council ſhall be taken care of.

the Aſſignations, that have been order'd the ſaid *Candal* for the Years, 1620. and 1621. there are ſtill due very great and conſiderable Summs, which the Receivers and Farmers, upon which the ſaid Aſſignations are charg'd, detain in their Hands, your Majeſty is moſt humbly ſupplicated to ordain, that all neceſſary Injunctions may be deliver'd him, to the end the Reſidue may be pay'd.

The King will provide for the Future, for the Contents of this Article, according as is above ſaid.

IX. The Churches of the Bailiwick of *Gex*, having enjoy'd the Salary of the Miniſters upon the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues of the ſaid Bailiwick, as upon the Money of the Princes that poſſeſs'd it, till the Year, 1601. and after that for ſeveral Years, under the Deceaſed King *Henry* the Great; till it pleas'd your Majeſty by a decree of your Council, dated *December* 5. 1612. upon his depriving 'em of the ſaid Eccleſiaſtical Fund, to ordain 'em the ſumm of 3600. Livres in lieu of the ſaid Revenues, and to charge the ſaid ſumm of 3600. Livres upon the 45000. Livres of Augmentation granted to thoſe of the Religion; which Money was pay'd 'em by the ſaid *Candal* till *October* 1621. May it pleaſe your Majeſty to let 'em enjoy the Effect of the ſaid Order and Reaſſignation; and to that purpoſe to grant neceſſary Aſſignations to the ſaid *Candal*, as well for Payment of the Arrears, as of what ſhall become due for the Future.

His Majeſty referrs the Reſtoration of their Church to the Care and Diligence of the Petitioners.

X. May it pleaſe your Majeſty to ſhew your Liberality, and to provide a Fund ſufficient for your Subjects profeſſing the Religion in your

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your City of *Paris*, toward the Repair and reſettling of their Church, and other ſtructures in the place of their Exerciſe, burnt, demoliſh'd, and the Materials for the moſt part carri'd away; and all this by a Popular Tumult that happen'd in the Year, 1621. notwithſtanding that your Subjects remain'd in their Obedience, and were conſequently under your Majeſties Protection and Safeguard.

The Deputies Commiſſionated for the Province of Tourain *ſhall provide the Petitioners a Convenient Place, for the Exerciſe of the Pretended Reformed Religion. As for the Re-eſtabliſhment, and Repair of their Church, his Majeſty refers it to the Care and Induſtry of the Petitioners.*

XI. And dealing in the ſame manner with your Subjects of the ſaid Profeſſion in your City of *Tours*, may it pleaſe your Majeſty to ſupply 'em with the ſumms which your Majeſty had granted 'em for the ſame Reaſon, and for the Repair of their Church, the Place and Room of which 'tis hop'd your Majeſty will continue to 'em, as having been adjudg'd to 'em by the Commiſſioners, after a Hearing between them, and the Bodies of the Clergy, the Court of Juſtice and the Town Houſe. As alſo for that the ſaid Place and Ground, was purchas'd, built, and Peaceably enjoy'd, till the Commotion in 1621. maintain'd in the ſaid Poſſeſſion, not only by the Edict of 1598. but alſo by thoſe of 1610. and 1612. and more eſpecially by your laſt Declaration. Beſides which Right, the approach of your Caſtle of *Pleſſis*, uſually granted to the People of *Tours*, would be a Security to 'em.

The Commiſſioners ſent into Breſs *ſhall take care of this Article, ſo far as ſhall be agreeable to Reaſon.*

XII. The ſame Supplication is made to your Majeſty, for the Repair of the Church of *Burgh*, upon the Ruins and Place, where thoſe

of the Religion poſſeſs'd it, by the Sentence and Decrees of the Commiſſioners, in the enjoyment of which they are now diſturb'd.

To the XIII. XIV. XV. Articles, the Commiſſioners are enjoin'd to take care of the Petitioners demands, according to the Tenour of the Edicts, and the ſaid Declaration.

XIII. It is remonſtrated to your Majeſty, that the Inhabitants profeſſing the Religion in the City of *Villemur*, are moleſted in the Liberty of their Conſciences, depriv'd of all Exerciſes of Piety, refus'd Publick Employments, and very much overburthen'd by the Garriſon. Thoſe of *Fontenay Le Comte* expell'd, interdicted Preaching and Prayers, their Paſtor not being permitted to re-enter; nor can they have their Church reſtor'd 'em, thó almoſt ruin'd, not ſo much as for the Burial of their dead; ſuffering on the other ſide all Exceſſes of Charges and Free Quarters, upon the complaints ſent to your Council. Therefore, Sir, may it pleaſe Ye to deliver 'em from their Oppreſſions, and by permitting 'em to enjoy the Fruits of the Peace, to order the Re-eſtabliſhment of their Religion, their Churches and Miniſters, the Security of their Burials, and whatever Relief your Juſtice can afford their Grievances.

XIV. That you would likewiſe be pleas'd to order the Reſtoration of their Exerciſe at *Luſſon*, where it is deni'd to thoſe of the ſaid Religion, contrary to the Publication of your Declaration, thó they carri'd themſelves obediently, and that the ſaid Exerciſe has been continu'd there for theſe fifty Years together, even during all the time of the late Wars, and Government of *des Roches Baritault*.

The XV.

XV. Thoſe of the Religion are likewiſe hinder'd their ſaid Exerciſe at *Talmont*, the Canon having been levell'd againſt 'em, while aſſembl'd to hear the Word of God. As alſo at *Surgeres*, the Lady of the Place forbidding any Preaching there, tho' it had been allow'd 'em during all the late Troubles. Alſo at *Baignols*, at St. *Giles*'s in *Languedoc*, at *Figeac* in *Quercy*, *Puymirols*, and at *Vic* in *Armagnac*; from whence Mr. *Teſtas* the Miniſter is fled, not daring to return, nor being able to abide in ſafety in the Place. Whereby your Declaration being violated, may it pleaſe your Majeſty to command the Reſtoration of the ſaid Places, and the ſaid *Teſtas*. As alſo for the Church of *Quillebœuf*, and the Paſtour of it, purſuant to the Re-eſtabliſhment of it a long time ſince.

The XVI. Article ſhall be communicated to the Maior and Sheriffs of Poitiers, *to be by them heard and taken care of.*

XVI. And for as much as the Catholicks of your City of *Poitiers* have impos'd upon thoſe of the Religion the Summ of 1200. Livres, for the Guard that had been maintain'd during theſe Troubles, into which they would not admit any of thoſe of the Reformed Religion; may it pleaſe your Majeſty, that they may be diſcharg'd from it, as from an unreaſonable Impoſition.

The King will carefully accompliſh and obſerve, what has been granted to thoſe of the Pretended Reformed Religion of Bearn, *by the ſaid Brief of* October *the laſt.*

XVII. They likewiſe ſupplicate your Majeſty, that the Edict of Compenſation touching the Churches of your Royalty of *Bearn* may be punctually effected, as you were pleas'd to grant by your Brevet given at *Mompelier*. And that the Exerciſe of the Religion, and the Miniſter, may be re-

reſtor'd in your City of *Navarreins*. That in Conſideration of the Reſignation of other Churches, they of the Religion may be maintain'd in the Poſſeſſion of the Churches, Bells and Church-yards, which were granted 'em by the Commiſſioners, or by the Parlament upon their Report. And that the Colledges and Academies may be reſtor'd, and payment made of the Salaries that belong to 'em.

His Majeſty intends that the Chamber of the Edict of Languedoc, *which remains only to be reſettl'd, ſhall ſpeedily be reſtor'd to* Caſtres, *according to the ſaid Declaration.*

XVIII. And becauſe Juſtice is that which moſt imports your Authority, and the Preſervation of the Peace, may it pleaſe your Majeſty to Order a ſpeedy Reſtoration of the Party Chambers in Places and Cities where they were wont to be. And in the mean time, may the Courts of Parlament be forbid to take Cognizance, and Judge of the Cauſes of thoſe of the ſaid Religion: and that the Appeals by them brought before the Judges, Prothonotaries, or the Commiſſioners executing Decrees and Sentences, may have the ſame Effect, as if they were remov'd by Letters Royal, according to the XLIII. Article of the Edict, and VI. of the Conference of *Nerac*.

Granted.

XIX. By the ſixth Article of the Edict, and II. of Particulars, and other Anſwers made to our Papers, they of the Religion find themſelves juſtly diſcharg'd from Contributing toward the Repairing and Building of Churches, and their Dependencies, as things contrary to their Conſcience. Nevertheleſs, the Catholick Inhabitants of *Arnai le Duc*, ſolicit in

The your

your Council a Permiſſion, to impoſe in general upon the Corporation, and as well upon themſelves as upon thoſe of the Religion the Summ of ſix thouſand Livres to build a Church for the *Capuchins*, which would neither be reaſonable nor conformable to the Edicts. Therefore may it pleaſe your Majeſty to declare Acquit and Exempted all your Subjects of the Religion from Payments and Contributions of the like Nature, and that the abovenamed II. Article of Particulars may be put in Execution.

The ſaid Deputed Commiſſioners in the ſaid Places are enjoin'd to take care of the Contents of this Article.

XX. 'Tis notorious, that during theſe laſt Troubles, they of the Religion have ſuffer'd many Violences through the Inſolence of the People their Adverſaries: As in the City of *Romorantin*, where they twice burnt the Meeting-Houſe wherein they perform'd their Exerciſe in the Suburbs of the ſaid City. But what is more ſtrange, that ſince the Peace which it has pleas'd your Majeſty to grant your ſaid Subjects, the Church which was long ſince built in your City of *Gergeau*, has been quite thrown to the Ground, and the Ruins of it remov'd, by which means they of the Religion have been depriv'd of their Exerciſe. Wherefore, they moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that amends may be made for this Notorious Breach of your Edicts and Declarations; and to order that the ſaid Church may be rebuilt, and the Exerciſe reſettl'd at *Gergeau*; as alſo that of *Romorantin*.

His Majesty will write to the Duke of Espernon, *Governour and Lieutenant General of* Guyenne, *to see that the Inhabitants of the said Cities of* Bergerac, *and St.* Foy *be eas'd, and favourably us'd upon all occasions; and that the Souldiers live under such Discipline, that they may do no wrong.*

XXI. Your Cities of St. Foy and *Bergerac*, most humbly beseech ye, Sir, that you would be pleas'd out of your singular Goodness, to discharge 'em of the Oppressions, which they have suffered so long and so excessive, letting your said City of *Bergerac* fully enjoy your inviolable Promises, by hindring so many Innovations, and the building of the Cittadel intended, notwithstanding that your Subjects of the Religion have kept themselves within the Bounds of a most humble Subjection and Obedience to your Majesty, out of a desire to Merit in some measure the Effect of your said Royal Promises, their Liberty, and the Peaceable Exercise of their Religion.

The King will take such Order as shall be most proper for his Service.

XXII. And by your Mildness and Gentleness to ease your People of the Religion, to bring 'em back to a firm Confidence, and to Corroborate as much as may be the Peace which you vouchsafe 'em, may it please your Majesty to obliterate all Marks that are contrary to it. And to these ends, to disband the Souldiers that are quarter'd in Lower *Languedoc*, *Cevennes*, and other Provinces, by this Means kept in continual Fears and Apprehensions of your Displeasure; and beseech your Majesty to hasten the said Disbanding, to the end that the Effects of their Obedience, which they desire and ought to pay you, as well in demolishing the Fortifications of the Places, as in all other things, which you shall be pleas'd to com-

Done and Answer'd by the King in his Council, at Paris, March 4. 1623.

Sign'd Lewis.

And lower.

Phelipeaux.

Compar'd with the Original, by Me Notary, Counſellour and Kings Secretary.

Du Candal.

command 'em, may not be delay'd.

Sign'd, *Montmartin* Deputy General, *Mainald* Deputy General.

A Circulatory Letter of the General Deputies of the Reformed Churches.

GEntlemen, We doubt not but you have expected our Letters with Impatience, and that you did not take it amiſs, that we did not ſend you what paſs'd concerning the Duke of *Rohan*. You ought to believe that nothing has ſo much hinder'd us from that, as our fear of putting you to no purpoſe in uncertain Hopes or Apprehenſions. Now that it may be thought, that we ought to ſee a little more clearly, after the Releaſe of the ſaid Duke, we ſhall tell you that altho' the Report of War, and particularly of the Siege of *Rochel* be very hot in this place, and that from hence it ſpreads over all the Reſt of *France*, nevertheleſs we ſee no Preparation for open and preſent War. On the contrary, we have nothing from the Kings Mouth, and his Principal Miniſters of State, but Words of Peace, and Promiſes of putting in Execution what has been agreed. As to the Affairs, which we have manag'd hitherto, you muſt know, that having preſented to the King a Paper, containing the Principal Complaints of our Churches, and other things of which we have the Cognizance and Memoirs in our Hands, we have obtain'd Anſwers, ſuch as you will ſee by the Printed Paper, which we ſend you enclos'd; which tho they be dated the fourth of this Month, nevertheleſs were not deliver'd us till the twenty ſecond. At preſent we ſolicit the Performance of the Anſwers, which are favourable, continuing to demand ſatisfaction upon thoſe which are otherwiſe. Nor ſhall we fail to give you Advice of the Succeſs, as alſo of all that we ſhall judge proper to come to your Knowledge. As for News of the Particular Affairs of the Provinces and Churches, of whoſe Deputies we have a great number here, we have given ſatisfaction by particular Letters to all Occurrences. It remains that you ſecond our Labours with your Prayers to God, as we earneſtly deſire you, conſidering the need we have in ſuch a difficult time as this. And for our parts, we ſhall alſo beſeech him to accumulate his moſt Sacred Benedictions upon your ſelves. We are

Your

Your moſt humble and Affectionate Servants, the General Deputies of the Reformed Churches of *France*, near his Majeſty.

Paris, *March* 30. 1623.

Montmartin.
Mamald.

The King's Declaration, by which it is provided, that in the Aſſemblies which ſhall be held by the Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, concerning the Regulations of the Diſcipline of their ſaid Religion, no other Affairs be propounded or treated of, then ſuch as are permitted by the Edicts. Given at Fontain-Bleau, April 17*th.* 1623. *And verifi'd in Parlament*, May 22.

LEwis, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarr.* To all, *&c.* Altho' by our Edicts of Pacification, and the Private Articles granted to our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, in the Year, 1598. they were allow'd to hold Aſſemblies concerning the Regulations of the Diſcipline of the ſaid Religion pretendedly Reformed, and Places where the Exerciſe was ſettl'd with our Permiſſion firſt obtain'd, and that by ſeveral anſwers made to their Papers, they have been always forbid to admit into the ſaid Aſſemblies, other then the Miniſters and Elders, and to treat of other Affairs, then thoſe which concern the Regulations of their ſaid Religion, upon Pain of Forfeiting this Favour. Nevertheleſs we have found, that for ſome time ſince, and particularly of late Years under the Toleration of the ſaid Aſſemblies, our ſaid Subjects have taken the Liberty to introduce Perſons of all Conditions, as alſo to treat of Politick Affairs, from whence have enſu'd ſeveral Reſolutions, contrary to the Sentiments and Intentions of the Generality, and moſt conſiderable of our Subjects of the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion, and to the Publick Tranquility; To which there being a neceſſity of providing a Remedy, and to prevent for the future the conſequences of ſuch abuſes, prejudicial to our Authority, and the Peace of our Subjects, We declare, that for theſe Cauſes and other Conſiderations Us thereunto moving, with the Advice of the Princes of our Blood, *&c.* We have ſaid and declar'd, and do ſay and declare by theſe Preſents, and it is our Will and Pleaſure, that in all Aſſemblies that ſhall be held by our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, concerning the Regulations of the Diſcipline of the ſaid Religion, there ſhall be by us, or by our

our Lieutenant Generals of our Provinces, a certain Perſon commiſſion'd and appointed, one of our Officers of the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion, to be preſent in the ſaid Aſſemblies, to ſee and conſider, whether any other Affairs are propos'd and handl'd then are permitted by our Edicts; and to give a faithful accompt thereof to Us. And to the end that our Intention may be exactly follow'd, We ordain that for the time to come no Aſſemblies ſhall meet or be held, unleſs the ſaid Officer be before appointed, who ſhall be admitted into 'em without any or Lett or Scruple. So we command our Beloved and Faithful, *&c.* we alſo command our Governours, *&c.* In Teſtimony, *&c.* Given at *Fountain-Bleau*, *April.* 17. 1623. and 13*th.* of our Reign.

Sign'd *LEWIS.*

And below, By the King

De Lomenie.

Read, Publiſh'd and Regiſter'd, *&c.* At *Paris* in Parlament *May*, 22. 1623.

Du Tillet.

A Declaration of the Kings good Will toward his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion. Verify'd in Parlament November 27. 1623.

LEWIS, by the Grace of God, King of *France*, and *Navarr*, To all, *&c.* Tho' it has always been our Intention, as ſtill it is, to cauſe an Exact obſervance of our Edicts of Pacificaton, and Declarations laſt made in Favour of our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, that for this purpoſe we have Commiſſionated and deputed Commiſſioners in the ſeveral Provinces of our Kingdom to repair and re-eſtabliſh the Breaches which the Wars and laſt Troubles had produc'd, having omitted no care nor Sedulity to make the lives of our Subjects eaſie in good Peace, Amity and Concord; Nevertheleſs we have been Inform'd that ſome of the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion, Enemies of the Publik Repoſe, and ſuch as deſire to make their advantage of Trouble, pretending to belong to our Couſins the Dukes of *Rohan* and *Soubize*, (which we can hardly believe, by reaſon of the aſſurances which our ſaid Couſins have given us of their Fidelity and Affection to our ſervice, and obſervance of our Peace,) have ſome time ſince made ſeveral Journeys, and into ſeveral of our Provinces; alſo to ſome Aſſemblies held by vertue of our Edicts by our Subjects of the Religion, with Letters of Credence, under falſe Pretences to ſtir up our ſaid Subjects, to infuſe into 'em Fears, Jealouſies and feigned Diſtruſts, and to inſtigate

to raiſe Money, Fortifie the Places which they hold in their hands, purchaſe Arms and make their Preparations contrary to the Publick Peace: And tho' we are unwilling to believe that our ſaid Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, conſidering the ſingular Favours which they have ſo lately receiv'd from our Clemency, are any way enclin'd or diſpos'd to hearken to any ſuch pernicious Propoſitions, much leſs to deviate from their Fidelty and Obedience to which they are oblidg'd, Nevertheleſs, being deſirous to ſtop the Courſe of ſuch Proceedings, and the dangerous Conſequences that may attend 'em; to hinder our Subjects from being abus'd by theſe evil Practices, and not to leave any one in doubt and uncertainty of our good and ſincere Intentions toward 'em, with the advice of our Council, where were preſent the Queen Mother, our Thrice Honour'd Lady and Mother, the Princes, *&c.* We have ſaid and declar'd, and do ſay and declare, that it is our Will and Intention to maintain the Publick Peace, Repoſe and Tranquility, and to employ our Authority, and our accuſtom'd Care and Vigilancy, to cauſe our Subjects as well Catholicks as of the Pretended Reformed Religion, to live in good Union and Concord under their Obedience to us. And to this purpoſe we Will and Ordain, that our Edicts of Pacification, and laſt Declarations in Favour of our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, be inviolably kept, obſerv'd and maintain'd, and that the Commiſſioners deputed in our ſeveral Provinces, abide and reſide there, till they be perfectly and abſolutely fulfill'd. As we alſo make ſtrict Prohibitions to all Perſons, of what Condition or quality ſoever, to ſpeak, write, ſuggeſt or perſwade, give ear or liſten to any thing contrary to this our good and upright Intention, and to the Tranquility of our ſubjects, nor to travel or ſend into our Provinces, or to any Cities or Aſſemblies that ſhall be held by thoſe of the Pretended Reformed Religion to that Effect, nor to raiſe Money, bear or buy Arms, Furniture or preparations for Warr, under pain of Diſobedience, and being puniſh'd as Diſturbers of the Peace. It is our Pleaſure alſo, that the Offenders be inform'd againſt, and proſecuted with the utmoſt Rigour of the Law. So we command our faithful and well beloved Counſellours, *&c.* For ſuch is our Pleaſure. In Teſtimony, *&c.* Given at *Paris*, *November* 10. 1623. and 14*th.* of our Raign.

Sign'd *Louis.*

And below, by the King.

De Lomenie.

Read, publiſh'd and regiſter'd, *&c.* At *Paris* in Palament, *November* 7. 1623.

A Declaration of the King againſt the Sieur de Soubize *and his Adherents, containing a new Confirmation of the Edicts and Declarations formerly made in Favour of his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who remain in their Duty and Obedience. Given at* Paris, January 25. 1626. *and verify'd the* 18. *of* February.

LEWIS by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarr*, To all, &c. Every one knows the Favour and Clemency which we have extended to our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, that formerly roſe in Arms againſt our Authority, and how when our Arms had all the Advantages over 'em, we ſpread open our Arms to receive thoſe that came as well in general as Particular, to implore our Mercy, and turn'd the juſt Reſentments of our Indignation into a Benignity natural to a King, the Father of his People, toward Subjects ſubmiſſive and penitent, being deſirous by our Declaratory Letters of *October* 20. 1622. to forget and forgive their paſt Faults, and voutſafe 'em Peace with the continuance of the Benefit of the Edict of *Nantes* and other Declaraions. In purſuance of which we ſent Commiſſioners into ſeveral Provinces of our Kingdom, to reunite the Affections of our Subjects, as well Catholicks as of the Pretended Reformed Religion, divided by reaſon of the preceding Troubles, and to re eſtabliſh what the Fury of Warr might have interrupted in the obſervance of our Laws and Edicts, wherein by the Benignity of Heaven our careſull Toyl ſo happily ſucceeded, that our Kingdom for theſe laſt two Years, enjoy'd a moſt profound Peace, our Subjects in general Extolling the Divine Goodneſs of the Almighty, for that after ſo many paſt Calamities and Tempeſts, they reſted in a Tranquility ſo ſerenely Calm, and ſo aſſured under our Authority and Obedience. But when we thought this Peace moſt ſolidly ſecure, and that good Order re-eſtabliſh'd in our Kingdom had given us leiſure to apply all our Cares to the aſſiſtance of our Neighbours, and to readvance the Ancient Reputation of the *French* Name in Forraign Coutries, and that we were (as we are ſtill) upon the point of reaping the Fruits and notable Advantages of it, for the Glory of this Crown, the Comfort of our ſaid Confederates, and the Publick Benefit, we have receiv'd ſeveral Informations of the Practiſes and Contrivances, which are weaving in ſeveral of our Provinces, to withdraw our Subjects of the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion, from that Obedience and Fidelity which they owe us, and to perſwade 'em, in the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs to riſe a-

gainſt our Authority, while we are buſy'd out of our Kingdom in the Protection of our Allyes, and Trouble the Tranquility of the State. Now being fully inform'd of the Deſigns and contrivances that are forming againſt our Cities and ſtrong Holds, the Peparations that are making to raiſe Souldiers without our Commiſſion, the ſitting out of Ships, as well in the Ports and Havens of our Kingdom, as in other Places, without our leave, or the Orders of our Admiral, in contempt of our Laws, and the ſecret Practiſes and Correſpondencies held with Forreigners. To all which we have been much troubl'd to give Credit, conſidering the good and favourable uſage our ſaid Subjects of the Pretended Reformed receiv'd. And when we underſtood that the Sieur *de Soubiſe*, wa the Head of his Faction; he who has tri'd the Force of our Authority, and the ſoftneſs of our Clemency upon ſeveral occaſions; this was the reaſon that we were willing to wink at his firſt Practiſes and Proceedings, in hopes that by our Patience we might reduce him to his Duty. But our goodneſs and forbearance having augmented the Audacioufneſs of the ſaid *Soubiſe*, we underſtand that within theſe few days he has put to Sea with ſome Veſſels having Souldiers aboard; that he has robb'd our Merchants Ships, made attempts upon ſome of our Iſlands and principal Places, and upon the Veſſels that were in the Roads and Harbours belonging to 'em, and in theſe Actions committed ſeveral Enormities, Violences and Acts of Hoſtility againſt our Subjects. Now in regard that all theſe Enterprizes and Attempts of the ſaid *Soubiſe*, diſcover (to our great ſorrow) an evident and manifeſt Rebellion againſt our Authority, and a deſign lay'd betwixt him and ſome particular Adherents to diſturb the general Peace and Tranquility of the Kingdom, without any lawful reaſon or cauſe: on the other ſide we are extreamly well ſatisfy'd to underſtand from our dear and well beloved Couſin the Duke of *Tremouille*, and the Sieurs *de la Force* and *Chaillon*, and other Perſons of Quality, as alſo from the General Deputies of our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion reſiding near our Perſon, as alſo by the Deputies of the Pretended Religion at *Charenton*, and thoſe of our Cities of *Rochele*, *Nimes*, *Uſez*; as alſo to ſee by an Act in writing which the ſaid general Deputies have preſented us, with expreſs injuctions from our dear and well-beloved Inhabitants of our City of *Montaban*, how much they renounce and diſown his Actions, as unworthy of that Fidelity and Affection which true *French-men* owe their Soveraign; conſidering they can tend to nothing elſe but the ſubverſion of this State and their own Ruin. Whereupon, being deſirous to make known what our good Intentions are, the Protection which we are willing to grant to the Faithful and Obedient, and the Rigor which we intend

tend to uſe toward Rebels, if they perſevere in their Contumacy, We make known, that for theſe Cauſes and other weighty Conſiderations us thereunto moving, with the Advice of the Queen, &c. and of our certain knowledge, full Power and Royal Authority, we have ſaid and declar'd, and ſay and declare, by theſe Preſents, Sign'd with our hand, and it is our Will and Pleaſure, that all our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who ſhall continue in that Fidelity and Obedience which they owe us, without adhering to any Factions and Conſpiracies againſt the Kingdom, ſhall fully and Peaceably enjoy in freedom and ſafety, the Exerciſe of their Religion, together with all the Favours to them granted by the Edicts and Declarations made in their Favour, as well by the Deceaſed King, &c. as by our ſelves, which we reſolve to have inviolably kept and obſerv'd, according to their Form and Tenour; putting all our ſaid Subjects, together with their Goods and Families, under our ſpecial Protection and Favour. And as for the ſaid *Soubiſe* and others, who are enter'd into open Rebellion againſt us, having attempted to diſturb the Tranquility of our Kingdom, we have hereby declar'd, and declare all thoſe that ſhall adhere to and Favour him, directly or indirectly, of what Quality or condition ſoever they be, and who ſhall hold Intelligence, Aſſociation or Coreſpondence with 'em, both diſobedient and Guilty of High Treaſon: As alſo we declare the Inhabitants of our Cities that ſhall Countenance or adhere to the Rebellion and Diſobedience of the above nam'd, or ſhall give 'em any Harbour, Retreat, or Quarter among 'em, or ſhall ſuffer 'em, or aſſiſt 'em in any ſort or manner whatever, guilty of the ſame Crimes, and to have forfeited all their Rights, Franchiſes, Immunities and Priviledges granted either by the King our Predeceſſors or by our ſelves: And for that our Intention is always to prefer Clemency before the Rigour of Juſtice, and to afford 'em the Means and Leiſure to acknowledge their Faults, before they altogether plunge themſelves in Faction and revolt, we ſay and declare, that if within one Month from the day of the publication of theſe preſents in Parlament, the ſaid *Soubiſe*, or any others who have been guilty of the Actions above expreſs'd, ſhall return to their Duty, lay down their Arms, diſband their Souldiers which they have muſter'd together, and ſubmit themſelves entirely to the Obedience which they owe us, we have, and ſhall from this preſent Time and for the Future, forgiven, pardon'd and obliterated, forgive, pardon and obliterate, by theſe Preſents, all Acts and attempts which they may have made or deſign'd in this laſt Inſurrection, and taking of Arms, contrary to our Authority and Service, without any enquiries or proſecutions either now or hereafter, in any ſort or manner whatever; as having pardon'd and reſtor'd

reſtor'd 'em to their former Condition, and to all Honours, Priviledges and Immunities which were granted 'em, by Us or our Predeceſſors, under the Exact Obſervation of our Edicts. But if after that time expir'd, they perſiſt in their Rebellion and Diſobedience, our Pleaſure is, that they be proceeded againſt with all the Rigour of our Laws, by Impriſonment of their Perſons, Seizure of their Eſtates, demoliſhing their Houſes, and other uſual Courſes in ſuch Caſes; and that they loſe the Benefit of our Edicts and Appeals to the Chambers. So we command, *&c.* In Teſtimony, *&c.* Given at *Paris*, *January* 25. 1625 and fifteenth of our Reign.

Sign'd *LEWIS.*

And Below, by the King.

De Lomenie.

Read, Publiſh'd and Regiſter'd, *&c.* At *Paris* in Parlament, *February* 18. 1625.

Du Tillet.

A Writing giv'n by the Engliſh *Embaſſadours to the Deputies of the Churches to make the King of Great* Britain *Guarranty of the Peace, in* 1626.

WE *Henry Rich*, Baron of *Kenſington*, Earl of *Holland*, Captain of the King of Great *Brittan's* Guards, Knight of the Order of the Garter, and one of his Majeſties Privy Council: And *Dudley Charlton* Knight, one of his Majeſties Privy Council, and Vice Chamberlain of the Houſhold, To all, *&c.* Whereas the Sieurs *de Mommartin*, and *de Maniald*, General Deputies of the Reformed Churches of *France*, and other Particular Deputies from the Dukes of *Soubiſe* and *Rohan*, as alſo others from ſeveral Cities and Provinces, which joyn'd in Arms with the ſaid Lords, have made a Peace with the moſt Chriſtian King, by our Advice and Interceſſions, agreed and conſented to by the King their Soveraign, and for that the ſaid Deputies have releas'd many things which they thought of great Moment for their ſecurity, and altogether Conformable to their Edicts and Briefs, which they were expreſly charg'd to get by the Treaty of Peace, and upon which they would have inſiſted more earneſtly, but in deference and reſpect to the expreſs Requeſts and deſires of the moſt Serene King of Great *Britain*, our Maſter, in whoſe name we adviſ'd and exhorted 'em to condeſcend to the Conditions offer'd by the above-nam'd Peace, for the good of this Kingdom, and the Satisfaction and ſuccour of all *Chriſtendom*; For theſe Cauſes, we declare and certifie, That in the words which were

were agreed upon between us, in order to the accompliſhment of the ſaid Treaty, and which were utter'd in the preſence of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, by the Chancellour, upon the Acceptance of the Peace, to this purpoſe, that by long ſervices and continu'd Obedience they might expect from the Kings Goodneſs, what they could never obtain by any other Treaty, in things which they eſteem'd moſt neceſſary, as to which in time convenient their Supplications might be heard, ſuppoſing 'em to be preſented with reſpect and humility, there was a clearer Interpretation on his Majeſties and his Miniſters Part, of which the ſence and meaning was, That they were meant of Fort *Lewis* before *Rochel*, and to give aſſurance of the Demoliſhing of that Place in time convenient, and in the mean time of eaſe and relief in other things, which by the ſaid Treaty of Peace continue prejudicial to the ſaid City of *Rochel*: Without which aſſurance, of the demoliſhing the Fort and withdrawing the Garriſon, the ſaid Deputies proteſted to us, that they would never have conſented to the letting that Fort ſtand; being enjoyn'd and reſolv'd to have maintain'd their Right to demoliſh it, as they do by the preſent Declaration; with aſſurance that the King of *Great Britain*, will labour by his Interceſſions in Conjunction with their humble Supplication, to ſhorten the time appointed for demoliſhing the ſaid Fort; for which we have given 'em all the Royal words and Promiſes they can deſire, having aſſur'd 'em that they ought and might reſt ſatisfi'd and contented. For the Faithful performance of which, and of what is abovmention'd, we have Sign'd and Seal'd theſe Preſents, and caus'd it to be under-ſign'd by one of our Secretaries. Given at *Paris* the 11*th*. day of *February*, 1626.

Sign'd *Holland.*

D. Carlton.

And below,

Angier.

An Edict of the King upon the Peace which his Majeſty pleas'd to give his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion. Given at Paris, March 1626. *and Publiſh'd in Parliament* April 16.

LEWIS by the Grace of God King of *France* and *Navar*, To all, &c. In regard that Sovereign Authority is no leſs Illuſtrious in Acts of Grace and Clemency, then in of thoſe Juſtice and Arms, and for that to know how to vanquiſh and pardon, are the higheſt Marks of Grandeur, for the ſame reaſon we ought to eſteem that Prince moſt worthy of Honour and Glory, who having left loose the

the fury of his Arms againſt thoſe that drew his Provocations upon 'em, and ſubdu'd 'em to their duty, is contented to exerciſe his Clemency toward 'em, and to let 'em reap the publick Fruits of it, by reſtoring 'em to Peace; whence it comes to paſs that God is call'd upon and ſerv'd in all Places, that the Royal Authority is reverenc'd and acknowledg'd by all, that the Laws are religiouſly obſerv'd, the People eas'd from their Oppreſſions, and that the Body of the State uniting Forces together becomes more puiſſant for their own Preſervation, and for the Succour and Protection of their Confederates; Theſe conſiderations which we have always had before our Eyes, have been the reaſon that we have us'd ſo much Moderation, to lay aſleep and extinguiſh the Commotions that have ſo many times, like ſo many Convulſions ſhak'n this Kingdom, making uſe of Favour toward thoſe who had over inconſiderately engag'd themſelves, as we have exerted our Vigour, reſolution and diligence, in ſuppreſſing and chaſtizing, when we have been thereto conſtrain'd. As to the preſent Affairs, our Conduct has been ſuch, as having employ'd both Threats and Puniſhment, in Places that openly ſtood out in their Diſobedience; and Mildneſs, Patience and Remonſtrances, toward others that continu'd in their Duty; ſo that we have reſtrain'd the burſting forth of that Trouble with which this Kingdom was menac'd by reaſon of a Civil War, and preſerv'd the beſt and greateſt part of the Religion, in that Fidelity and Obedience which they owe us. Who have no leſs clearly ſeen and underſtood, that our Intentions have always been, as ſtill they are, to maintain 'em in Peace, Concord and Tranquility, and to cauſe 'em inviolably to enjoy the Favours beſtow'd upon 'em by our Edicts and Declarations. All which they who' have taken Arms, and the Cities which ſided with 'em, having lately well conſider'd, and having underſtood the Nature of their Crime, the Publick Indignation, the Ruin and juſt Puniſhment which they drew upon themſelves, by continuing to Trouble the repoſe of the Kingdom, they had recourſe to our Goodneſs, as their only ſafety and Refuge; and by their Deputies have ſeveral times beſought us with all the ſubmiſſion that Subjects could pay to their Soveragn, to pardon 'em, to bury things paſt in Oblivion, and to afford 'em Peace. Upon which, We enclining rather to Mildneſs and Clemency, then to the Ruin and Deſolation of our own Subjects; having alſo a regard to their moſt humble Supplications, in the Name of thoſe of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who have remain'd within the Bounds of their Duty, ſince we had accepted the ſubmiſſions of the reſt, to pardon them for their ſakes, and to reunite 'em all in Peace and Concord under that Obedience which they owe us, proteſting and aſſuring us, that they will never ſwerve

again from the ſame upon any pretence, occaſion or cauſe whatever, We make known that for theſe Cauſes, and for other great and weighty Conſiderations Us thereunto moving, with the Advice of the Queen our thrice Honour'd Lady and Mother, the Princes, &c. We have ſaid and declar'd, and do ſay and declare by theſe Preſents, Sign'd with our Hand, and it is our Will and Pleaſure:

I. That the Edict of *Nantes*, the Declarations, and ſecret Articles, Publiſh'd and Regiſter'd in our Courts of Parlament, ſhall be inviolably kept and obſerv'd, to be enjoy'd by our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, as they were well and duly obſerv'd in the Time of the Deceaſed King our thrice Honour'd Lord and Father, whom God Abſolve, and ſince our coming to the Crown, before theſe laſt Commotions.

II. That the Catholick, Apoſtolick and *Roman* Religion, ſhall be reſtor'd and re-eſtabliſh'd in all Parts and Places of our Kingdom, and Countries under our Obedience, where it has been interrupted during theſe laſt Commotions, to be fully, peaceably and freely exercis'd. And we expreſly forbid all Perſons of whatever Quality or Condition ſoever, upon Pain of being puniſh'd as Diſturbers of the Publick Peace, not to trouble, moleſt or diſquiet the Eccleſiaſticks in the Celebration of Divine Service, and other Functions of the Catholick Religion, enjoyment and Collecting the Tenths, Fruits and Revenues of their Benefices, and all other Rights and Duties that belong to 'em; and that all thoſe who during the ſaid laſt Commotions, had made themſelves Maſters of the Goods and Revenues of the Churches belonging to the ſaid Eccleſiaſticks, ſhall deliver up to 'em full Poſſeſſion, free and peaceable enjoyment of the ſame, according to the III. Article of the Edict of *Nantes*, and reſtore 'em ſuch Goods as ſhall be found in ſpecie.

III. That the Exerciſe of the Pretended Reformed Religion ſhall be re-eſtabliſh'd in Places where it was ſettl'd, according to our Edicts and Declarations in the Year 1620. And our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion ſhall be reſtor'd to the ſaid Places, as alſo to their Church-yards in Places which have been allow'd 'em, or others, ſuch as the Commiſſioners who ſhall be by us deputed, or Officers of the Cities ſhall judge moſt convenient. And where it ſhall happen, that for any Reaſon of great Importance, the Church-yards cannot be reſtor'd in ſuch Places, which they poſſeſs'd in the Year, 1620, others as convenient ſhall be allow'd 'em at the expences of thoſe who ſhall require the change.

IV. And to give a Publick Teſtimony of the value which we have for our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who abide in that Fidelity and Obedience, which they owe Us; and for the remarkable Proofs, which ſome among 'em have giv'n us of

both, in thoſe employments which they have had in our Armies, as well within as without our Kingdom, We have at their moſt humble Suit, having alſo a regard to the Submiſſions of others who have ſwerv'd from their Duty, and of our ſpecial Grace, full Power and Royal Authority, acquitted, forgiven and Pardon'd, and do by theſe Preſents acquit, pardon and forgive all raiſing of Arms, enterprizes and acts of Hoſtility, committed by our ſaid Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, of what Condition or Quality ſoever they be, as by the Cities that have ſided with 'em, and the Inhabitants of the ſame, both by Sea and Land, ſince the firſt of *January*, 1625. and the Commotions preceding, till the day of the Publication of theſe Preſents, comprehending and including whatever might have happen'd in the interval, between the Signing of the Declaration of *October* 20. 1622. and the Publication of this in our Courts of Parlament, from which they ſhall be fully and perfectly diſcharg'd; as alſo from all General and Provincial Aſſemblies, Circles, Inſurrections, Popular Commotions, Exceſſes, Violences, Breaches of Letters of Protection, and all other things in general whatever, comprehended in the LXXVI. and LXXVII. Articles of the ſaid Edict of *Nantes*, altho' they are not here particularly expreſs'd and declar'd; without any Inquiſitions, Proſecutions or Moleſtations hereafter for the Future to be made or offer'd, except in reſerv'd Caſes, ſuch as are ſpecifi'd and declar'd in the LXXXVI. and LXXXVII. Articles of the ſaid Edict of *Nantes*, after which Inquiſition may be made before the Judges, who have Cognizance of thoſe cauſes.

V. As for the Money that ſhall be impos'd, levi'd and taken upon our Subjects, or our Receipts, Managements or Adminiſtration of the ſame, and diſcharges of the Perſons accountable, together with what concerns the Commonalties on both ſides, as to Debts by them created and not paid, the LXXIV. LXXV. LXXVIII. and LXXIX. Articles of the Edict of *Nantes*, ſhall be obſerv'd and kept.

VI. To this purpoſe, all the Seats of Juſtice, Audits of Receipts and Offices of the Finances, that may have been remov'd by Reaſon of the Preſent Commotions, ſince *January* of the laſt Year, and more eſpecially the Office of the Court of Election at *Rochel*, ſhall be reſtor'd in the ſame Condition as they were; in like manner the Cities which remain in the Hands of our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, ſhall enjoy the ſame Priviledges, Franchiſes, Immunities, Fairs and Markets which they formerly did. The Election of Conſuls, ſhall be after the accuſtom'd Form; and in Caſe of Appeal, the cauſe ſhall be remov'd to our Chambers of the Edict.

VII. It is likewiſe our Pleaſure, that our ſaid Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, ſhall be

be abſolutely diſcharg'd from all Judgments, Sentences, and Decrees given againſt 'em, upon occaſion of the Preſent Commotions, according to the LVIII. LIX. and LX. Articles of the ſaid Edict, impoſing as to the whole, perpetual Silence upon our Advocates General, and all others concern'd to take care of ſuch Proſecutions.

VIII. We ordain that all Priſoners of War, detain'd on both ſides, that have not paid their Ranſoms, ſhall be releas'd and ſet at Liberty without paying any thing; declaring all Promiſes made or caus'd upon Ranſoms, not diſcharg'd before the Date of theſe Preſents, null and void; yet ſo as that the Ranſoms already paid, ſhall not be repaid again, tho' demanded. Alſo all our ſaid Subjects of the Reformed Religion, ſeiz'd by warrant of Juſtice, detain'd in our Priſons, or in our Galleys, by Reaſon of the laſt or preceding Commotions, even thoſe that were taken at the enterprize of *Port Lewis*, ſhall be enlarg'd and ſet at Liberty, immediately after the Publication of theſe Preſents, without any let or delay.

IX. In like manner it is our meaning, that the XXVII. Article of the ſaid Edict of *Nantes*, concerning the Admiſſion and Receiving of our ſaid Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion into Offices and Employments, ſhall be obſerv'd and kept; and that all thoſe of the ſaid Religion of what Quality or Condition ſoever they be, who by Reaſon of the preſent Commotions may have been depriv'd of their Offices, Employments, Dignities, Houſes, and Habitations, ſince the firſt day of *January* 1625. ſhall be reſtor'd and reſettl'd therein: As alſo to their Goods, Titles, Accompts, and Actions, ſeiz'd as well during the Preceding as the late Troubles, notwithſtanding any Patents for Offices, Grants, Confiſcations, Repriſals, Payments and Acquittances. Permitting the Creditors to take out Execution for their Principal Stock, notwithſtanding all Sentences and Decrees, unleſs upon a definitive Decree in our Council, or in our Chambers of the Edict, or that the Particular Perſons have been other where reimburs'd.

X. Our Pleaſure is, that theſe our Preſent Letters Declaratory, be obſerv'd and kept by all our Subjects, according to the Form preſcrib'd by the LXXXII. Article of the Edict of *Nantes*; and Commiſſioners ſhall be ſent into all parts where occaſion ſhall require, to ſee that the Contents thereof be executed.

XI. In regard, that our ſaid Subjects profeſſing the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion, may not for the Future hold any General or particular Aſſemblies, Circles, Councils, Abridgments, or any other of what Name or Quality ſoever, without expreſs Permiſſion by Letters, or a Brief particularly Sign'd by Us, and ſubſcrib'd by one of our Secretaries of State, yet the Aſſemblies of

Conſiſtories, Colloquies and Synods are permitted 'em for Affairs that Purely concern the Regulations of the Diſcipline of the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion, conformable to our Letters Declaratory of *April* 17. 1623. ſet forth upon the Holding of Synods and Colloquies, with expreſs Prohibitions to treat of Politick Affairs. Nor ſhall they for the Future raiſe any Fortifications of what ſort ſoever they be, to encloſe our Cities, without our expreſs Permiſſion by our Letters Patents. Nor ſhall they raiſe any Money upon our Subjects, upon any occaſion whatever, without a Commiſſion under our Great Seal. All this, under the Penalty of High Treaſon, and forfeiture of our Preſent Favours.

XII. It is our farther meaning alſo, that the Articles by Us decreed, which concern the City of *Rochel*, the Iſlands and Country of *Aulnix*, be obſerv'd and put in Execution without delay; and that the Cities and Caſtles which ſhall have been taken by thoſe of the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion, ſince the preſent Troubles, ſhall be ſurrender'd up into our Hands within fifteen days after the Publication of theſe Preſents: Declaring all ſuch of our ſaid Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who ſhall ſcruple to ſubmit themſelves to this our Will and Pleaſure, depriv'd, by juſt Forfeiture, of the Benefit of this our preſent Favour.

So we command, *&c.* And to the end that this may be for ever firm and ſtable, we have affix'd, *&c.* Giv'n at *Paris* in *March*, 1626. and 17*th.* of our Reign.

Sign'd *Lewis*.

And below,

De Lomenie.

Regiſter'd, *April* 13. 1626.

Du Tillet.

A Declaration of the King againſt the Sieur De Soubiſe, *and other Adherents to the Party of the* Engliſh. *Confirming the Edicts of Pacification, in favour of thoſe who ſhould continue in their Duty and Allegiance. Given at* Villeroy, Auguſt 5. 1627. *and Publiſh'd in Parlament the twelfth of the ſame Month.*

LEwis, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarr.* To all, *&c.* Since it has pleas'd God to call us to the Government of this State, our Conduct has made it manifeſt, with how much Care we have labour'd to preſerve the Publick Peace and Tranquility, either in obſerving and preſerving a ſound Amity, good under-

understanding and correspondence between this Kingdom and Foreign Princes, either by employing, as we have done several times in divers parts, and upon various occasions, our Royal Mediation to lay asleep and extinguish the Contentions and Differences arisen between the said Princes; or by giving Assistance and Protection to our Ancient Confederates, when we thought it necessary to re-establish or maintain 'em in those Rights and Properties that appertain'd to 'em, in order by that means to stop the ill Consequences of those Troubles which the Innovations happ'ning in their Dominions might produce. Wherein if our Intentions were lookt upon as good and sincere, we also judge, those which we have had, being grounded upon the same Considerations of the Publick Tranquility, and of the Establishment of the Repose of our Kingdom, in contracting several Great Alliances by the Marriage of our dearest Sisters, are worthy of a higher applause. But we cannot but observe, without a most just Resentment, that the Act which we have made with *England*, has not hitherto had that good success, which we expected from it: But that instead of knitting faster, as we promis'd to our selves, the knot of that ancient Amity, which has long continu'd between the two Crowns, it should so fall out, that the notorious Breaches on the Part of *England*, of the Articles of Marriage of our Dearest Sister with the King of Great *Britain*, the *English* should come to invade us, and Land in the Isle of *Re* with a numerous Fleet and Army without any cause, any Ground, any Pretence or Declaration. And in regard we see, that in order to second their unjust Designs, they have already treated with some of our Subjects, have sent the Sieur *De Soubise* into our City of *Rochel*, to perswade the Inhabitants to join with their Party, and that they continue the same Artifices and Practices with others of our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, to draw and engage 'em under several Pretences and vain Hopes to unite their Arms with theirs (tho' we are willing to believe, that our said Subjects will have so much Constancy and Judgment, as not to suffer themselves to be deceiv'd by such sort of Artifices; and for that considering that they peacefully enjoy the full Liberty of the Exercise of their Religion, the Benefit of our Edicts, and whatever else has been promis'd by Us, they will conclude that this enterprise of the *English*, has no aim or end, that really tends to the good of their Religion, but that it is a voluntary Invasion of our Dominions, in Enmity to our Crown, and the Honour of the Nation; in the Defence of which, all true *French* Men, as well Catholicks as those of the Pretended Reformed Religion, are equally oblig'd to venture their Lives and Fortunes;) Nevertheless, that our said Subjects may be rightly inform'd of our Intentions upon the present

preſent Occurrences, and that they may not be circumvented by the Artifices that are made uſe of to with-draw 'em from their natural Duty, We declare that for theſe Cauſes, and other weighty Conſiderations Us thereunto moving, We have with the Advice of the Queen, our thrice Honour'd Lady and Mother, our moſt Dear and moſt Beloved only Brother the Duke of *Orleance*, the Princes, *&c.* ſaid and declar'd, and do ſay and declare, by theſe Preſents, the Sieur *de Soubiſe*, and thoſe of our Subjects, of what Quality or Condition ſoever they be, who ſhall adhere to or join with the *Engliſh*, or ſhall favour or aſſiſt 'em directly or indirectly, or that ſhall keep Intelligence, Aſſociation, and Correſpondence with 'em in any ſort or manner whatever, or ſhall otherwiſe depart from that Obedience which they owe us, Rebels, Traitors, and Perfidious to their King, Deſertors of their Countrey, Guilty of High Treaſon in the higheſt Degree: And as ſuch we declare their Goods, as well Moveable as Immoveable, their Offices and Employments, Forfeited and Confiſcated to our ſelf; and all the Inhabitants of our Cities, who ſhall adhere to the Enterprizes, Rebellion and Diſobedience of the above named, or who ſhall afford 'em Entrance, Paſſage, Retreat or Quartering, or ſhall aid 'em with Arms, Victuals, Ammunition, or any other neceſſaries, guilty of the ſame Crimes, and under the Forfeiture of all Decrees, Honours, Priviledges, Franchiſes, Immunities and Rights, which may have been granted to 'em, either by the Kings our Predeceſſors, or by our Selves, paſt all Hopes of being ever regain'd. It being our Will and Pleaſure, that they be proceeded againſt, with the utmoſt Severity of the Law, by Impriſonment of their Perſon, Seizure of their Eſtates, Demoliſhing their Houſes, Cutting down their Woods, and that they ſhall loſe the Benefit of our Edicts, and of all Appeals to our Chambers, created by the ſame; Unleſs within eight days after the Publication of this Declaration upon the Coaſts of *Poitou*, *Saintonge* and *Aunix*, they do quit their Rebellion, and make their Appearance before our Officers of the Cities of *Saintes Niort*, *Fontenay*, *Brouage*, and others more remote, with the uſual Submiſſions, and that the Cities make their Declarations ſuch as are requir'd in the like Caſes at the ſame time. And whereas we have found, during the late Troubles, that ſome of our Subjects of the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion, ſiding with the Rebels, were wont to ſend their Children, or elſe permit 'em to go and bear Arms together with 'em, they themſelves ſtaying at home to avoid the Rigour of our Proſecutions; 'Tis our Pleaſure, that for the Remedy of ſuch abuſes, that the Fathers or Maſters of Houſes and Families, ſhall be held and reputed to adhere to the Enemies Party, and that they ſhall ſuffer Corporal Puniſhment, together with

with all the Penalties mention'd in theſe preſents, if their Children or other Relations, uſually abiding in their Houſes, and having no other habitation then that of their Fathers, or Kindred, ſhall be found ſiding with the Enemy, in actual Arms. Unleſs the ſaid Parents or Maſters of Houſes or Families, actually ſerve us in our Armies or other where, and make it ſo much their endeavour to regain their Children or Kindred out of the Enemies ſervice, as to convince us that twas no Fault of theirs. And as for all our other Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, that ſhall continue in their Obedience and Fidelity to us, without adhering to the Enemies Deſigns, and other Practices, Factions and Conſpiracies againſt us, our Authority, Service and Repoſe of this Kingdom, our Pleaſure is, that they ſhall freely enjoy the Liberty of their Exerciſe, and all Favours and Conceſſions to them granted by the Deceaſed King and our ſelves; which it is our full meaning and Intent to preſerve inviolably; putting all our ſaid Subjects of our ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion, their Families and Eſtates, ſo long as they remain within the Bounds of their Duty, under our ſpecial ſafeguard and Protection. So we command, &c. In Teſtimony whereof, &c. Given at *Villeroy*, *Auguſt* 5. 1627. and 18*th*. of our Reign.

Sign'd *Lewis*.

And below, By the King.

De Lomenie.

Read, Publiſh'd and Regiſter'd, &c. At *Paris*, in Parlament, *Auguſt* 12. 1627.

Du Tillet.

A Declaration of the King after the taking of Rochelle, *to his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion. Given at* Paris, December 15. 1628. *and verify'd in Parlament* January 15. 1629.

LEWIS, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarr*, To all &c. We have by ſeveral Preceding Declarations exhorted our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, to forſake and deſiſt from the Factions and Rebellions wherein they were engag'd againſt our ſervice, promiſing 'em all that could be expected from our Favour, in caſe that within the time preſcrib'd they return'd to their Duty, and ſubſcrib'd ſuch Declarations as were requiſite before our Judges. Which ſeveral having done, have experienc'd our Good Will, liv'd peaceably and at Liberty, in the enjoy-

enjoyment of their Eſtates, and Exerciſe of the Pretended Reformed Religion. Several Cities alſo and Paticular Men, led away by the Artifices of Factious and ſeditious Spirits, have ſtill continu'd in the ſame Rebellion, into which their Engagement with the Inhabitants of the City of *Rochel* had participated 'em. For which reaſon, now that it has pleas'd God to reduce that City under our Obedience, and to take from 'em that Pretence, we are willing to hope that they will the more readily return to their Duty, by new Exhortations, and freeing 'em from the Fear of being Liable to the Penalties mention'd in our Preceding Declarations. And being deſirous to let 'em ſee our Paternal Affection toward 'em, and to excite 'em out of a Conſideration of their own good and Preſervation, more or leſs to their Benefit, as they ſhall continue more or leſs Obſtinate in returning to their Obedience; And which is that which we are willing ſo much the rather to hope, that now that by the Reduction of our ſaid City of *Rochel* under our Obedience, they have manifeſtly underſtood our ſingular Goodneſs toward the Inhabitants of that Place, whom we receiv'd upon their Surrendring to us with the aſſurance of their Lives, Eſtates, and Exerciſe of the Pretended Reformed Religion, and of the integrity of which agreement they enjoy ſo religious a performance, that all their Fears are turn'd into Conſolation, and have prov'd a ſufficient Convincement that the Apprehenſions which the Factious *Boutefeux* of Rebellion infus'd into 'em, were but Artifices without any Foundation, to hinder 'em from ſeeking in our Obedience that true Tranquillity and Liberty which they now enjoy; For theſe cauſes we make known, that upon mature debate of this Buſineſs in Council, of our full knowledge, full Power, ſpecial Grace, and Royal Authority, We have enjoyn'd, and by theſe Preſents do enjoyn all our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, of what quality or Condition ſoever they be, who ſhall now be found engag'd in the Rebellion and bearing Arms, or holding out Towns and Cities againſt our ſervice, and contrary to that Obedience which they owe us, or adhering to thoſe that hold 'em out and enjoy 'em, that they forthwith lay down their Arms, return to their Duty, and Subſcribe ſuch Declarations as are uſually requiſite, before our Courts of Parlament or Preſidial Seats, within 15 days after Publication of theſe Preſents. And as for the Cities, that they ſend their Deputies to us, to receive our Gracious Will and Pleaſure, in purſuance of their Submiſſions. Which doing, we will receive 'em into our Favour, and maintain 'em in the Enjoment of all their Goods and Eſtates, and free Exerciſe of the ſaid Reformed Religion, and look upon 'em as good Subjects, worthy to partake of our benefits and Favours,

vours, no less then the rest who have continu'd in the Fidelity which they owe us. All which we promise upon the Faith and Word of a King to keep, observe and fulfil inviolably. But in case that continuing in the obstinacy of their Rebellion they scorn the Favour which we offer to 'em, and do not satisfie the Contents of these Presents within that time, We have, and do declare 'em from this time forward to have incurr'd the Penalties mention'd in our Preceding Declarations, and guilty of High Treason in the Highest degree, and unworthy of all Grace and Mercy. In which case, after the time prefix'd is once past, our Pleasure is that they be proceeded against in their Persons, Goods, Houses, Inheritances, and whatever else belongs to 'em, with the utmost Rigour of the Law. So we command, &c. In Testimony, &c. Given at *Paris*, *December* 15. 1628. and 19*th*. of our Reign.

Sign'd *Lewis*.

Below, by the King.

De Lomenie.

Read, Publish'd and Register'd, At *Paris* in Parlament &c. *January* 15. 1629.

Du Tillet.

An Edict of the King upon the Grace and Pardon granted as well to the Duke of Rohan *and the Sieur* de Soubize, *as to his Rebellious Subjects of the Cities, Flat Countries, Castles and Strong Holds, of the Provinces of Upper and Lower* Languedoc, Cevennes, Gevaudan, Guyenne, Foix, *&c. with the Articles. Given at* Nimes, *in* July 1629. *and verify'd in the Parlament of* Tholouse, August 27. 1629.

LEWIS, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarr*, To all, &c. The Love which we bear our Subjects, and our Commiseration of the Miseries which they have sustain'd, by reason of the Wars, and Divisions wherewith this Kingdom has been so long afflicted, has touch'd us so deeply, that laying aside all Considerations of our Health, and the Inconveniences of the weather, we have made use of all means to reduce under our Obedience, those who having thrown it off, had been the Occasion of all their Calamities. We were in hopes that the Cities which surrender'd to our Obedience, in the Years 1620. 21. and 22. would have mov'd 'em to the same acknowledgment of our Authority. But finding that either Obstinacy would not permit 'em, or that the Violence and Artifice of the Faction retain'd 'em, we invited 'em by our

Declarations to return to their Duty, by all the moſt favourable perſwaſions that the cauſe would bear. We alſo rais'd Great and Powerful Armies to reduce by force, thoſe whom their Obſtinacy in Rebellion render'd deaf and blind to all the Reaſons and Occaſions of their Duty: wherein it has pleas'd God ſo far to bleſs our Endeavours, that the City of *Rochelle* has had the firſt Tryal of our Puiſſance, as is mention'd in the Edict which we ſet forth upon the Reducing of that Place. The City of *Privas au Vivarets*, which truſting to her Situation, rugged and inacceſſible as ſhe thought, in her Fortifications, and her Stores of Proviſion and Ammunition, puft up with long Proſperity, adventur'd to withſtand the Batteries of our Cannon and the Efforts of our Arms, and contemning the gentle Exhortations of our Goodneſs, the hatred of her Inhabitants was ſuch, that they rather choſe to abandon their Habitations and their Goods, then to ſeek for Preſervation in our Clemency which was aſſur'd 'em: They depriv'd themſeves of the Hopes of receiving it, and could not prevent the Conflagration and the fury of the Sword which God ſent among 'em: And therefore in reference to them we have otherwiſe provided by our Declaratory Letters ſet forth apart; nor are they comprehended in theſe preſents. But this Puniſhment making others wiſer, has been the reaſon that nor only all the Upper and Lower *Vivarets*, but alſo ſeveral other Cities and Fortreſſes are return'd to their Duty, have Sworn to us the Oath of Allegiance, while we on the other ſide have pardon'd their Rebellion, and ordain'd 'em our Letters of Oblivion, only cauſing their Walls and Fortifications to be demoliſh'd. Which ſerving as aſſurances to others, brought upon them all the Miſeries they have ſuffer'd. Several Gentlemen alſo ſmitten with the Happineſs which they met with in our Clemency, ſought and receiv'd it, and quitted their Rebellion. The City of *Alets*, extreamly ſtrong by Scituation, by Fortifications, and whatever human Invention has ſtudy'd, to make Bulwarks and Ramparts of Earth ſerviceable to Nature, made as if ſhe would have ſtopt the Career of our Progreſſes. But finding her ſelf begirt with our Army, and our mounted Canon ready to make a Breach, durſt not expect the firſt ſhot, but ſubmitted to the Laws of War that are uſually practis'd in the like Caſes, threw her ſelf at our feet, and implor'd our mercy, which ſhe obtain'd. And as we were ready to carry our Victories yet farther, the Duke of *Rohan*, the Inhabitants of *Anduſe*, *Sauve*, *Levigan*, *Florac*, *Mervez*, and all the reſt of the Strong Holds in *Cevennes*, *Nimes*, *Aymargues*, *Uſez*, *Milhau*, *Cornus*, St. *Frique*, St. *Felix*, St. *Rome de Taon*, *Pont Camarez*, *Viane*, *Caſtres*, *Rogue*, *Courbe*, *Revel*, *Montauban*, *Cauſſade*, *Mazeres*, *Saverdun*, *Carlat*;

lat, *Le Mas d' Azil*, and generally all the ſtrong Holds and Places in the Upper and Lower *Languedoc*, *Cevenes*, *Gevaudan*, *Guyenne*, and *Foix*, the Gentlemen and others, who held out againſt our Service, ſent their Deputies to teſtifie their Repentance for having fallen into that Rebellion, promiſing to pay us for the future, that Obedience and Fidelity, which all good and Loyal Subjects owę their Prince; beſeeching Us to pardon 'em, and to grant 'em an Amneſty of their Rebellion, and of all things that happen'd by Reaſon of it; offring to diſmantle all the Fortifications of the ſaid Cities, to the end they might neither give any diſtruſt of their Fidelity, nor ſerve as a Temptation for any Body elſe to ſwerve from it; and for farther Aſſurances to give us ſuch Hoſtages out of the ſaid Cities, and in ſuch number, as we ſhould demand. To which we were ſo much the more readily inclin'd, becauſe we were deſirous by ſo rare an Example of Clemency, after ſo many Relapſes, the moſt advantagiouſly that might be to gain the Hearts of our Subjects, to ſpare the ſhedding of Blood, the Deſolation of the Province, and all other Diſorders and Calamities of Warr; mov'd to it by our ſole Compaſſion of their Miſeries, and Love of their Welfare. Which puts us in Hopes, that ſo manifeſt an Experience of the meer goodneſs, that opens our Breaſts to our Subjects, will cauſe their return to be more ſincere, and ſerve for a perpetual Cement, to keep 'em for ever inſeparably united to our Obedience; till the Grace and Mercy of God touching their Hearts, and enlightning their Minds, ſhall reſtore 'em all to the Boſom of the Church, and dry up the Fountain of our fatal Diviſions. For theſe cauſes, after we had receiv'd Hoſtages from the ſaid Cities, and diſpos'd of 'em in Places ordain'd for that purpoſe, till the Fortifications of the ſaid Cities were effectually and compleatly demoliſh'd; as being deſirous to provide for diſorders paſt, and to prevent any for the Future, We make known, that upon mature debate of theſe things in Council, with the Advice of the ſame, and of our certain Knowledge, ſpecial Grace and Royal Authority, by this our perpetual and irrevocable Edict, ſign'd with our hand, We have ſaid, Decreed and Ordain'd, ſay Decree and Ordain, and our Will and Pleaſure is,

I. That the Catholick, Apoſtolick, and *Roman* Religion, ſhall be reſtor'd and reſettl'd in all the Cities and Places of thoſe Countries, from whence it had been expell'd; and all the Eccleſiaſtick Churches, Goods, and Houſes, within the ſaid Provinces, ſhall be reſtored to thoſe to whom they belong'd, without any Proſecution for the Revenues receiv'd or taken. In which Churches, and in all the ſaid Places, the Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion, ſhall be freely and peaceably Perform'd, without Let or Moleſtation. Nevertheleſs we ordain, that in all the Monaſteries within the ſaid Cities return'd to our Obedience, there ſhall not be

put in or ſettl'd any other Monks, then ſuch as live exactly in the obſervance of their Order, according to the Letters which they ſhall receive from us.

II. And deſiring nothing more then a perpetual Union between our Subjects, as we are deſirous, and as it is our Intention, to maintain thoſe who profeſs the Pretended Reformed Religion, in the free and Peaceable Exerciſe of it, we cannot but deſire alſo their Converſion, for which we continually offer up our Prayers to God. For which Reaſon, we exhort all our ſaid Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion to lay aſide all Paſſion, that they may be capable of receiving the Light of Heaven, and be fitted to return to the Boſom of the Church, in which for thoſe eleven hundred Years together, the Kings our Predeceſſours have liv'd without Change or Interruption: Not being able in any thing whatever to give them a greater Teſtimony of our Paternal Affection, then to admoniſh them to obſerve the ſame way to Salvation, which we obſerve and follow our ſelves.

III. We ordain, that all the Pariſhes of the ſaid Country be provided with good, ſufficient and capable Curates, by thoſe to whom the Patronage of the ſame belongs, and that things be ſo order'd, that they have all a ſufficient revenue to maintain 'em with Reputation in the Diſcharge of their Functions, as is ſet down in our Ordinances of *January* laſt; or other means more commodious, as ſhall be adjudg'd proper by the Commiſſioners, by Us deputed to that end.

IV. We have forgiven, pardon'd and buri'd in Oblivion, and do forgive, pardon and bury in Oblivion to the ſaid Duke of *Rohan*, and to all the Inhabitants of the ſaid Cities and Places, as alſo to thoſe of the Flat Countries, who adher'd to 'em, all things paſt from *July* 21. 1627. to the Day of the Publication, in every Seneſchalſhip, of the Articles of Grace, which we granted 'em the 27*th*. of *June* laſt. We have diſcharg'd 'em, and do diſcharge 'em of all Acts of Hoſtility, raiſing of Arms, hiring of Souldiers, enterpriſes as well by Sea as Land, General and Particular Aſſemblies, more eſpecially the Aſſembly of *Nimes*, ſeizure of Eccleſiaſtical Rents, Royal or Private Money, Coining of Money of what Alloy or Stamp ſoever, Printed Libels, Popular Tumults and Commotions, Riots, Violences, Enterprizes upon the two Cities of St. *Amant*, and *Chaſteaux du Seigneur*; the taking of *Chaſteau*, St. *Stephen*, *Val Francheſque*, and *Florac*: Alſo the Murders and other Accidents, happening at the taking of St. *Geniez*, and *Caſtres*, in *January* laſt. Alſo the Inhabitants of *Uſez*, for the Murder of the Sieur *du Flos*: And the Conſuls of the ſaid Place, for the Decrees put forth against 'em by the Parlament of *Tholouſe*, and Chamber of the Edict at *Beziers*: Alſo the Sieurs *Daubais*, *Jacques Genvier*, *Paul Saucier*, and *Andrew Peliſſier*. For the

the Nomination and Designation made of their Persons, to be Consuls of *Nimes*, in 1627. and their executing the Office during that Year: Together with all the Consuls and Political Counsellours, and the Prothonotary of the Consular House, for the Prosecution against 'em by reason of the said Consulship of *Nimes*, as well in our Council, as in the said Court of Parliament, Chamber of the Edict, and Court of Aids at *Mompellier*: Also the Inhabitants of *Anduze*, for the Murder of the Sieur *de Montalte*, and the Condemnations of the said Consuls, and particular Inhabitants of the said City during these Troubles. The Inhabitants of *Milland*, for what was done against the Sieur *de Roquefare*, and discharge 'em of the Restitution of 4000. Livers taken from the *Jacobins*. The Sieur *de Calvisson*, for encouraging the Inhabitants of *Alets* in their Breach of the Conducts, Impositions and raising of Money, establishment of Courts of Justice, Officers and Counsellours through the Provinces, and executing of Sentences past in those Courts, in Matters Civil and Criminal, and Regulations of Municipal Constitutions, and their executing their Offices in the said Cities when they were in Rebellion; together with the Advocates, that practis'd in their Employments, before the said Judges, Officers, and Counsellours set up in the said Cities: Also those who had no permission from Us, to reside and practise in the said Cities during the said Time. All Voyages to, and Intelligences, Negotiations, Treaties, Contracts, held and made with the *English* by the said Cities and Inhabitants; and by the said Duke of *Rohan*, and Sieur *de Soubize*, as well with the said *English*, as with the King of *Spain*, and Duke of *Savoy*, and Letters written to the Protestant Cantons of *Switzerland*: Also the Sieurs *Clausel* and *Du Cross*, who were employ'd thither: Sales of moveable Goods, whether Ecclesiastical or others, cutting down of high Trees, Demesne Woods or others. Taking of Booties, Ransoms, or any other sort of Money by them taken by reason of the said Troubles, melting of Artillery, seizing of Ammunition, Dismantling and Demolishing of Cities, Castles and Towns: Also the taking of *Mercz Aymargues*, and other Burnings of Churches and Houses by Order and Authority of the said Duke of *Rohan*; and from all Criminal Prosecutions by Reason of the same; not being prejudicial to the Civil Interests of the said Religious Ecclesiasticks, in respect of which they shall apply themselves for Justice to the Chamber of the Edict. We discharge 'em also from all Leases and Farms, of all Ecclesiastical Benefices and Estates, of which the said Ecclesiasticks were depriv'd by the Chieftains, who had the General Command. Our Pleasure in like manner is, that they enjoy the full Contents of the Preceding Amnesties and of all that has been acted and negotiated since the abovementioned

Time.

Time, notwithſtanding all Proceedings at Law, Decrees and Sentences iſſu'd out againſt 'em in the mean time; even the Decrees themſelves of the Parlament of *Thoulouſe* and *Bourdeaux*, and Chamber of *Beziers* and others, againſt the ſaid Duke of *Rohan*, to whom we will, that all his Honours and Dignities which he enjoy'd before ſhall be preſerv'd, prohibiting all Proſecutions in the Caſes aforeſaid. In reſpect of which, we impoſe perpetual ſilence upon all our Advocates General and their Subſtitutes; excepting always thoſe execrable Caſes reſerv'd and excepted by the Edict of *Nantes*, and others ſubſequent, of the Civil Intereſt, by Reaſon of the Fact committed at *Vozenobre* and *Tournac*, and of the moveables which ſhall be found in ſpecie tak'n from thoſewhowere under Obedience to the King.

V. And in purſuance of our Intentions, to maintain all our Subjects profeſſing the Pretended Reformed Religion in the free Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion, and in the Enjoyment of the Edicts to them granted, Our farther Pleaſure is, that they enjoy the Benefits of the ſaid Edict of *Nantes* and other Edicts, Articles and Declarations regiſter'd in our Parlaments, and that in purſuance of the ſame they have the free Exerciſe of the ſaid Religion in all Places where it has been allow'd 'em.

VI. That all Churches and Church-yards, that have been taken from 'em or demoliſh'd, ſhall be reſtor'd 'em, with Liberty to repair 'em, if there be any neceſſity, and that they deem it convenient.

VII. We ordain, that all the Fortifications of the ſaid Cities, ſhall be raz'd and demoliſh'd, only the encloſure of the Walls, within the ſpace of three Months, by the ſedulity of the Inhabitants: In whom we more eſpecially confiding, forbear to ſecure the ſaid Cities either with Garriſons or Cittadels. The ſaid Cities alſo ſhall be demoliſh'd by the Management and Orders of the Commiſſioners by Us deputed, and according to the Orders and Inſtructions which we ſhall give 'em: And in the mean while, for the greater Security, the Hoſtages ſent by the ſaid City, ſhall remain in ſuch Places as we ſhall appoint, till the ſaid Fortifications ſhall be fully demoliſh'd.

VIII. Our farther Will and Pleaſure is, that all the aforeſaid Profeſſours, *&c.* ſhall be reſtor'd and reſettl'd in all their Eſtates and Goods, Moveable and Immoveable, Accompts and Actions, notwithſtanding all Condemnations, Grants, Confiſcations and Repriſals made or decreed, excepting the Fruits and Revennes of their Goods, the moveables which ſhall not be found in ſpecie, Woods cut down, and Debts which have been receiv'd till this preſent time, actually and without fraud, after judicial Proſecutions and Conſtraints. Nevertheleſs our Pleaſure is, that the Preceding Declarations given upon the Fact of the ſaid Repriſals, till the preſent Commotions, Peremptory Decrees, and Proceedings and Agreements made upon them, ſhall

ſhall take place, and be executed, notwithſtanding all Decrees to the contrary. Our Will alſo is, that the Heirs of the Deceas'd Sieur *de Montmorac* ſhall be reſtor'd to their Goods.

IX. We permit the Profeſſours, &c. to re-enter their Houſes, and to rebuild 'em if there be occaſion; and as being our good and faithful Subjects, we permit 'em to reſide and inhabit in ſuch Cities and Places of our Kingdom, as they ſhall ſee convenient, except in the Iſlands of *Ré*, and *Oleron*, *Rochel* and *Privas*. We alſo permit the Inhabitants of *Pamiers*, who were not in the ſaid City at the Time when it was taken, to return and enjoy all their Goods, after they have ſubmitted themſelves, and taken the Oath of Fidelity before ſuch Perſons whom we ſhall appoint.

X. Our Officers reſiding in the ſaid City, who have not pay'd the Annual Duty, ſhall be admitted to pay it within two Months, as well for what is paſt as for the preſent Years. And as for ſuch as are Deceas'd, having pay'd the ſaid Annual Right, the Offices which they held ſhall be preſerv'd to their Widows and Heirs. And as for thoſe Officers whoſe Offices we have ſupply'd by Reaſon of the Troubles, they ſhall be continu'd in their ſaid Offices, notwithſtanding the Patents given to others, and their being ſettl'd therein. Our Pleaſure alſo is, that the Officers of particular Lords, who were admitted upon dear Purchaſes, and put out by Reaſon of the ſaid Troubles, ſhall be reſtor'd to their Employments.

XI. All the abovemention'd ſhall be diſcharg'd, and we hereby diſcharge 'em of all Contributions, Quartering of Souldiers, as well in the preceding, as preſent troubles. Alſo the ſaid Communities and particular Members thereof are diſcharg'd from all Obligations to indemnifie and ſave harmleſs all Reparations of Damages, which may be pretended againſt 'em, by Reaſon of Impriſonments, Executions and Expulſions out of the ſaid Cities, by order of the ſaid Duke of *Rohan*, or the Councils of the ſaid Cities, or any others by him ſet up as well during the preſent as preceding Troubles. And as for Taxes and other Money laid upon the Countrey, in Caſe the Summs fall ſhort, for want of Payment by the abovemention'd, the Receivers of the ſaid Countreys ſhall not proſecute the abovemention'd: Reſerving nevertheleſs a Power to proſecute the Syndic of the Countrey, to the end the Abatement may be laid upon the Generality of the Province

XII. In like manner, we diſcharge the Conſuls and Private Perſons, who oblig'd themſelves during the troubles of the Years, 1621. 1622. and 1626. and in the preſent Commotions, for the Affairs of the City, to pay the ſaid Obligations, notwithſtanding all Clauſes inſerted in the Agreements: Saving to the Creditors, the Power of proſecuting the Conſuls of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who ſhall be in Office, who ſhall be liable to Condemnation, and to pay their ſhares of the Summs.

XIII. They ſhall be alſo diſ-

charg'd from profecuting the Catholick Inhabitants and others, for the remainders from them due for the rates of the preceding Years, notwithſtanding the diſcharges they had obtain'd by our Letters Patents, as by the Decrees of the Court of Aids at *Mompellier*: As alſo from all that remains to be pay'd of Taxes and Impoſitions, aſſeſs'd upon any of 'em, the Catholicks being exempted by the Orders of the Governours of the Provinces, or others our Commanders in Chief, during the preceding and preſent Troubles.

XIV. The Inhabitants of *Caſtres* alſo ſhall be diſcharg'd from Reſtitution of whatever they took by force of Arms in Oppoſition to our Service.

XV. The charges which ſhall be laid upon the ſaid Cities, ſhall be equally born by all the Inhabitants of the ſame, according to the Cuſtom at all times uſual. Only that the Debts contracted by the Catholick Inhabitants, ſhall be born by themſelves alone; and thoſe contracted by thoſe of the Pretended Reformed Religion by themſelves.

XVI. Sentences paſt by thoſe who have been Commiſſion'd for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in the ſaid Cities, whether in Civil or Criminal Matters, ſhall take place, excepting Appeals to the ſaid Chambers, in Cauſes which have not been adjudg'd by the Provoſts, or at a Council of War.

XVII. The Order obſerv'd in the ſaid Cities, as well touching the Conſulſhip as the Municipal Government, and the Meeting of the ſaid Conſuls and City Councils, ſhall be kept and obſerv'd, as before the Troubles.

XVIII. The Aſſemblies of State in the Countrey of *Foix*, ſhall be held after the accuſtom'd Manner, and all the Cities ſhall be ſummon'd that were uſually preſent.

XIX. The Conſuls, Receivers, Collectors and Commiſſaries, that manag'd the Publick Money during the Preceding and Preſent Troubles, ſhall be acquitted and diſcharg'd, they bringing into the Chambers the Accounts which they have given of it; nor ſhall the Chambers pretend to any Fees, nor to require a review of the ſaid Accompts. And as for the Inhabitants of *Nimes*, who pretend themſelves not oblig'd to carry in their Accompts into the ſaid Chambers, our Will is, that the ancient Cuſtom ſhall be obſerv'd.

XX. The Seats of Judicature, Audits of Receipts, and other Offices, remov'd by Reaſon of the preſent Troubles, ſhall be reſtor'd and ſettl'd in the Places where they were before: Alſo the Election newly created to be ſettl'd at *Montauban*, but remov'd to the City of *Moiſſac* by reaſon of the Troubles, ſhall be return'd to *Montauban*, after the Fortifications are demoliſh'd.

XXI. Alſo the Chamber of the Edict, now ſitting at *Beziers*, ſhall be reſtor'd to the City of *Caſtres*, after the Fortifications are demoliſh'd; and ſhall remain in the ſaid City, according to the Edict of *Nantes*, notwithſtanding our Ordinance of *January* laſt, and the De-

Decree of the Parlament of *Thoulouſe*, upon the 111*th.* Article thereof: Which Chamber his Majeſty will have maintain'd in all things allow'd it by the Edicts and Regulations.

XXII. All theſe Graces and Conceſſions, it is our Will and Pleaſure, that the abovemention'd enjoy, that were in Arms upon the twenty ſeventh of *June* laſt. And as for the Cities and Perſons that ſubmitted to our Obedience before that day, they ſhall particularly enjoy the things contain'd in the Letters Patents, which have order'd 'em for that purpoſe.

So we command our Faithful and Beloved Counſellours, in the Parlament of *Tholouſe*, &c. And for the more firm and ſtable endurance of theſe Preſents, *&c.* Given at *Nimes*, in *July* 1629. and twentieth of our Raign.

Sign'd, *Lewis.*

And below, by the King.

Phelipeaux.

Read, Publiſh'd and Regiſter'd, *&c.* At *Tholouſe* in Parlament, *Auguſt*, 27. 1629.

Sign'd, *De Malenfant.*

The End of the ſecond Volume.

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